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VOL. II

JULY 1908

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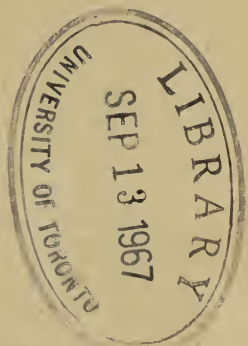
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(JULY 1908—APRIL 1909)



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6 HOPE PLACE, LIVERPOOL

Year ending 30th June 1909

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- [16] Sampson, John, D.Litt., M.A., Caergwyn, Bettws-Gwerfil-Goch, Merionethshire.
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- [159] Sandy, Fred. J., 18 Terrace Road, Mount Pleasant, Swansea.
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- [253] Shaw, Fred., The Bank House, Friern Barnet, London, N.
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- [128] Slade, C. F., The Rookery, Briston, Melton Constable, Norfolk.
- [122] Slade, Edgar A., 132 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.
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- [20] Smith-Stanier, Hubert, Brooklynne, Willes Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.
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- [127] Stewart, Ian Lindsay, W.S., 28 India Street, Edinburgh.
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- [117] Yates, Miss Dora Esther, M.A., 9 Belvidere Road, Princes Park, Liverpool.
- [109] Yoxall, Sir James Henry, M.P., Springfield, 20 Kew Gardens Road, Kew.

Honorary Secretary: R. A. SCOTT MACFIE,
6 Hope Place, Liverpool.

ACCOUNTS

FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1909

INCOME

3 subscriptions for the year 1907-8,	£3 0 0
183 " " " 1908-9,	183 0 0
17 " " " 1909-10,	17 0 0
Instalment completing subscription for 1908-9,	0 9 6
16 copies of Volume I. sold to members,	15 13 6
2 extra copies of Vol. II., No. 3, sold to a member,	0 10 0
Donations from an ex-president of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society covering the expense of producing and issuing the provisional edition of Dr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> ,	£98 17 7
Less acknowledged last year,	25 0 0
	<hr/>
	73 17 7
Anonymous donation to be contributed in the name of the G. L. S. to the testimonial to the late Geheimrat Professor Richard Pischel,	2 10 0
Balance, expenditure over income,	77 17 7
	<hr/>
	£373 18 2

EXPENDITURE

Discounts for the year 1907-8,	£0 2 0
" " " 1908-9,	2 2 10
" " " 1909-10,	0 12 0
	<hr/>
	£2 16 10
Management and Correspondence—	
Cheque Book,	0 2 6
Stationery,	4 15 0
Printed Notices,	1 1 6
Postages,	5 5 2
Auditor's Fee,	0 10 6
	<hr/>
	11 14 8
Carry forward,	£14 11 6

Brought forward,	£14 11 6
Journal and Publications—	
No. 1. Letterpress,	£41 2 6
Illustrations,	11 17 3
	<hr/>
	£52 19 9
No. 2. Letterpress,	41 9 0
Illustrations,	12 16 4
	<hr/>
	54 5 4
No. 3. Letterpress,	40 0 0
Illustrations,	12 1 8
	<hr/>
	52 1 8
No. 4. Letterpress,	43 5 0
Illustrations,	6 1 2
	<hr/>
	49 6 2
No. 5. Letterpress,	20 10 0
Illustration,	presented
	<hr/>
	20 10 0
	<hr/>
	229 2 11
Bibliography—	
Correcting,	5 5 0
Printing and Binding,	76 3 0
Wrapping, etc.,	2 8 6
Postages,	15 1 1
	<hr/>
	98 17 7
Less, charged last year,	22 6 6
	<hr/>
	76 11 1
Advertising and Reviews—	
Prospectuses and printed forms,	6 18 6
Envelopes and labels,	1 6 2
Additional Journals printed for review,	11 12 2
Postages,	4 3 10
Miscellaneous advertising,	0 15 0
	<hr/>
	24 15 8
Despatch of Journal to Members,	13 7 9
Separate offprints for the authors of papers,	17 18 3
Donation to the testimonial to the late Geheimrat Professor Richard Pischel,	2 10 0
	<hr/>
	378 17 2
Less, charged last year,	4 19 0
	<hr/>
	<u>£373 18 2</u>

BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
To Creditors—	By Cash in Bank, . £2 17 8
T. and A. Constable, £164 10 1	Excess expenditure
E. O. Winstedt, . 25 0 0	over income,
The Honorary Secre-	1907-8, . 129 5 4
tary, . 20 0 0	Excess expenditure
J. M'Cormick, C.A. 0 10 6	over income,
	1908-9, . 77 17 7
<u>£210 0 7</u>	<u>£210 0 7</u>

I have examined the Books, Accounts and Vouchers, of The Gypsy Lore Society, for the year ending June 30, 1909, and hereby certify the above statement to be a true and correct one as shown thereby.

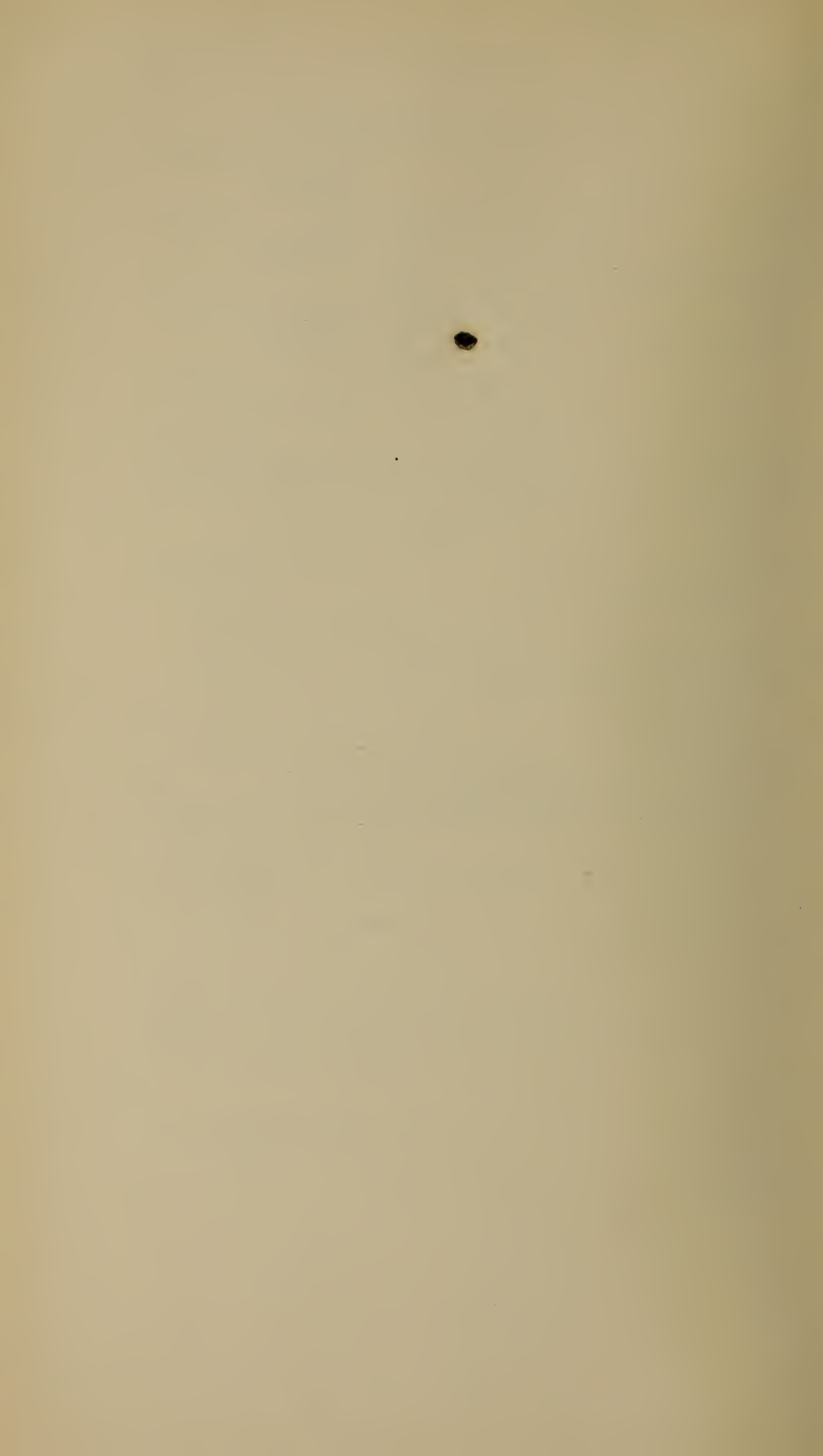
[Signed] JOHN M'CORMICK,
Chartered Accountant.

21 VICTORIA STREET, LIVERPOOL,
December 20, 1909.

NOTE.—The Society owns the following property—

Stock of Journals unsold (at cost):

Volume I.,	£64 8 6
Volume II.,	75 15 0
Subscriptions in arrears, less discount,	8 18 0
Dr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> , provisional issue, standing in type, uncorrected,	not valued
	<u>£149 1 6</u>





"Wandering Linnete"

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. II

JULY 1908

No. 1

I.—O DROMÉNGRO

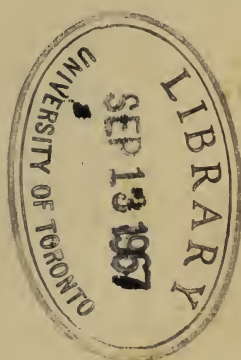
'Rál tem ta gav shukár pīráv',
Sár bŭti me rhodáva:
'Kai man shokhári pesserén,
'Doi chikli khâra láva.

Akyá t' okyá me bikiná—
Vangúshtriá chaiéngi,
Sar lengē dūdenē yaká,
Ta valin ī murshéngi.

Rashéskē mūri me chorá,
Gará man 'rē veshténdi,
Raiéskē rakliā sikavá
T'andén romá ke lendi.

R'i rāt bŭt vasavés kedóm,
Ta tug 'vas man 'doléstē:
Dikóm 'rál starimáski khev,
Chindóm īzá trupéstē.

Beshtóm tugnó, khoínó dikóm
I chiriklē te 'vénas
Arál khestyár, ta bakhtalés
'Prē nashto-ruk kelénas.



*Mukéna man te jáv avrī,
Mi cham nanái lajéla :
Vavréngi būti 'vel ta jal,
Mi būti nai nashélu.*

[By DONALD MACALISTER, after C. S. CALVERLEY's 'Vagabond.']

II.—LÁLERE SINTE

By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

WHEN writing my article on the Gypsies of the Rhine I was conscious of feeling something akin to home-sickness. I had not known the race before, and have never since been on such intimate terms with the *Kāle* of any of the countries where I have met them. Living a *gádšikano dšiben*, in the midst of a *gádšikani* family who spoilt me 'right gorgeously,' and feeling sore oppressed by the humdrum peace of my respectable surroundings, I had thrown myself, body and soul, into the arms of my *dunkle Freunde*, with such fervour as to cause them considerable surprise, being, as they are, accustomed to every conceivable kind of petty persecution and to open contempt on the part of the *dumme Bauern*, who, however, appear humane when compared with that most odious of atrocities, Prussian officialdom. Thus I became virtually one of them. It was not so, however, in the case of the *Lálere Sinte*, whom I met but three times during my fourteen months' stay at Sponheim. What I am about to write will therefore, I fear, be of little value, except in so far that personal experiences among the *Tšél* are always of some interest. As will be gathered from the Romanes text, there is good reason for believing the *Lálere Sinte* to be at least closely connected with those so-called German Gypsies who recently visited our country, and whom Mr. Sampson described in the October number of this Journal.

The term *Lálere Sinte*, when used by the Gypsies of the Rhine, means all those Gypsies who are not of the category of those whom I described in the October number of the Journal. If, for instance, they were to come upon a band of English Gypsies wandering over their province, they would probably, at least at first sight, call them *Lálere Sinte*. The term appears to be used also to denote the Bohemian Gypsies in particular. The word *Láloro*

is said to mean 'dumb': cf. Hindustani *lāl*. The Gypsies of Spain call the Portuguese *Laloré*, *Lalé*. The termination *-oro* is probably the usual Romani diminutive. Many nations call foreigners dumb, because they cannot understand them. The Norwegian Gypsies call the Laplanders *lallaró*; the Russians call the Germans *niemtsy*, which word is generally held to be a substantive derived in the usual way from the adjective *niemoi*: cf. also *oniemietj*, 'to become dumb.'

I mentioned these *Lálere Sinte* in my last article: they were the first I ever met, and in many ways the most interesting. But I left out several details in connection with this, my first encounter, and they may be more appropriate here, since I am avowedly writing of the *Lálere Sinte*. The beautiful woman's name was Žōfi. After having duly gone through the ceremony (*me adjuvante*) of which I spoke before, she left the church and came round to the front door and stood on the doorstep, which Linda was destined to hallow for ever by *beshing pre leste*, and began to beg. I was much struck with her quaint Tyrolese accent, and persuaded the *Frau Mutter* (*te del late mro bāro Dēvel latše dīvesa!*) to fetch her some bread and cold meat steeped in artificial vinegar, economy being a great gorgio virtue; but the *rašái* was fast losing his *gádšikano* temper, and had barred and bolted the door when we returned from the kitchen laden with good cheer. He allowed us to have our own way, though, when his mother, the very dearest of kind-hearted old ladies, of whom I cannot speak too highly, brushed him aside and unbarred the door while muttering: '*Lass doch die arme Frau was zum Essen bekommen.*' But Žōfi was not satisfied. She barely thanked us. It may be that I never got to know these *Lálere Sinte* as well as the German Gypsies, or it may be that the former preserve their traditional 'qualities' more intact than the more civilised *gádšikane Sinte*; be that as it may, certain it is that I have never met a Gypsy who appeared to possess that gorgio-hatred described by Borrow to a higher degree than did this woman. Nor have I ever seen such persistent begging. When the *rašái* was already at fuming point she changed her tone. Turning to me with a familiarity which delighted me, and caused the *rašái* to call her a *freches Weib*, she said, '*Du, Junge*, run and fetch me some holy water for the love of God.' I rushed into my bedroom, emptied a medicine bottle, bounded into the church (the buildings joined, as the whole place was once a

monastery, now over a thousand years old), and filled the bottle from the private family holy-water stoup. I returned to the doorstep in time to witness the *rašái* driving her away for good this time, and somehow got through the doorway, passed him, and made for Žōfi, flourishing the bottle wildly. She snatched it from me, and with a hurried 'God bless thee,' made off, a beautiful, tall figure, almost too thin, a long thin face and rather too aquiline nose, bare feet, and the gait of a hurrying queen. I fidgeted and fussed and fretted during tea-time, and the *rašái* prophesied that I should die young, as I was too excitable. At five o'clock I ran down into the village and found there great excitement: two vans opposite the schoolhouse, the dark and tattered figures of boys and girls begging in couples, little children sitting almost naked in the middle of the road and playing with mud, a tall dark man in leggings and with a long black beard busying himself apparently with the horse's harness, and Žōfi, tall, and with head bowed, leaning up against the first van. Then she introduced me, informally, as *der Junge*, to her husband, and with many shouts and cracking of whips we started along the road to Kreuznach, I walking with Žōfi abreast with the first van, and her *rom* leading the horses. As we walked I must have jingled some money in my pocket, for she heard it, and asked how much I had got. I drew out a few silver pieces, to count them; but she was too quick for me. She seized and hid away heaven knows where a two-mark piece that was sticking upright between my fingers in the open palm of my hand, drawing it through from underneath, thus avoiding the appearance of grabbing. I felt a dreadful *dillo*, as she would have said in her pretty dialect, and complained to her husband about her. He argued that he had no authority over her, admitted that I had not been properly treated, and offered me one mark to make up for the loss of two. I accepted. From that time onward all went well. As I mentioned in my former article, they appeared not to know the country and were glad of my services. It was a dark stormy night, with a strong west wind, but no rain, when I made my way to the camp, accompanied by a young friend who was afterwards my constant companion in my dealings with the German Gypsies, and found Žōfi and the rest comfortably seated before a roaring fire in a *platsa* which I had chosen for them, and at the entrance to a *tserxa* or tent in which I spied comfortable beds of hay, which I had myself provided from a neighbouring *kaseskri*.

I foresee that I shall have to quote their language, and must therefore trouble the reader with a word or two about the spelling. It is essentially the same as that which I used in writing of the *gádšikane Sinte*, but I have decided not to write the accent over any word when the accentuation is regular, *i.e.* when it falls on the penultimate. I am further obliged to use the *j* (with the sound of the German *j* in *Jungfrau*) in order to best render the sounds of certain words in this dialect—such as *papútšj*, *paraštúj*, etc., but shall otherwise use the *y* in words like *yag*. The latter word is, in the case of the *Lálere Sinte*, best spelt with a *g* as opposed to the *gádšikane Sinte*'s word *yāk*, and, generally speaking, the non-explosive consonants tend to be much softer in this dialect than in that of the Rhine Province *Kāle*.

I sat, then, by the fire, on a pail turned upside down, and asked them the word for fire. They answered *yag*, and this was the first word I learned in *Rómani tšib*. Žōfi's rom's brother then made me say to a girl sitting hard by, *Tšumidé ma, šukár šei*, where the German Gypsy would have said, *De mande tšum, šuker tšai*. She answered, *Tši dap!* (German Gypsy, *me davo gār*), whereupon Žōfi's rom's brother laughingly told me her name was Dētsa, a word which I subsequently found to mean 'Fish Hook,' and referred to her aquiline nose. She instantly made for him, crying out *Malavó tu*, 'I will strike or kill you' (German Gypsy, *me marava tut*). *Av-tár^e, žas-tár^e*,¹ said Žōfi's husband, 'Come, let's set to,' and we then compiled a list of words, some of which I shall discuss later. After the lesson I dangled a white rosary I had with me before Dētsa's eyes, and it certainly made the required impression; so much so that when I met her again, half a year later, the first words she uttered were *Dē man i tsikni Rosenkranz*.

During the lesson the children were very trying, and my teacher continually admonished them with *ža-tár mandar* and *žan-te vurdonande*, 'begone from me,' and 'begone into the van.' One little rascal, bare save for a large and greenish greatcoat, danced round us screaming *Tši žap*, 'I won't go.'

For 'What time is it?' they said *Ketši šádzura-i?* 'One o'clock' was *ek šadzo*, 'two o'clock' *due šádzura*. 'To-day,' 'to-morrow,' and 'yesterday' were respectively *adjés*, *tehara*, and *éiž*, the last of the three, of true Sanskrit origin, being quite

¹ e pronounced like final e in German *Gabe*.

unknown to my German Gypsies: cf. Greek Romani *itš*, Hungarian Romani *iž*, Sanskrit *hjas*.

They had of course preserved the *s* which has so largely changed into *h* in Germany, e.g. they said, *Až Deblěsa!*—*ketši pūro sal?*—*Ka žas?*—so *kerdāl?* When I was leaving them that night they taught me to say, *Akāni žav-tar kēri* (German Gypsy *Akana dšáŕ-mange kēre*). ‘Good-night’ was *Del tute laši rat*, i.e. ‘May He (God) give you a good night.’ Notice *nasúl djes*, ‘bad weather’; *kai žal o drom*, ‘here goes the road’; *mukáb kado tem erekré*, ‘I leave this country for good’; and *avena-ba?* ‘are they coming?’

From the above examples alone it will be seen how similar this dialect appears to be to that spoken by the Gypsies of Rumania. I do not propose to analyse each of the above expressions, but to leave this to the reader. Indeed, to any one at all acquainted with the Rumanian dialect, the similarity becomes at once apparent, and need only be mentioned here.

In support of my contention that these *Lálere Sinte* originally, and at no very distant date, left Rumania, I might further quote *dillo* for *dinelo*, *děl* for *děvel*, *tšēri* for *bólepen*, and the days of the week, not counting *Kurko*, which is common to all dialects, namely, *Luža*, *Marts*, *Tetradj*, *Žoya*, *Paraštúj*, *Sábato*. But it will at once be noticed that this dialect has lost to a large extent the so-called *Oxitonierung* or accentuation of nouns and adjectives on the last syllable. In fact the accentuation is Hungarian. They even said *kangéri* for Greek Gypsy *kangerí*, German Gypsy *kángri*, and *teléri* and *dengéri* for *Ein Thaler* and the ‘sea,’ *moméli* for *momeli*, *mómeli*, and so on. Further, the names of the seasons are of the Hungarian dialect, and where not of Romani origin, are derived from the Hungarian language, to wit, *tawasi*, *mílai*, *ěso*, *yivend*, respectively ‘spring, summer, autumn, and winter.’ The following words are derived from the Hungarian, and are not, I believe, used by Rumanian Gypsies living in Rumania:—

boriuko, a calf; *hintoba*, a pony chaise; *tisto*, a policeman (or is it from *klisto*?); *kenjva*, a book; *zubuno*, a coat; *šipka*, a cap; *ketška*, a goat; *gulumbo*, a dove; *kera*, a boot.

On the other hand, the following forms are only in common use among the Rumanian Gypsies: *krāi*, kaiser, emperor; elsewhere *kral*, *kralis*, etc.; *papútšj*, shoe; *šadsu-lantsu*, watch and chain; *katana*, a soldier; *nasúl*, bad; elsewhere the word is *nasvalo*, *naselo*, etc.; *herand*, *berand*, a tent-pole.

The following are common to both Rumanian and Hungarian dialects: *kopátšj*, a tree; *kólopo*, a hat; *solum*, straw; *lužava*, a pipe; *lampásj*, a lamp; *ratjéa*, *ratsía*, *rakía*, is Servian Gypsy for brandy, gin, etc.

Finally, words which I have been unable to classify, and some of which have to the present time refused to give up the secret of their origin, though I have pondered and gloated over them and searched and waited with more than Job's patience, I here give *en bloc*, hoping that some kind reader will know more about them than myself: *dunjha*, a bed; *gžha*, a cough; *hamo*, harness; *bungordje*, Runkelrübe, beetroot; *harištnj*, *baristnj*, a stocking; *horežo*, *wina*, and *kropatsa*, all three without a translation; *hera*, clover; *lagato*, a lock; *horko*, a hook; *šěza*, *šědza*, a cup; *erekre*, off, away, for ever.

Before leaving Žofi and her band, I must mention that I met them again in the early autumn of the same year. They were in the company of another family with but one van, who had been travelling about the country alone, and had just rejoined Žofi when I met them. From the chief of this new family I learned the following lines:—

*Muri tsikni gādži,
Ker mange yag,
Ke našte džap k'eri
Duk'ala muro šero,*

from which I infer that he had been longer in Western Germany than the others. He himself told me that he had been 'doing' Bavaria, only the place was getting too hot for him, so that he was now on his way to Elsass Lothringen. He said that he found the police in these parts (Kreis Kreuznach) much too clever, quite different from the Bavarian ones, who were all young men and easily befooled by the Gypsy lasses, and cajoled into conniving at *tšoribé* (*sic*), since they preferred flirtations along the roadside to the fulfilling of their *gādžikani amta*. He it was whom I first heard use the term *gādžikane Sinte* in connection with the Gypsies of the Rhine. He offered to tell me a long *parmisin*, in which figured a '*rakli le mperatosko*,' but only on condition that I should give him the pair of shoes that I was wearing; the bargain came to nothing, because neither of us could trust the other, each insisting that the other's share in the transaction should be completed first. This all happened at Waldböckelheim station, on the Nahe. Three days later the whole lot of them

turned up at the Pfarrhaus, Sponheim. The *rašai* said they looked disgusting, because they were darker than in the previous March, owing to the hot summer. My new friend again claimed the shoes, and I the *parmisin*. I have never seen them since.

I must now speak of the most typical Gypsies I ever met. They did not possess vans, but large, light carts, three in number, with arched canvas roofs. Their horses were good, and the pace they travelled at was almost uncanny, every jolt of the rickety vehicles threatening to hurl them to destruction. These Gypsies, too, are best defined as *Lálere Sinte*. Their language was, if anything, more of the Rumanian Romani type than that hitherto quoted.

At a quarter past six in the evening of the 28th of October 1903, over a year after my last encounter with *Lálere Sinte*, I was going down to Ackermann's Mühle with a letter in order that it might catch the evening train to Kreuznach. I was in the company of my brother, and we were both on bicycles. It was a typical calm autumn evening, and as we had both been studying the whole afternoon we resolved to ride up to the wood called the Hahn, and to have a spin in the twilight along the great high-road to Trèves. As we approached Brauch's Mühle I felt sure that we were in the neighbourhood of Gypsies, but I had so often imagined the same thing under similar circumstances, under the stimulus of the twilight and the keen, penetrating damp of the evening air, that I merely turned to my brother with the word 'supposing . . .,' and onward we sped. Another two hundred yards and we were compelled to use all breaks in order not to run down a regular giant of a man wearing a huge sugar-loaf hat and leather leggings, and possessing a wonderfully long black beard, and by his side a slim young girl of about seventeen years of age, whose head reached to the *rom*'s shoulder. She was his daughter. We dismounted, and greeted them in German. From the first we were pleasantly conscious of an atmosphere of joviality and merriment and excitability. We discussed the fine night. The young girl echoed all her father said, only in more gushing terms. We fairly shouted at one another, this being the normal way of conversing among the *Lálere Sinte*, for such were these two, I now felt convinced. And when the talk turned upon money matters I felt that the time had come, and said, *Drobói-tu, mōra, kai hi i platsa*, feeling sure he would understand the first part, and hoping that the second part would also be intelligible, as I did not know

the *Lálere Sinte* equivalent. The effect was instantaneous; the girl peered into my face in the orthodox way, just as Borrow would have had it, and the man, seizing me by the wrist in his excitement, asked sharply, '*Hal tu rom?*' I felt a glow of satisfaction. At least he used the to me familiar *h*, and would doubtless understand pretty well my *Rómanes*. They took us up the long sloping hill to their camp, I walking in front discussing money matters in *Rómanes* with the *šukár šei*, and the *rom* behind explaining to my brother, with shouts and gesticulations, the wickedness of the Hungarian government, using German and French and English to convey his meaning.

I feel I must cut short these reminiscences, for time, space, and the patience of the reader will assuredly run out. We dined that night with the *Sinte*; we were afraid of depriving them of their frugal meal, and took little, but the chief told us that no meal was so small that it could not be shared among friends. On the morrow, early in the morning, I witnessed a never to be forgotten scene, when some young Gypsy lads made a raid on Brauch's Mühle, the miller himself being out; Draga, the giant Gypsy's *romi*, firmly held the miller's fat and screaming wife, while the lads chased and caught and throttled and made off with a couple of splendid young turkeys. The whole encampment swore it would not leave until the following morning, but the counsel of the giant chief, whom they called the *Bāro-dār*, prevailed, and they realised that it behoved them to fly and travel at a break-neck speed. At four o'clock in the afternoon we decided to follow them on bicycles, inquiring in every village as to the direction they had taken. The villagers thought we were afraid of the *Zigeuner*, and explained how we could best avoid them. When they learned that we were pursuing them, they would have it that we had been robbed, and one village offered its policeman and a contingent of ploughboys. They obviously did not believe us when we assured them that we merely desired the Gypsies' company above all things in this world. Thus we sped on, stopping once for half an hour, at the invitation of some peasants who were picking grapes on a *Weinberg*, and towards sunset we came upon our friends on the outskirts of a village between fifteen and twenty miles from Sponheim. We found the doors of all the houses barred, and were ourselves taken for Gypsies when we banged at the closed shutters of a *katšima* in order to get some drink; and still more so when, in our hurry to find our friends, we

rushed from the tavern forgetting to pay for our beer, and were recalled by the irate *katšimāro*. They evinced no surprise at seeing us, beyond their usual excitability. We advanced a mile out of the village, a halt was called, and, sitting in a ditch, we had a weird wild lesson in the *rómano kōva*. As the dictation proceeded the *Bāro-dār* grew more and more excited. His wife, Draga, sat opposite me on the road side of the ditch, which was dry, my brother on my right, and the *rom* on the left. Swarms of children buzzed around, snatching our caps from our heads. Upon our pretending not to know the meaning of the word *tšum*, the *Bāro-dār* explained by kissing me on the left ear. His beard smelt of beer, burnt wood, pine trees, and the indescribable something,—in fact, again the *rómano kōva*. His mind ran on horse-dealing, in the various meanings of the phrase, upon the events of the day, the long flight across country, the miller's fat wife, America, children born in ditches, great gatherings of the *Roma*, conjugal disturbances, and the affairs of everyday life.

<p>Žā, ta rode te paruvás, grastenser. Te bikinés, bikin pe trin, pe štār mārskuri šēla;¹ o gras panž beršengro, terno, panžengro, ašavo lašó: žīpe šōv kurke, ke lašo, tai zúralo.</p>	<p>Go, and seek that we may do some bartering, with horses. If you sell, sell for three or four hundred marks apiece; the horse is five years old, young, a five-year-old one, I swear it—(<i>lit.</i> I remain good, true)—[its] life six weeks, and good, and strong.</p>
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<p>Žā! trade, tra lokes! Žā- tuke sikrd̄r, und šrito, o paso. Ža ano katšīma, mange žōb te χal o gras. Me žavo dūr. Muro gras hunde χal žīb² und kias pašo i pāni; o klaino, te vel o gras p̄erdo. Hunde žab kai rat dūr: dēš-u-panž šád- zuri. Bešavo kote trin bis štār dīves.</p>	<p>Go! away you go! now slowly, now faster, now slow down to a walking pace. Go into the tavern, beg oats, that the horse may eat. I am going far. My horse must eat corn and hay together with water; and chaff and water, that the horse may become full. I must go far to-night: fifteen hours. I shall remain there three or four days.</p>
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¹ Notice the order of the words and the plural of *šēl*; also the pure Rumanian plural of certain neuter nouns, *-uri*; cf. below, *šád̄zuri* and the *šád̄zura* of Žōfi's band.

² Rumanian Gypsy for *gīv*.

Drobói-tu! Naís, mōra.¹
Kas araklén?² Araklém muro
dādes tai muro p̄rāles. Koi
hi-lo? Ambur hi šun tern, kai
əsa³ muro dād.

Muro p̄ē hi-la⁴ ano Amérika;
Sofi akārela muro p̄ēn. Hai
šunden kai p̄ūro⁵ p̄ēn hi? Pari-
kerao mange tuke, in havo tem
hi? Me žava tēli und žavo ano
nerntsū. Avela o p̄ūro dumi-
traško,⁶ baro šorensēr. Leskr
romi hi fuli. . . .

Ek šēl ta panž murš. . . .
Kova hi maro rai! Kana žas
amenge ano gāv te las ameng'o
mas: haide⁷ te kinás o mas, ta
manro, tai paprika, tai pipēri,
tai zerelo, tai purri; te kiná-
menge matrēli, ta o tšikan, te
aro, te yaro, te kaini; te χas
tšales. Sik kjerāo la. Kjerevās
i bāri papin, i bulepaka;
kjerevā la menge sik. Hunde
žao apo parupaskro, te kjeravo
les tši pali χale kokres.

Kano muro šukár rai,⁸ man-
gavo tu, bāri debleskri,⁹ ma le

Greetings! Thanks, friend.
 Whom have you found? I have
 found my father and my brother.
 Where is he? Both are still
 young, and [here] is my father.

My sister is in America; she
 is called Sofi. And have you
 heard how old my sister is? I
 beg your pardon, in what country
 is she? I am going down into
 Germany. The old policeman
 is coming, with a great beard
 (*lit.* beards). His wife is fat. . . .

One hundred and five men.
 . . . That is our master! Now
 let us go into the village to get
 the meat: come, let us buy the
 meat, and bread, and Spanish
 pepper, and pepper, and green
 stuff, and onions; let us buy
 potatoes, and the fat, and flour,
 and eggs, and a chicken; let us
 eat our fill. I will cook it
 quickly. Let us cook the large
 goose, the *bulepaka*; we will
 cook it quickly. I must go to
 the market, and if I do not
 cook it he will eat it afterwards
 alone.

Now, my fine gentleman, I
 beg you, [by] the Great Mother

¹ These greetings are well known to Rumanian Gypsies. *Drobói* may be the Slavonic root *dobr*, good; *naís* is of unknown origin; *mōra* is from the Servian.

² For *araklén*, cf. below, *kerdén* for *kerdán*.

³ *əsa* is the Rumanian form of Greek *Romani isi*, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of 'to be.' The vowels have the sound of *u* in Engl. *fun*.

⁴ I cannot understand this *la* for the usual *li*.

⁵ *muro p̄ēn* and *kai p̄ūro p̄ēn hi* are instances of the interchangeability common, among these *Lálere Sinte*, of the masculine and feminine genders.

⁶ They gave *klisto* as an alternative to this word.

⁷ *Haide*, a Turkish word, common in the Rumanian dialect, meaning 'come now.'

⁸ *muro šukár rai*. This expression was constantly used, reminding one of English Gypsies.

⁹ *bāri debleskri*, scil. *debleskri dai*.

ma pral; ¹ *me penavo tšatšipé*,
sar moro bāro dēl pēndás.

*Trade leste ander roma, ke
mai but žao me, . . . o rašái,*
žavo, te soláχao.

Lem muro romni palepāli,
ke našlés ² *štar tšavenser, haī*
rodém la, tai raklém la; lem
la klistensr pāli. Hunde lávola,
himan tšatšipén; solaχardé
kate bāro sovél.

‘Romni, sar kerdén koi
tšāves, lokes, tai šukár, tai parno,
haī tšatšo leskr dad? Kerdo
šukár o tšavo ando šantsu?’

‘Hiles bango.’ ³

‘Muro romni, har žal tuke
le tšavēsa?’

‘Mišto!’

Tšibax, süto, ⁴ *kai djas* ⁵ *po*
drom, avela latši bax vai tšilatši.
Me ’navo ⁶ *tuke tšatšes, kai djas*
po drom für yek, te dui marko.

‘Akana te šunés, tši som bax-
talí. Tehara laütr ⁷ *biž marke;* ⁸
muro latšo rom, muk ma bax-
asa; te vel men pašá ⁹ *latširat,*
te vel muro bax pašo mande.

of God, do not be offended; I
am speaking the truth, as my
great God spoke.

Bring him before the *roma*,
for I am going further, . . . the
priest, I will go and take an
oath.

I have taken my wife back
again, for she had run away
with four children, and I sought
her, and found her; I took her
back by the aid of the police.
I must have her, it is my right;
they swore there a great oath.

‘Wife, how did you bring
forth the child yonder, gently,
and a fine child, and white, and
its father genuine? Was the
child born well in a ditch?’

‘It is deformed.’

‘My wife, how are you get-
ting on with the child?’

‘Quite well.’

Ill luck, and she took to the
road, come good luck or bad.
I am telling you the truth, that
she took to the road for one or
two marks.

(*N.B.*—The wife is now sup-
posed to be speaking.) ‘Now
you must listen, I am not happy.
To-morrow a whole twenty
marks; my good husband, let

¹ *ma le ma pral*, lit. ‘do not take me over.’ They assured me this meant ‘do not be offended.’

² *našlés* for *našljás*.

⁴ *süto*. I cannot understand this word.

⁵ *djas* for *diniás*, from *dava*.

⁷ This word is exceedingly common among the German Gypsies, and must be considered as a Gypsy word on a par with *gār*, as it is used in Romanes where it would not be admissible in German.

⁸ Romanes plural instead of the usual Rumanian *márkuri*.

⁹ probably for *pašál*.

³ Cf. above, *la* for *li*.

The *ü* has the sound of the German *ü*.

⁶ for *penavo*.

Lavo tuke dosta lōve; taisa me be with happiness; let there
sōvoo tusa, tai piavo tusa, tai be to us together a good night,
xao, tai keravo kibuki. let my happiness come to me.
 I am bringing you enough
 money; to-morrow I will sleep
 with you, and drink with you,
 and eat, and I will do work.'

From these jottings, which, if they appear somewhat disconnected, do nevertheless represent the unstability (I use the word in a good sense), the untutored freedom of what might be called *bigādzikanipen* — namely of all that which, in its essence, is fundamentally opposed to soul-killing gorgio respectability, of which the 'gentility' decried by Borrow is only one of the numerous phases—from these jottings, I say, it seems evident to me that the *Wanderungen der Zigeuner* on a large scale have not yet become a thing of the past, that the westward flight has not entirely ceased. The man of the *parmisin* and the shoes said his destination was Elsass-Lothringen; Žofi's husband said he hailed from thence; the great *Bāro-dār* gave his name as Philipp Jacobi, aus Bliesbrückenheim, Lothringen; all these Gypsies showed in their speech unmistakable signs of Rumanian influence, one of the most striking being the use of *le* in the oblique cases, of which I have but two examples, *rakli le 'mperatósko* and . . . *le tšavěsa*; on the other hand, Hungarian has left its mark upon their dialect in more than one way, notably in the accentuation and in the large influx of Hungarian words unknown to most Rumanian Gypsies, while the *Lálere Sinte* proved their acquaintance with the dialect of the Gypsies of the Rhine by mixing such forms as *si*, *əsə*, and *hi* in one sentence. If we turn now to the text above, with a view to examining the *Lálere Sinte* 'Weltanschauung' in so far as it is manifested in so short an extract, we find the difference most striking between it and the cast of mind which produced such modes of thought as are given in my extracts in the article on *gádšikane Sinte*. The language is less subjected to alien forms of grammar and arrangement of words, which have done so much to spoil the German Romanes. In pure Romanes the words may be placed almost in any order the speaker chooses, and this system may be appropriately compared to the ringing of changes on a peal of English church-bells. The stress on any particular word is of course the

predominant factor which must be taken into consideration, but there are no laws which it is possible to lay down with any exactitude, and in this, as in all other matters, the Gypsy is a confirmed opportunist: he will scarcely ever repeat the same sentence in the same way, and each individual way will be the correct one, most suited to the time at which it was spoken. This can be felt, as it were, by intuition, but the why and the wherefore cannot be tabulated:—*naíkek líri pašo mende*.

The *rómano kōva* flourishes among the wild *Lálere* as perhaps nowhere else, not even among the Turkish Gypsies, whose sphere of wandering is more restricted. But they are thinking of settling: Elsass-Lothringen, a centre of *gádžikano kōva*, is becoming their centre.

The gorgio spirit too is rife, equally rife on the banks of the Rhine and on the banks of the Cam. The *rašái* concluded every argument, every heated discussion wherein the two ideals clashed, by quoting a pet proverb of his: *Serva mores et mores servabunt te*. He did not see—he would not see—that all depended on the meaning given to the word *mores*. The dwellers on the banks of the Cam are too prosy to appreciate the poetry of the *Zigeunerwesen*, and join cordially with their brethren, the Continental Philistines, in wishing for their speedy removal from the hospitable soil of Europe.

In their one-sidedness they extol their own inherited ideals and see nought but evil elsewhere. The Gypsy may often be a thief: he is something else over and above and beyond that. And the gorgios, in their rage and bitterness, have not the charity to understand that there is after all some truth in the Rumanian Gypsies' proverb that *kalí gurumní del parnó tūd*.

III.—THE TAROT

By D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING

‘**W**ERE we to hear that there exists in our day a work of the Ancient Egyptians, one of their books which has escaped the flames which devoured their superb libraries, and which contains their purest doctrine on interesting subjects, every one would, without doubt, be anxious to know a book so precious, and so extraordinary. Were we to add that this book is widely spread through a large part of Europe, and that for several



MODERN SCHAFFHAUSEN TAROT CARDS

centuries it has been in the hands of every one, surprise would certainly be increased. Would not this surprise be at its height if it were asserted that no one has ever suspected that it was Egyptian, that people possess it as if they did not possess it, that no one has ever sought to decipher a page of it, and that the fruit of a subtle wisdom is looked upon as a collection of extravagant designs having no meaning in themselves? Would not people think that one was trying to amuse oneself with, and to play upon, the credulity of one's hearers?

'Yet the fact is perfectly true: this Egyptian book, the sole remnant of their superb libraries, exists in our days. It is even so common that no savant has thought it worthy of his attention; no one before ourselves having suspected its illustrious origin. This book is composed of seventy-seven leaves or pictures, or rather of seventy-eight, divided into five classes, which each offer objects as varied as they are amusing and instructive: this book is in a word the pack of tarot cards, a pack unknown, it is true, in Paris, but well known in Italy, in Germany, and even in Provence, and as extraordinary from the designs shown by each of its cards, as from the number of the cards themselves.'

So, in *Le Monde Primitif* (vol. viii. p. 365), writes M. Court de Gebelin, the first, so far as I have been able to ascertain, to give any description of the curious pack of cards known as TAROTS, or to attempt to explain the mysterious symbols known as the *keys* of the tarot. *Le Monde Primitif* was published in 1781, and since that time some ten or a dozen writers have dealt with the subject, but, so far as my reading has extended, no one of these has given us any new facts with regard to these mysterious cards. Theories there are in abundance, as I shall show later, but there is still a wide field of investigation which, I venture to think, may prove worthy of the attention of some of the members of the Gypsy Lore Society. The points which seem to me to require elucidation are, first, why an Egyptian origin should have been ascribed to these cards; and, second, why they should have been connected with the Bohemians, or Gypsies. As some slight contribution to the subject, I venture to offer to the members of the Society the following *résumé* of materials collected from different sources, some not too easily accessible; while at the end of this article I append a list of those books treating on the matter which I have consulted.

I propose, in the first place, to describe the tarots themselves;

then to set out the theories propounded by various writers as to their origin and meaning; and lastly, to indicate some of the modes in which they can be used for the purpose of divination.

We used to be told that playing-cards were first invented by the astrologer, Jacques Gringonneur, in 1392, to amuse the mad King Charles VI. of France. The ground for this supposition was that, in the accounts of Poupard, the king's jeweller, there appears a sum of fifty-six sous parisis paid 'pour prix des trois jeux à or et à diverses devises, fournis au seigneur roy pour son esbatement, par Jacquemin Gringonneur.' This idea is now abandoned; there is ample evidence that cards, in some form, were known and used in Spain, Italy, and Provence, long before they reached northern France. As early as 1332, the initiates of a Spanish order of chivalry, *L'Ordre de la Bande*, founded by Alfonso XI. of Castile, were by the statutes of the order forbidden to play at cards. Le Sage says that, in the time of Charles V. of France, St. Bernard of Sienna ordered packs of cards, called *Triomphales*, to be burned.¹ Charles V. himself proscribed them by an edict of 1369. The chronicle of Giovanni Morelli speaks of them as being used at Milan, by one of the Visconti, in 1392, under the name of *naibes* or *naïpes*.² Some think that cards were first brought to Florence and Venice by emigrant Greeks from Constantinople; that they passed thence into Spain, and so to France. Court de Gebelin suggests that the book of the tarot was communicated by the Arabs to the Spaniards, and carried by the soldiers of Charles V. into Germany.

Nothing in this gives us any clue so far to the secret of the origin and meaning of the tarots. Were these cards the origin

¹ Because they were used for divination? This would appear to be the only good ground for St. Bernard ordering their destruction. It seems almost certain that cards, like knuckle bones, were used for divination before becoming playthings. Merlin (*Origines des Cartes à Jouer*) has disputed the accuracy of many of these early references; but his grounds for objection seem insufficient. As a means of divination the cards would be kept strictly secret to avoid the spiritual arm of the Church: this would account for the lack of earlier reference to them.

² By this last name cards are still known in Spain; in England they were also at one time called *napes*, and from this arises our word *jack-a-napes*. The origin and meaning of this word *naibes*, or *naïpes*, has been explained in various ways. Antonio Magus, in *L'Art de Tirer les Cartes*, says that it means simply 'the children's game'; Court de Gebelin gives the word as a proof of their Oriental origin, saying that it comes from the Oriental word (he does not say what language) *nap*, 'to take,' 'to hold'; Vaillant, in *Les Romes*, says that the *naïbi* are 'sibyls,' or 'pythonesses,' and that the cards are the prophetic signs and revealing words of the *naiba*, or 'devil,' who for the Roms is the greatest of the *nabi* or 'prophets.' The Castilian dictionary of 1734 says that the *naïpes* were invented by one Nicolao Pepin. The most probable derivation will be found later.

of the modern playing-cards? or are they a later development of the simpler packs? As regards this point, I think that an examination of the tarot pack itself must leave the conviction that the symbols on the cards themselves show them to be the earlier in date. What is the meaning of the name 'Tarot'? Every authority seems to give a different interpretation. Court de Gebelin (vol. viii. p. 380) says that it is pure Egyptian, composed of the words *tar*, signifying 'road,' and *ro, ros, or rog*, signifying 'royal,' since it shows the *royal road of life*. I leave it to Egyptologists to examine into the correctness of this explanation. On page 395, in a dissertation on *Le Livre de Thot* (a name also given to the tarot pack by those who uphold its Egyptian origin) by M. le C. de M——, it is said: 'This book seems to have been named *A-Rosh*; from *A*, "learning," "knowledge," and *Rosch* (the Egyptian name of Mercury), which joined to the article *T*, means "pictures of the doctrine of Mercury"; but since *Rosh* means also "beginning," this word *Ta-rosh* was specially consecrated to the cosmogony of Thot.'

J. A. Vaillant (*Les Romes*, p. 412) says that it is a deduction from the starry book of Enoch; that it is modelled on the astral wheel of *Athor*, who is *As-taroth*; that, like the *ot-tara* or *arc-tura*, it is the central support of all earth and sky. Previously, on page 279, he has said: 'The reason they respect this sign [that of the cross] so much is that for them it is the expression of the four luminous rays (*i.e.* the solstices and the equinoxes) of that celestial wheel, the *rota* or *taro* of *Athor*, about which turn the twelve months of the moon and of the sun, whose zodiacal houses measure the years of centuries and the centuries of eternity.' It should be noted that all the leading exponents of the tarot assert that it must be considered as a mode of applied astrology, as well as of the applied Qabala. On page 110, Vaillant says: '*As-taroth* is nothing else than the Indo-Tartar *tan-tara*, the *tarot* of the Roms, the zodiac.'

S. L. Macgregor Mathers, in his little book *The Tarot*, says: 'My derivation of the word, which I have never found given in any author, is from the ancient hieroglyphical Egyptian word *târu*, "to require an answer," "to consult," hence, "that which is consulted," or "from which an answer is required." This appears to me to be the correct origin of the word, while the second *t* is an Egyptian hieroglyphic final, which is added to denote the feminine gender. The following are interesting metatheses of the letters of *Taro*:

Tora (Hebrew) = "law"; *Troa* (Hebrew) = "gate"; *Rota* (Latin) = "wheel"; *Orat* (Latin) = "it speaks," "argues," or "entreats"; *Taur* (Egyptian) = "Taur, the goddess of darkness"; *Ator* (Egyptian) = "Athor, the Egyptian Venus." In this he follows Eliphas Lévi.¹

How these cards, if really of Eastern origin, came into Europe is a great source of speculation. One theory is that they were brought by the Arabs to Sicily, and thus passed into Italy; the Arabs again may have brought them to Spain. Antonio Magus, in his *Art de Tirer les Cartes*, mentioning the theory that they were brought to Florence and Venice by emigrant Greeks from Constantinople, says that, if this were so, the Greeks apparently lost some on the way, 'since the Italian pack consisted of only fifty cards divided into five series.' Here he is in error. Merlin (*Origines des Cartes à Jouer*. Paris, 1869) has shown that there are three so-called tarot packs, the earliest known, called the *Minchiate* pack, consisting of ninety cards (forty of which are tarots); the others consisting of seventy-eight and fifty cards respectively.

Who first ascribed the introduction of tarots into Europe to the Gypsies I do not know. One finds the fact constantly asserted by various writers, but with no hints for the grounds for such a belief. Merlin quotes Breitkopf (*Versuch den Ursprung der Spielkarten zu Erfrischen*, 1784) as stating that the Gypsies got them from the Arabs. He scouts this idea simply on the ground that cards were known long before 1417, the accepted date for the first appearance of Gypsies in Europe. It being now well established that this date can only apply to the first appearance of wandering bands in Central Europe, and that the Gypsies were established in South-eastern Europe long before this date, his objection to the theory falls to the ground. Many writers state that G. Postel, author of *Abconditorum Clavis* and many other works, who wrote during the sixteenth century, refers to the tarots as having been found in use during his journeys in the East. I have carefully searched a number of his works, but can find no such reference. On page 113 of his book *Des Histoires Orientales* (1575) he says that dice and cards are forbidden by the Koran; and perhaps cap. xv. of *Abconditorum Clavis* may be twisted into a veiled allusion to the tarots. Colocci (*Gli Zingari*, p. 72 note) says that the Gypsies claim a very ancient acquaintance

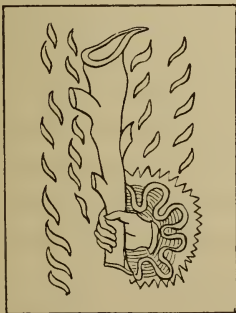
¹ All these derivations seem to me forced and improbable. The true derivation, in my opinion, is as given later.

with playing-cards, and gives the names of the suits as *rup*, *pohara*, *spathis*, and *pal*. In this he follows Vaillant, who first gives these names. Court de Gebelin (p. 366) speaks of the Gypsies as being really Egyptians, and as having retained the Egyptian mode of divination by cards. Vaillant is the first writer I can find who definitely connects them with the Gypsies. In *Les Romes* (p. 412) he speaks of seeing a pack in the hands of some wandering Gypsies near Rustschuk. His explanation of them, which is thoroughly in accordance with, and based upon, his curious theory of the origin of the Gypsies, would be unintelligible without some knowledge of the cards themselves; and the same may be said of the other explanations which will be given hereafter.

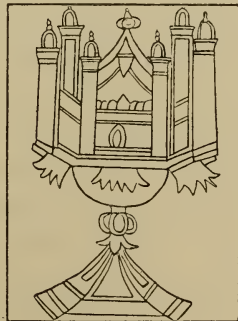
The tarot pack most in use consists of seventy-eight cards, of which twenty-two are more properly known as the *tarots*, and are considered as the 'keys' of the tarot; these correspond with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, or, according to Falconnier and to Margiotta, with the 'alphabet of the Magi,' of which the letters will be given hereafter.

The suits are four: *wands*, *sceptres*, or *clubs*, answering to diamonds; *cups*, *chalices*, or *goblets*, answering to hearts; *swords*, answering to spades; *money*, *circles*, or *pentacles*, answering to clubs. Each suit consists of fourteen cards, the ace, and nine others, and four court cards, king, queen, *knight*, and knave. The four aces form the keys of their respective suits, and are represented as follows:—

The ace of sceptres, or *clubs*, recalls the club of Hercules, or Aaron's rod that budded. It is a knotted club, surrounded by detached leaves, shaped like the Hebrew letter *yod*. It represents, say the Qabalist interpreters, almighty strength within the cube of the universe; active force.



Ace Clubs



Ace Cups

The ace of cups, which in the illustration given by Court de Gebelin is shaped like a castle, a form often given to large silver vessels, is the symbol of passive power which receives and modifies.

The ace of swords is a sword surmounted by a crown, from which depend on either side an olive and a palm branch, symbolic of mercy and severity, and surrounded by *yods*. It represents that justice which maintains the world in order, the equilibrium of mercy and severity.¹



Ace Swords



Ace Coins

The ace of coins is shown in Court de Gebelin as a coin charged with a flower, having behind it four curved branches somewhat of a lotus pattern. As the ace of pentacles it has, of course, that shape. It represents the great whole of the visible universe, the realisation of counterbalanced power.

Court de Gebelin states that names were, in his time, given by Spaniards to certain other of the cards, which names he takes as strongly confirming the theory of their Egyptian origin: The three of coins, called *the Lord*, or Osiris. The three of cups, called *the Queen*, or Isis. The two of cups, *the Cow*, or Apis. The nine of coins, *Mercury*. The ace of clubs, *the Serpent*. The ace of coins, *the One-eyed*, or Apollo.

The following description of the deuce of each suit is taken from Mathers' book on the tarot; it must be noted that it will not apply to all tarot packs, since they vary very much in design: 'We shall also notice that the deuces have peculiarities of their own, which distinguish them from the rest of the suit. The deuce of sceptres forms a cross with two roses and two lilies in the opposite angles; the cross between the Rose of Sharon and the Lily of the Valley. The deuce of cups shows a tessellated pavement or cloth whereon the cups stand; between them is a species of caduceus, whose serpents are replaced by lion-headed foliations, which recall the chnuphis serpent of the Gnostics. . . . The deuce of

¹ This symbol is obviously phallic; it is the *lingam*, the point in the circle. Here it is worth noting that the sword and cup, the weapon that wounds and the cup that heals, appear in the mysteries of all nations, and are perpetuated in the Graal story. The Ark of Isis, and the Ark of the Israelites enclosed the same symbols, the rod or creative power, and the basket or pot of manna, the receptive and reproductive power. In this key, as in the *lingam*, they are united.

swords forms a species of *Vesica Piscis* enclosing a mystic rose of the primary colours. The deuce of pentacles or coins is bound together by a continuous band in such a manner as to form a figure eight, and represents the one as being the reflection of the other, as the universe is that of the Divine Idea.'

The twenty-two keys consist of various emblematic figures asserted by Qabalistic writers to be hieroglyphic symbols of the occult meanings of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Some modern interpreters refer them, however, not to the Hebrew alphabet, but to the Qabalistic 'Alphabet des Mages,' of which the names are given below. Immense antiquity is claimed for these symbols. Alliette or Etteilla, a French mystic of the beginning of the nineteenth century, ascribed their origin to Hermes Trismegistus, under the name of *The Book of Thoth*, or *The Golden Book of Hermes*. In one of his tracts on the tarot he gives a representation of the mystical arrangement of these cards in the Temple of Ptah at Memphis, and says, 'upon a table or altar, at the height of the breast of the Egyptian magus (or hierophant) were on one side a book or assemblage of cards or plates of gold, the Tarot.' R. Falconnier (*Les XXII. Lames Hermétiques du Tarot*. Paris, 1896) says: 'On voit encore en partie des figures du tarot dans les ruines des temples de Thèbes, notamment sur un plafond astronomique d'une des salles hypostyles soutenue par 22 colonnes du palais de Medinet-Abou, et dans un calendrier sacré qui se trouve sculpté sur le paroi sud de ce monument sous Thot-Môsis III. de la xxiii. dynastie.' Court de Gebelin (p. 387) compares the pack as a whole with a Chinese monument, which they regard as an inscription bearing on the drying up of the waters of the deluge by Yao. It is composed of characters divided into compartments all of equal size, and exactly the same size as the tarot cards. These compartments are arranged in six perpendicular columns, the first five of fourteen compartments each, the sixth consisting of seven. These columns thus consist of seventy-seven figures, like the tarot, the first four representing the four suits of fourteen cards each, the other twenty-one compartments corresponding with the keys. It will be noticed that the numbers are given as seventy-seven and twenty-one, instead of seventy-eight and twenty-two: this is explained by the fact that 'the fool,' one of the keys, represents zero, and is not counted. Vaillant (p. 423) enlarges on this. Others have sought to identify the tarot with the sibylline leaves.

Authorities differ as to the names, figures, and meanings of the

keys: I give them for purposes of comparison in tabular form, as stated by Court de Gebelin, Vaillant, Margiotta, Mathers, and Falconnier.

KEYS OF THE TAROT¹

	C. de G.	Vaillant.	Margiotta.	Mathers.	Falconnier.	Hebrew Alphabet.	Alphabet des Mages.	Numerical Value.
1	Bateleur, or Pagad	Pagad, or Juggler	Initiate	Juggler	Magician	Aleph	Athoim	1
2	High-Priestess	Priestess	High-Priestess	High-Priestess, Female Pope	Sanctuary	Beth	Beinthin	2
3	Queen	Woman	Empress	Empress	Nature	Gimel	Gomor	3
4	King	Man	Emperor	Emperor	Conqueror	Daleth	Dinaim	4
5	High-Priest	Pries	Hierophant	Hierophant, or Pope	Hierophant	He	Eni	5
6	Marriage	Marriage	Lovers	Lovers	Trial	Vau	Ur	6
7	Osiris triumphant	—	Chariot	Chariot	Victory	Zain	Zain	7
8	Justice	—	Justice	Justice	Justice	Cheth	Heleta	8
9	Wise Man	Philosopher	Wisdom	Hermit	Sage	Teth	Thela	9
10	Wheel of Fortune	—	Wheel of Fortune	Wheel of Fortune	Sphinx	Yod	Joithi	10
11	Strength	—	Force	Strength	Strength	Kaph	Caïta	20
12	Prudence	—	Duty, Sacrifice	Hanged Man	Sacrifice	Lamed	Luzarn	30
13	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death	Mem	Mataloth	40
14	Temperance	—	Principle of Life	Temperance	Sun	Nun	Nain	50
15	Typhon	Typhon Ahriman	Typhon	Devil	Typhon	Samech	Xirou	60
16	Maison Dieu	Ruined Tower	Punishment of Pride	Lightning-struck Tower	Pyramid	Ayin	Olélath	70
17	Dog Star	Star	Star	Star	Star	Pe	Pilon	80
18	Moon	Moon	Moon	Moon	Love	Tzaddi	Tsadi	100
19	Sun	Sun	Sun	Sun	Awakening	Qoph	Quitolath	200
20	Last Judgment	Angel	End of all things	Last Judgment	Crown	Resh	Rosith	300
21	(o) Fool, or Mat	Fool	Blind Man	Fool	Atheist	Shin	Sieben	400
22	World	World	Supernatural Power	Universe	Night	Tau	Toth	0

It will be noticed that these lists do not altogether agree, either as to the names and meanings of the keys, or as to their numerical values. Vaillant does not give the figures or names of certain keys, and apparently had not seen them. In most of the series the *mat* or 'fool' is reckoned as zero; but Falconnier gives No. 22, or as he names it, 'night,' the zero value. Falconnier again

¹ The order given in the table and list does not correspond altogether with the numbering of the keys in the plate of reproductions from C. de G. He, rightly, as I think, gives no number to 'The Fool,' its numerical value being 0, and thus reduces the numbered keys to 21, finishing with 'The Universe.' I also believe that the numerical values (taken from Falconnier) which are given in the table are incorrect, owing to his having altered the order of some of the keys: 'The Fool' should be 0 and 'The Universe' 400. Margiotta numbers them *Tsadi*=90, and so on, giving *Sieben*, 'The Fool,' the value 300 instead of 0.

seems to have arbitrarily interchanged Nos. 19, 20, 22, so that it is difficult to see how they correspond. Falconnier is one of the modern French school of mystics, who, like their forerunner Cagliostro, refer everything to an Egyptian source: the tarots published by him are so altered, perhaps under the influence of the foreign rite of Mizraim and Memphis, as to have a distinctly Egyptian appearance.

Colocci (*Gli Zingari*, p. 72 note) mentions only sixteen keys: 'il Mondo, l'Angelo, il Sole, la Luna, la Stella, la Casa Divina, Tifone, la Morte, il Filosofo, il Matrimonio, il Papa, la Papessa, l'Uomo, la Donna, il Mago, e il Pazzo che conta zero.' This list corresponds almost exactly with that of Vaillant, but the latter gives in addition No. 16, 'The Lightning-struck Tower.'¹

Every writer gives a symbolical interpretation to these keys; but there is no unanimity as to the meaning, nor even as to the figures themselves. The illustrations given are a reproduction of the plates in Court de Gebelin's book. In the original two of them are wrongly numbered: 'The Wise Man' should be No. 9 instead of No. 8, and 'Temperance' should be No. 14 instead of No. 13. The description of the plates which follows is given with the variations made by different writers.

1.—THE JUGGLER.

C. de G. Can be recognised by his table covered with dice, cups, knives, etc.; by his Jacob's staff, or magician's wand.

Vaillant. The conjurer or magician, the source whence fortune springs.

Margiotta. An initiate standing robed in white, girt with a serpent which bites its own tail. He is crowned; his right hand bears a sceptre and is raised to heaven; the forefinger of the left hand points to earth.

Mathers describes it almost as *C. de G.* He says it means *Will*.

Falconnier has in this, as in all the other keys, given a pseudo-Egyptian air to the figures. His descriptions may be neglected.

2.—THE FEMALE POPE.

C. de G. The high-priestess is seated in a stall. She is robed in a long habit with a species of veil behind the head, which is brought in front and crossed. She has a double crown with two horns, like Isis; a book is open on her knees; two scarves, ornamented with crosses, are folded over her breast and form an X.

¹ A Turin pack sent to me by the Marquis Colocci has the full complement of twenty-two keys; it is also interesting as retaining the name *Il bagatto* (pagad) for the Juggler (No. 1). It is, like most modern *tarocchi* packs, double-headed; much of the symbolism is thus lost. Through the kindness of my friend, Mr. E. Macbean, of Glasgow, I have been fortunate enough to obtain a single-headed French pack of the last century, printed at Schaffhausen. Twenty cards from this pack are reproduced in the frontispiece. The figures of the keys are practically identical with the forms given by Court de Gebelin.

Vaillant. The same description again identifies the figure with Isis.

Margiotta. A woman seated on the threshold of the temple of Isis between two columns, a red to the right, and a black to the left. Otherwise the description is the same.

Mathers. Description the same. Meaning : *Science, Knowledge.*

This figure is specially worthy of attention, since some have seen in it a reference to the legendary Pope Joan. (One would like to know the origin of the now obsolete game of that name, and whether it was originally a tarot game.)

Merlin ingeniously suggests that this figure really represents the Western beardless pope, while No. 5 represents the bearded Eastern patriarch. If this be so, it would point to the cards having originated in Eastern Europe ; certainly No. 5 bears the triple patriarchal cross.

3.—THE QUEEN, OR EMPRESS.

C. de G. A woman with a pointed crown seated in a high-backed throne ; an orbed sceptre in her right hand ; her left arm clasps a shield charged with an eagle.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta. A woman seated in the centre of a radiant sun ; she is crowned with twelve stars ; her feet rest on the moon. In her right hand she bears a sceptre surmounted by an orb ; an eagle is borne on her left hand.

Mathers. Description as by *C. de G.*, but he says that the breast of the eagle is charged with a cross. Meaning : *Action*, the result of science and will.

4.—THE KING, OR EMPEROR.

C. de G. A man with crossed legs in a shell-shaped chair ; crowned with a circlet surmounted by a cross ; he bears a sceptre surmounted by an orb. Against the chair leans a shield charged with an eagle.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta. A man with a helmet surmounted by a crown ; seated with crossed legs on a cubical stone ; a sceptre in his right hand.

Mathers. Much the same as *C. de G.*, save that he speaks of the man as leaning against the throne. Meaning : *Realisation.*

My friend, Mr. R. Nisbet Bain, of the British Museum, a leading authority on all matters relating to the history of Russia, has pointed out to me the curious fact that in the illustration given by *C. de G.*, the crown is the ancient head-dress borne by the Czars before they adopted the imperial insignia of Byzantium ; while the eagle with which the shields are charged, both in No. 3 and No. 4, is the white eagle of Poland. This seems to lend support to the suggestion of Merlin on No. 2.

5.—THE HIEROPHANT, OR POPE.

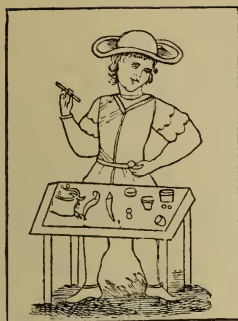
C. de G. The high-priest is in a long robe with a great mantle fastened by a clasp ; he has the triple tiara. One hand rests on a sceptre with a triple cross ; with the other he gives with two outstretched fingers the benediction to two kneeling persons.

Vaillant. The priest is crowned with the triple tiara, symbol of the three eternal *tot* of Moses. He leans on a sceptre with the triple *tau* ; and, three fingers closed, he blesses with the two others two kneeling children.

Margiotta. The grand-master seated between the two columns of the temple ; he leans on a triple cross. Two men are kneeling at his feet. On his breast he makes with his forefinger the mysterious sign of silence.

Mathers follows *Margiotta*. Meaning : *Mercy and Beneficence.*

TAROT KEYS



1. The Juggler



2. The Female Pope



3. The Queen



4. The King



5. The Pope



6. Marriage



7. Osiris Triumphant



8. Justice



9. The Philosopher



10. The Wheel of Fortune



11. Strength



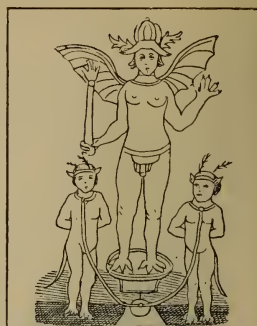
12. Prudence



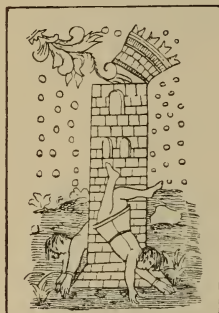
13. Death



14. Temperance



15. The Devil



16. Lightning-struck Tower



17. The Star



18. The Moon



19. The Sun



20. Last Judgment



21. The Universe



The Fool¹

Reduced from plates in Court de Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*, Huitième Livraison, Paris, 1781, 4to.

¹ See footnote on order of Keys, p. 22.

6.—MARRIAGE, OR THE LOVERS.

C. de G. A young man and a young woman are plighting their troth ; a priest blesses them, Love pierces them with his darts.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta. A man motionless at cross-roads ; he gazes at the earth, his arms crossed. A woman on each side of him, each with a hand on one of his shoulders ; each woman points to one of the two roads. The woman on the right has a crown of gold ; she on the left a crown of reeds. Above, the genius of justice menaces with his dart the woman on the left.

Mathers. As Margiotta. Meaning : *Proof* or *Trial*.

7.—THE CHARIOT, OR OSIRIS TRIUMPHANT.

C. de G. Osiris advances like a triumphant king, sceptre in hand, crown on head ; he is in his war-chariot, drawn by two white horses.

Vaillant. Not described.

Margiotta. A war-chariot surmounted by a daïs supported by four columns. In the car a conqueror, armed with a sword, bearing a sceptre ; he wears a gold crown with three stars of five points. Above the car, a globe sustained by two spread wings. The car is drawn by two sphinxes, one black, one white.

Mathers. As Margiotta. Meaning : *Victory*.

8.—JUSTICE.

C. de G. The Queen, Astréa, seated on a throne, bearing in one hand a balance, in the other a dagger.

Vaillant. Not described.

Margiotta. As *C. de G.*

Mathers. As above, but the woman seated between two columns. Meaning : *Equilibrium*.

9.—THE HERMIT, OR PHILOSOPHER.

C. de G. An aged philosopher, in long-hooded mantle, leaning on a stick and bearing a lantern.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta. The same.

Mathers. The same. Meaning : *Prudence*.

10.—THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

C. de G. Human beings under the form of apes, dogs, rabbits, etc., are raised in turn on the wheel.

Vaillant. Not described.

Margiotta. A wheel between two columns. A sphinx in equilibrium on the wheel holds in its lion's claws a sword. On the right Hermanubis, genius of good, strives to mount on the wheel ; on the left Typhon, genius of ill, is cast headlong from it.

Mathers. Much as Margiotta. Meaning : *Fortune*.

11.—STRENGTH—FORCE.

C. de G. A woman overcoming a lion and forcing open its mouth.

Vaillant. Not described.

Margiotta and *Mathers.* As *C. de G.* Meaning : *Strength*.

12.—THE HANGED MAN.

C. de G., noting that the ordinary representation is that of a man hanged by one foot, but maintaining that this card ought to represent *Prudence*, inverts the usual design, and describes it as a man who, having one foot placed securely, advances the other in search of a firm footing.

Vaillant. Not described.

Margiotta. A man hung by one foot to a beam supported by two trees, each with six lopped branches. The arms of the hanged man are bound behind his back, and the bend of his arms forms the base of an inverted triangle of which his head is the apex.

Mathers. As Margiotta, but the legs of the hanged man form a cross above the triangle. Meaning : *Sacrifice*.¹

13.—DEATH.

C. de G. Death with his scythe mows down humanity, kings and queens, great and small ; nothing resists his murderous scythe.

Vaillant. Death, the end of the days of annual time, and the end of the days of the life of man. This number is unlucky because, being that of the thirteen revolutions of the moon, necessary to the solar year of 365 days, it announces that the year is dead.

Margiotta. A skeleton in a field, from which on every side protrude hands and feet. Everything dies, everything is reborn.

Mathers. The same. Meaning : *Transformation* or *Change*.

Here we see the idea of fatality, or misfortune, marked by the number thirteen. Is the idea earlier than the tarots, or is it derived from them ? Court de Gebelin suggests that in very ancient times some great misfortune must have happened on this day, and that its memory has influenced all ancient nations.

14.—TEMPERANCE—THE PRINCIPLE OF LIFE.

C. de G. A winged female pouring water from one vase to another.

Vaillant. No description.

Margiotta. The genius of the sun pouring the principle of life from one urn to another.

Mathers. An angel with the sign of the sun on her brow pouring liquid from one vessel to another. Meaning : *Combination*.

15.—TYPHON—THE DEVIL.

C. de G. Typhon, brother of Osiris and Isis, the evil principle. He has bat's wings ; the feet and hands of a harpy ; on his head the horns of a stag. At his feet are two imps, with long ears and tails. Their hands are tied behind their backs ; cords are round their necks, by which they are bound to the pedestal on which stands Typhon.

Vaillant. Ahriman or Typhon, the evil principle, murderer of Osiris or Ormuzd. Description as given by C. de G.

Margiotta. Typhon, genius of catastrophes, who rises from an abyss shaking blazing torches over two men kneeling chained at his feet. Elsewhere he identifies this with the *Baphomet* of the Templars, which he says is an anagram of the Qabalistic *Tem ôph ab*.

Mathers describes as C. de G. Meaning : *Fatality*.

¹ The Paris pack, now unobtainable, preserves this form ; in the Schaffhausen pack, from which the frontispiece is taken, the *pendu* is suspended by both feet.

16.—THE LIGHTNING-STRUCK TOWER.

C. de G. A tower, called *Maison-Dieu* ; that is, *the house*. It is a tower filled with gold ; the castle of Plutus. It falls in ruins, and its worshippers are crushed under the fragments.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta. A lightning-struck tower, from which are hurled two men, one crowned, one without a crown.

Mathers. As Margiotta. Meaning : *Ruin, Disruption.*

17.—THE STAR.

C. de G. A blazing star, round which are seven smaller ones. In the lower part of the picture is a woman kneeling on one knee, who holds two upturned vases from which flow two rivers. By her side is a butterfly on a flower. This is Sirius, the dog-star, at whose rising begins the Nile inundation.

Vaillant describes and explains it much as *C. de G.*

Margiotta and *Mathers.* The same. Meaning : *Hope.*

18.—THE MOON.

C. de G. In the lowest part of the picture is a crab, either to show the retrograde motion of the moon, or to show that it is at the moment when the sun and the moon leave the sign Cancer that the Nile inundation begins. The centre is occupied by two towers, one on each side, to denote the pillars of Hercules, beyond which these two great luminaries never pass. Between the towers are two dogs which seem to bay the moon. Above all, the moon, from which fall drops (the Tears of Isis, which cause the rise of the Nile).

Vaillant. As *C. de G.*

Margiotta. A field. On high, the moon, half-veiled. A path flanked by two towers and two dogs, one of which bays the moon.

Mathers. Almost as Margiotta. Meaning : *Twilight, Deception, Error.*

Falconnier arbitrarily changes the order of this card, and makes it No. 22 of his set, giving it the value zero.

19.—THE SUN.

C. de G. The sun in splendour shining on two children ; from it fall tears of gold and pearls.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta and *Mathers.* The same. Meaning : *Earthly happiness.*

Falconnier makes this No. 18 of his series.

20.—THE LAST JUDGMENT.

C. de G. An angel sounding a trumpet. From the earth rise naked an old man, a woman, and a child.

Vaillant. The same. He says that the angel is the sun reviving nature.

Margiotta and *Mathers.* The same. Meaning : *Renewal, Result.*

Falconnier makes this No. 19 of his series.

21.—THE FOOL—THE BLIND MAN.

C. de G. calls this *zero*, it being so counted in the tarot. A fool with his bauble and hood hung with bells and cockle-shells. He is walking very fast to escape a tiger which gnaws him. He bears behind him a little sack.

Vaillant. The same.

Margiotta. A blind man, laden with a heavy wallet, stumbles against a broken obelisk which awaits him with open jaws.

Mathers. As C. de G. Meaning: *Folly, Expiation.*

This card has always been called the *Mat* (? *mato*, 'drunk'), a name which is taken as one proof of the Oriental origin of these cards.

22.—THE UNIVERSE—SUPERNATURAL POWER.

C. de G. calls this 'le tems.' A female figure, girt with a peplum which flies in the wind, is in the centre of a circle which represents the revolution of the seasons. She is fleeing like time. On the circle are four heads, representing the four seasons, the same which formed the heads of the cherubim: the eagle, representing spring; the lion, summer; the ox, autumn; the young man, winter.

Vaillant gives a representation of this, and gives the garland an oval shape: the world egg. The female bears in her hands two equal wands, symbols of the balance and equilibrium of time.

Margiotta, instead of the female figure, gives a star.

Mathers follows *Vaillant*. Meaning: *Completion, Reward.*

The illustrations of these figures are reproduced from Court de Gebelin, as also those of the four aces on pp. 19, 20.

SYMBOLISM OF THE TAROT

What is the symbolism of these cards, and in what order should they be read? Court de Gebelin and Falconnier, on the supposition that they are of Egyptian origin, would read them in the reverse way from that in which they are numbered, beginning with the Universe, No. 22. *Margiotta* and *Mathers*, on the other hand, read them in the order in which they are numbered. Court de Gebelin says that the tarot pack represents human society as a whole, while the twenty-two keys represent the ages of gold, silver, and iron. The four suits are the four classes into which society was divided among the Egyptians: *swords*, the sovereign and nobles; *cups*, the priests; *clubs*, the husbandmen; *coins*, commerce. As proof of its Eastern origin he cites the names *tarot*, *mat*, *pagad*, *naïbis*.

On pp. 391, 392, he quotes M. l'Abbé Rive as the authority for saying that in Provence the knaves were formerly called *Tuchim*: 'Ce mot désignait une race de voleurs qui, en 1361, avaient causé dans ce pays et dans le comtat venaissin, un ravage si horrible que les Papes furent obligés de faire prêcher une croisade pour les exterminer.' *Vaillant* (*Les Romes*, p. 426), commenting on this passage, says: 'Ces *tuchim* n'étaient assurément autres que des Romes, qui bateleurs et filous s'en allaient par le pays, tirant les sorts (*tuchai*), . . . car c'est encore de ce nom qu'ils appellent la

misère (*tucha*) dont le sort les a frappés et qui en fait des *tuchali*, des misérables.'

The division of the keys is given thus:—

Golden Age (keys 22-15). The Universe; the Creation of Man (wrongly named the Judgment); the Creation of the Sun; the Creation of the Moon; the Creation of the Stars; the Overthrow of the Maison-Dieu, representing the Fall; the Devil or Typhon, ending the Age of Gold.

Silver Age (keys 14-8). Temperance; Death; Accidents of Life; Strength; Fortune; the Searcher for Justice; Justice.

Iron Age (keys 7-1). War; Desire; Jove threatening the earth; the King; the Queen; Pride; Deception.

It will be noticed that the *Fool* is omitted from this list: since the value of this is zero it is neglected, thus reducing the number of cards to seventy-seven.

Court de Gebelin pursues this line of explanation by referring to the Spanish game of *Hombre* or *Ombre*, 'the game of man,' and *Quadrille*, a modification of *Hombre*. In these games the suits are named as in the tarot pack, *Spadille*, *Baste*, *Copa*, *Dinero*.

Vaillant looks on the tarots as being astronomical, or rather astrological. His theory of their origin is very curious. As I have before said, he is the first author I have found who gives definite reasons for associating these cards with the Gypsies. His theory, shortly, is as follows:—

The Gypsies spring from three original stems, *Zath*, *Bodhas* and *Meydes* (pronounced also *Mend*, *Mekd*, and *Megd*). The *Bodhas* or *Boutains*, worshippers and cultivators of the earth (*Bhu* or *Ebhu*), were the first labourers and soon became the first *Puthi*, 'thinkers,' 'calculators of time,' the first astronomers. The *Meydes*, adorers of the magician Medea, the Triple Hecate, who is the moon, were the first to dig mines, and were the first whose intelligence penetrated even to the bowels of the earth. These afterwards became the first physicians. The *Zath*, worshippers of the sun under his name of *Pal* or *Bal*, and the first-born of the sons of men, fed the flocks which they had tamed.

He identifies these three races with Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and continues: 'Being unable to find the origin of the birth of man, after it had slept through an incalculable lapse of time, and perceiving the necessity of a first cause, the *Zath*, the *Meydes*, and the *Bodhas* sought it from their own intelligence; and their intelligence rising to the *Arc* of the sky, abode of the *arcana* or *arcs* of the zodiacal ring, since become the mysteries, they erected this into a First Cause, composed of it their *arches*, made of it a ship, an *argo*.' Proceeding

in this strain Vaillant refers all early myths to natural phenomena. The first ten kings or patriarchs are the elements of the world : night and day, fire and light, the moon and the sun, the sky and air, water and the sea. 'For them the moon and the sun were turn by turn the raven and the dove, the vulture and the eagle, the king and the prophet, who in turns rise and fall, disappear and die in the sea of the skies, to rise and live again there, to sink and die again there.

'The four points of the solstices and of the equinoxes were the four principal heavenly messengers, the four great arms of the luminous cross of the sky, which the sun bears eternally on his back around the earth. The four seasons were the four great books of Brahma and of Hermes, the four great voices or oracles of God, the four great angels or messengers, the four great prophets or evangelists. The twelve months which by sets of three fill these four great times were the twelve lesser books of God, the twelve oxen or bulls of the night and the day, which upbear alike the ocean of time and the brazen sea of Solomon's Temple; the twelve tables of the law of Moses and of Romulus, wherein are written the ten commandments of *Manu*, god of Buddha, or of *Manoel*, god of David; the twelve sons of Jacob, and the twelve apostles.

'When, by the aid of *Rama*, the sun, and of *Čandra*, the moon, they were assured of the correctness of their observations, they made of it a science, astronomy, which they named from these two stars *Rama-Čandra* or *Čandrama*, prepared its *Mantara* or formulæ, which they engraved upon a table of squared stone, the *Rasāi-sita*, and, the *Mandala* or circle being traced, and the *Tan-tara* or zodiac being composed, the world was completed, and the ages began.'

Vaillant pursues this same strain through the whole of his work, referring the religions of all nations to the primitive worship of physical phenomena originating with the Romes, this mixture of Zath, Bodha, and Meyde. On page 113 he begins to expound his theory of the tarots which he had seen in the hands of the wife of Stancio, one of a band of Gypsies whom he had met near Rustschuk. He says: 'From all that has gone before, we have sufficiently shown that it is a deduction from the sidereal book of *Henoch* (ursa major); that it is modelled upon the astral wheel of *Athor*, who is *As-taroth*; that, like the Indian *ot-tara*, bear of the pole or *arc-tura* of the north, it is the supreme force

(*tarie*) upon which are supported the mass of the world and the sidereal firmament of the earth,' etc., etc.

'It is, in fact, founded upon the numbers 1 to 70, and upon the three principal numbers 3, 4, and 7. It has four colours equivalent to the four aspects of the seasons; each colour has twice seven cards equivalent to the days and nights of the week. It has nine cards of *pohara* or cups plus one ace; nine cards of *spathis* or swords plus one ace; nine cards of clubs, *pal* or spikes, plus one ace; nine cards of coins plus one ace. The nine cards and the nine of each colour represent the nine months of gestation, astral and human. The nine cards plus the ace of each colour represent the *décan* or decade of the month, and these nine cards multiplied by the four aces equal the thirty-six decades of the year.

'The cups represent the arcs or arches of time, the vases or vessels of the sky. The coins represent the stars. The swords represent fire, flames, rays. The clubs represent shadows, stones, trees, plants. The ace of cups is the vase of the universe, the arch of truth in the sky, the source of knowledge of the earth. The ace of coins is the sun, the single eye of the world, nourishment and element of life. The ace of swords is the lance of Mars, source of wars, of misfortunes, of victories. The ace of clubs is the eye of the serpent, the crook of the shepherd, the goad of the oxherd, the club of Hercules, the emblem of agriculture. The two of cups is the cow *Io* or *Isis*, and the bull *Apis* or *Mnevis*. The three of cups is *Isis*, the moon. The three of coins is *Osiris*, the sun. The nine of coins is the messenger *Mercury* or *Gabriel*. The nine of cups is the gestation of human life, and of fortune. There are four kings, the suns of the four seasons; four queens, the moons of the four seasons; four messengers, or footmen, the four points of the horizon; four knights, ambassadors, or archangels, the four winds.'

The explanations given above have been based on the idea that the tarots are emblematic of social order, or of the plan of the universe. Later commentators have given them a more mystic tendency. J. G. Bourgeat (*Magie*. Paris, 1895) says that in it are found the symbolic forms of the sphinx. *Clubs*, the claws, signifying *Fire*. *Cups*, the breasts, *Water*. *Swords*, the body of a bull, *Earth*. *Coins*, the wings, *Air*.¹ There is also found the mysterious name *Yod-hé-vau-hé*. The king, the active principle, *Yod*. The queen, the passive principle, *Hé*. The knight, neuter principle, *Vau*. The knave, principle of transition, *Hé*.

¹ See also the symbol of the Sphinx on Key 22—The Universe.

Margiotta (*Le Palladisme*. Grenoble, 1895), in a violent attack on Freemasonry, especially on the Memphis-Mizraim rite, gives to these keys the most sinister significations in connection with devil-worship and black magic. Curiously enough, he does not mention the cards themselves, but gives the figure of the keys as being those of the *Alphabet des Mages*. His reading runs as follows: '*Human Will* enlightened by *Science* and manifested by *Action* creates *Realisation*, with a power which it uses or abuses according to its *Inspiration*. *The Trial* surmounted, it carries off *Victory*, establishing its *Equilibrium* on the basis of *Prudence*, and mastering the vagaries of *Fortune*. The *Strength* of man, purified by *Sacrifice* and by its *Mortal Transformation*, opposes the reality of immortal *Initiative* to the deceptions of *Fatalism*. Beyond all *Destruction* or *Deception*, *Hope* reappears. The *Sun of Happiness* rises for man after the *Renewal of his Existence*. Those who wish to escape from *Expiation* ought to rise above their lower instincts, and will receive as their reward a share of *Divine Power*.'

Mathers gives much the same reading, but in no way identifies the cards with black magic.

Jules Bois (*Le Satanisme et la Magie*) gives a theory with which I have not met elsewhere. Starting with the belief, which is no doubt well based, that at least some portion of the sect of the Albigenes held the doctrines of the most extreme of the early Gnostic heretics, the Nicolaitans, the Carpocrates, the Caïnists, the Adamists, the Manichæans, etc., and were allied to the Bogomiles, the Kathari, and the Paterini, he looks upon these cards as being a sort of secret tokens, brought to the Western Gnostics from their Eastern allies, and brought by Gypsies. He may have been led to this belief by the long-standing confusion between the Ἀποκρυφικοὶ and the Ἀθίγγανοι (see Groome's *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, xxii, xxiii), but it is curious that many of the Gypsy legends show that they must have been in contact with people among whom the Gnostic apocryphal gospels and other Gnostic traditions were current. I have been examining the drawings given at the end of Elysseeff's description of Kounavine's alleged discoveries; these are called 'Kabalistic signs of the Gypsies.' Without any great stretch of imagination one may see in them distortions of some of the keys of the tarot.

The sect, under its secret name of 'Beatrice' or 'La Bice,' had its password *Atri* ('lettres combinées, initiales d'une formule

demeurée encore dans les traditions populaires du Midi dont la clef reste à découvrir : *Arrego Lucembourg, Templaro, Romana, Imperaton*. J'y distingue, mais bien faiblement, le navire Argo, le Temple, et peut-être Henri VII., mais qui exactement saura ? — Jules Bois, p. 17). He continues : 'Ne reconnaissez-vous pas dans le Chariot le char des Bohémiens, dans l'Ermite le vieux de la Montagne, dans le Diable le Baphomet, dans l'Amoureux le charme aveugle que sait diriger le sorcier vers le cœur rebelle, dans le Feu du Ciel la fatalité frappant le Temple qui se venge en écrasant sous ses ruines le Pape et le Roi ? Henri VII., le patron de la secte, celui qui assiégea Rome et qu'une hostie orthodoxe empoisonna, c'est l'Empereur du tarot ayant à ses pieds l'aigle,¹ attribut héraldique, oiseau de Saint Jean, le patron des Templiers. L'Impératrice c'est la Secte elle-même, La Bice, l'épouse mystique de l'empereur Henri VII. Qui ne découvrirait dans la Papesse la Sublime Maîtresse du Feu et du Métal, la Duchesse d'Égypte ? Le Pape, c'est le pape d'Avignon, le bon pontife Albigeois, peut-être l'anti-pape Cadulus, l'auteur du célèbre grimoire signé Honorius. Quant à la lame, le Bateleur, mais il faudrait être aveugle pour ne pas y voir le Bohémien, lui-même.'

Here are a variety of theories which each one may consider, and adopt that which pleases him best. For the explanation of the meanings of the ordinary cards, when used for the purposes of divination, I must refer inquirers to Mathers' little book on the subject.²

DIVINATION BY THE TAROT

Court de Gebelin (pp. 405-7) gives us an instance of the mode in which he assumes that the dream of Pharaoh was explained by means of the tarot. He also gives the mode of arranging an ordinary piquet pack for fortune-telling. The following method of using a full tarot pack is taken from Mathers : 'The full pack of 78 cards having been first duly shuffled and cut, deal the top card on a part of the table which we will call B, the second card on another place which we will call A. Then deal the third and fourth cards on B, and the fifth on A, and so on, dealing two cards to B and one to A till the pack is finished. A will then consist of 26 cards, and B of 52. Now take the B pack. Deal the top card on a fresh place D, and the second on another place C, third and

¹ The eagle represented in Court de Gebelin is not, however, heraldically a *German*, but a *Polish* eagle.

² To be obtained from Mr. Wooderson, 23 Oxford Street, London.

fourth on D, and fifth on C, and so on. There will now be three heaps—A, 26 cards; C, 17; D, 35.

‘Take up the heap D and deal the top card on a fresh spot F, second card on another spot E, and proceed as before. There will now be four heaps—A, 26 cards; C, 17; E, 11; F, 24.

‘Put F on one side altogether; it is not used in the reading. Take A and arrange the 26 cards face upwards from right to left, so that they come in the form of a horseshoe, the top card being at the lowest right-hand corner. Read their meaning from right to left. When this is done so as to make a connected answer, take the first and twenty-sixth and read their combined meaning, then the second and twenty-fifth, and so on. When finished put A on one side and take C, and read it exactly the same way; then E last.’

Modern tarot cards are very difficult to obtain, and the majority of them are so altered as to be unrecognisable. The German, Austrian, and Hungarian *Taroch* have substituted for the keys illustrations of everyday life.

At the Guildhall, in the library, are some very fine packs which, through the courtesy of the librarian, I have been able to examine. The Company of Card-makers, whose headquarters are at the Guildhall, have also recently had a valuable collection of playing-cards left to them, which will shortly be on exhibition. This collection contains some fine examples of tarots.¹

I have mentioned several times the words *naïbi*, *mat*, *pagad*; as also the names of the suits, *rup*, *pohara*, *spathis*, *pal*. The derivation of some of these words has been much disputed. For the following attempts at elucidating this point I am indebted to my brother, Colonel Ranking, now Professor of Persian at Oxford:—

Naïbi. Sanskrit *nabhi*, ‘a race,’ ‘family’ (suits?); or Arabic *nāib*, ‘taking turns’; or *nāibat*, ‘calamity.’ In old Persian of cuneiform time (say 500 B.C.) there is a word which *may* be the origin. It is *naiba*, meaning ‘pretty,’ ‘beautiful.’

Mat. Sanskrit *mad* or *madī*, ‘to be a fool.’

Pagad or *Bagad*. Hindi *bagdā*, ‘deceit.’²

Rup explains itself, ‘silver,’ ‘money.’

Spathi. Sanskrit, *sa-patri*, ‘with a leaf’ (blade).

¹ The pack from which twenty examples are given here is a Schaffhausen pack in my possession. The keys are much finer specimens than those of the Paris pack. This latter, however, retained for the ace of cups the form given by C. de G.

² The Turin pack retains this word *Bagatto*.

Pal. Sanskrit *pallav*, 'a twig bearing leaves.' The Spanish pack shows the ace of clubs as having leaves on it.

Pohara, Mr. Nisbet Bain tells me, is Hungarian for 'cups.'

As regards the word *tarot* itself, the derivations of Court de Gebelin, Vaillant, and Mathers are obviously worthless. In the *Czigány Nyelvtan* of the Archduke Josef I find *Tar*, as Hungarian Romani for *torok*, 'a pack of cards,' with derivation from Hindustani *taru*. This seems to settle the point.

In conclusion, I would submit that from internal evidence we may deduce that the tarots were introduced by a race speaking an Indian dialect; that the form of the Pope shows they had been long in a country where the orthodox Eastern Church predominated; and the form of head-dress of the king, together with the shape of the eagle on the shield, shows that this was governed by Russian Grand Dukes, who had not yet assumed the Imperial insignia. This seems to me confirmatory of the widespread belief that it is to the Gypsies we are indebted for our knowledge of playing-cards.

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO

- Court de Gebelin. *Monde Primitif*, vol. viii. Paris 1781.
 Vaillant. *Les Romes*. Paris, 1857.
 Margiotta. *Le Palladisme*. Grenoble, 1895.
 Mathers. *The Tarot*. London, 1888.
 Merlin. *Origines des Cartes à Jouer*. Paris, 1869.
 Jules Bois. *Le Satanisme et la Magie*. Paris, n.d.
 Falconnier. *Les XXII. Lames Hermétiques du Tarot*. Paris, 1896.
 De Vinne. *The Invention of Printing*.
 Magus. *L'Art de Tirer les Cartes*. Paris, 1895.
 Bourgeat. *Magie*. Paris, 1895.
 Decrespe. *La Main et ses Mystères*. Paris, n.d.
 W. W. Westcott. *The Magical Ritual of the Sanctum Regnum*. Translated from the French of Eliphas Lévi. London, 1896.
 The Marquis Colocci has also referred me to the work of René d'Allemagne, *Les Cartes à Jouer du XIV. au XX. Siècle*. This I have not been able to consult.

IV.—L'ÉTUDE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE DES TSIKANES

Par le DR. EUGÈNE PITTARD, privat docent à l'université de Genève,
 etc. etc.

L'ORIGINE des Tsiganes n'est pas encore connue d'une manière définitive. Plusieurs voies se présentent pour atteindre cette connaissance; en particulier les recherches linguistiques et les

recherches anthropologiques proprement dites. Sans connaître spécialement les premières de ces recherches, il semble apparaître, des nombreuses discussions et publications qui ont eu lieu, que les linguistes sont généralement d'accord pour accorder aux Tsiganes une origine indoue. Dans un des derniers travaux parus à ce sujet, un membre de cette Association même, M. le marquis Colocci, s'exprime ainsi : 'Donc, sans nous perdre dans des subtilités qui ne peuvent être discutées que par les orientalistes, ces études nous permettent de répondre à la question si difficile de l'origine des Bohémiens en prenant comme base *certaine* ce fait : que les Bohémiens ou Tsiganes SONT VENUS DE L'INDE.' Ces conclusions sont formulées après une longue analyse des recherches faites en divers pays par un grand nombre d'auteurs. Nous renvoyons les lecteurs à cette analyse.¹

Si les découvertes linguistiques aboutissent à ce résultat, en est-il de même des observations anthropologiques—nous entendons d'anthropologie physique ? Sans ambages, il faut répondre négativement.

Si le bilan des recherches historiques et linguistiques relatives aux Tsiganes est très considérable, il est loin d'en être de même pour les recherches d'anthropologie physique. Les documents somatiques sur les Tsiganes sont rares. Et ils sont imparfaits. Ils ont été obtenus à l'aide de séries trop petites : une vingtaine de crânes pour celles étudiée par Kopernicki ;² une cinquantaine d'hommes pour celle de Weisbach ;³ une soixantaine pour la série de Glück.⁴ Et seules la Roumanie, la Hongrie et la Bosnie-Herzégovine sont représentées. Quand on pense à l'aire de dispersion des Tsiganes, on avouera que ces documents ne sont pas considérables. Pour les Bohémiens vivant en dehors d'Europe, il faut citer surtout le travail de Petersen et Von Luschan sur les Tsiganes de Lycie.⁵

¹ Marquis Adrien Colocci, *L'origine des Bohémiens*, 1905, p. 22.

² Kopernicki, *Ueber den Bau der Zigeunerschädel* (*Arch. für Anthropologie*, 1872). Voir *Revue d'Anthrop.*, Paris, 1873.

³ Weisbach, *Die Zigeuner* (*Mitth., Soc. Anthropol.*, Vienne, 1889).

⁴ Glück, *Zur physischen Anthropologie der Zigeuner in Bosnien und der Hercegovina* (*Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, 1897).

On peut ajouter à ces travaux une étude de Abel Hovelacque sur quelques crânes de Tsiganes ; une de Von Steinberg sur 25 Tsiganes des Siebenbürgen ; l'examen par Blasio de quelques crânes de Tsiganes napolitains.

⁵ Eugen Petersen und Felix von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien und Kibyratis*, Vienne, 1889.

À ces documents restreints nous ajoutons ceux que nous avons réunis au cours de quatre campagnes scientifiques dans la Péninsule des Balkans, principalement dans la Dobrodja, ce territoire si intéressant au point de vue ethnique. Ces documents se composent de l'examen somatologique de 1300 Tsiganes des deux sexes. (Tsiganes roumains, Tsiganes turcs, Tsiganes bulgares, Tsiganes tatars, etc.) Malheureusement ces documents ne sont publiés qu'en très petite partie.¹

Que savons-nous encore aujourd'hui de la somatique des Tsiganes? Peu de choses. Nous possédons les chiffres de la taille et de l'indice céphalique de quelques petites séries. Les autres caractères nous sont à peu près inconnus. Il nous sera permis de dire que les deux ou trois publications que nous avons faites jusqu'à présent dépassent de beaucoup la somme des documents amassés par nos prédécesseurs, soit par le nombre des individus examinés, soit par le nombre des caractères somatologiques étudiés. Mais il nous faut aussi exprimer le regret d'avoir, malgré ça, si peu fait progresser la question des origines. C'est que nous n'avons pas encore eu le temps de mettre en œuvre la masse considérable de matériaux rassemblés. Espérons que nous pourrons le faire un jour.

Actuellement nous ne connaissons guère que la taille, quelques rapports de la longueur des membres, entre eux et comparés aux

¹ Eugène Pittard, *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Tsiganes dits roumains* (Bull. de la Soc. des Sc., Bucarest, et l'Anthropologie, Paris, 1902).

— *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Tsiganes turcomans* (Bull. Soc. des Sc., Bucarest, et l'Anthropologie, Paris, 1902).

— *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Tsiganes dits Bulgares de Dobrodja* (Bull. Soc. des Sc., Bucarest, 1904).

— *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Tsiganes tatars* (l'Anthropologie, Paris, 1904).

— *L'indice céphalique chez 837 Tsiganes masculins de la Péninsule des Balkans* (l'Anthropologie, Paris, 1904).

— *Ethnologie de la Péninsule des Balkans*, 1^{re} partie : Roumains, Tatars, Tsiganes (Mem. Soc. de Géogr., Genève, 1904).

— *L'indice céphalique chez les Tsiganes de la Péninsule des Balkans* (1261 individus des deux sexes) (Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., Lyon, 1904).

— *Influence de la taille sur l'indice céphalique dans un groupe ethnique relativement pur* (Bull. et Mem. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, 1905).

— *La couleur des yeux et des cheveux et la forme du nez chez 1270 Tsiganes de la Péninsule des Balkans* (Rev. École d'Anthrop., Paris, 1905).

— *Analyse de quelques grandeurs du corps chez l'homme et chez la femme* (Tsiganes) (C. R. Acad. des Sc., Paris, 1905 ; Arch. sc. phys. et nat., Genève, 1906 ; et Bull. Soc. des Sc., Bucarest, 1906).

deux segments principaux du corps (buste et jambes), l'indice céphalique, l'indice nasal.

Examinons rapidement quelques-uns de ces caractères :

La taille. La taille moyenne d'un groupe composé de 783 Tsiganes du sexe masculin est 1 m. 649. Ce chiffre est un peu moins élevé que celui indiqué pour quelques petites séries précédentes (1 m. 654 pour 61 Tsiganes de Hongrie; 1 m. 657 pour 31 Tsiganes de Crimée, et 1 m. 695 pour 41 Tsiganes de Bosnie).

Nous laissons ici de côté deux ou trois chiffres relatifs à la taille de quelques Tsiganes de l'Asie; ces séries sont trop peu nombreuses pour que ces chiffres aient une valeur suffisante.

Le seul chiffre que nous connaissons relatant la taille moyenne des femmes est celui que nous avons publié après la mensuration de 430 femmes.

La taille moyenne de celles-ci est 1 m. 532.

Il existe donc, à cet égard, une différence sexuelle de 0·11 centimètres au profit des hommes. C'est à peu près la différence sexuelle ordinaire pour les groupes humains de moyenne taille.

Indice céphalique.—Les chiffres publiés jusqu'à ce jour ne sont pas nombreux. Nous les résumons ici en un petit tableau :

	<i>Crâne.</i>	<i>Vivant.</i>
D'après <i>Crania ethnica</i> , . . .	77·90	79·90
35 Tsiganes de Hongrie, . . .	...	79·9
19 Tsiganes de Lycie, . . .	...	78·84
7 Crânes (Hovelacque), . . .	77·76	79·7
52 Tsiganes de Hongrie, . . .	...	79·7
25 „ des Siebenbürgen, . . .	...	80·1
28 „ noirs de Bosnie, . . .	...	76·9
13 „ blancs de Bosnie, . . .	...	82·12
5 Crânes de Naples, . . .	80·32	82·32
837 Tsiganes (hommes) de Dobrodja } (Pittard), }	...	78·25
424 Tsiganes (femmes) de Dobrodja } (Pittard), }	...	79·67

Sans entrer dans plus de détails on s'aperçoit tout de suite que ce sont les formes dolichocéphales qui sont l'apanage de la 'race' tsigane. Dans la grande série dont l'étude nous est personnelle, la proportion des dolichocéphales représente 71·19% tandis que celle des brachycéphales n'est que de 11·94%.

Les autres caractères somatologiques sont trop peu connus, non

plus d'ailleurs que les caractères simplement descriptifs, pour qu'il soit possible d'insister.

L'indice nasal des Tsiganes examinés par Glück en Bosnie-Herzégovine lui a donné comme chiffre moyen 64·6 pour les hommes.

La grande série que nous avons étudiée nous a fourni les proportions suivantes :

Leptorhiniens,	.	.	.	.	52·06%
Mesorhiniens,	.	.	.	.	44·31%
Platyrrhiniens,	.	.	.	.	3·48%

La couleur des yeux et des cheveux, la forme du nez, sont parmi les renseignements descriptifs, de bonnes indications. Les Tsiganes sont des individus fortement pigmentés. Dans la série provenant de la Bosnie-Herzégovine, étudiée par Glück, on ne trouve pas de cheveux de couleur claire. Le noir et le brun foncé dominent dans des proportions considérables, 97·5% chez les hommes et 96% chez les femmes.

La couleur des yeux présente déjà plus de variations. Les couleurs foncées (brun foncé ; brun clair et brun) ne représentent plus que le 75% de la série pour les hommes. Les femmes ont les yeux généralement plus fortement pigmentés. Les couleurs foncées chez elles sont dans la proportion de 96%.

Notre grande série qui compte ici 1270 individus des deux sexes —(840 hommes et 430 femmes)—a fourni les renseignements —suivants (nous simplifions) :

Couleur des cheveux :

	<i>Hommes.</i>	<i>Femmes.</i>
Couleurs foncées { noirs et bruns }	94%	88%

Les hommes ont une proportion de cheveux noirs très remarquable. Cette couleur est tellement intense chez beaucoup de sujets que les cheveux, pris en masse, ont des reflets bleuâtres comme en présentent les plumes des corbeaux et des pies. L'expression 'noir de corbeau' qu'on leur donne populairement est parfaitement juste. Les cheveux clairs sont très rares.

Comme forme, les cheveux des Tsiganes sont généralement droits.

Couleur des yeux :

Ici, également, la pigmentation foncée domine largement.

	<i>Hommes.</i>	<i>Femmes.</i>
Iris, de couleur foncée, . . .	86·6%	87·9%

On voit combien est faible le nombre des yeux gris et bleus.

Forme du nez :

Le nez des Tsiganes (nous parlons toujours des Tsiganes de la Péninsule des Balkans) est ordinairement droit—et droit avec tendance à la forme aquiline.

Voici approximativement à quoi se bornent les documents que nous possédons sur les Tsiganes. C'est déjà quelque chose, mais on voit que le bilan est encore bien incomplet.

Ces documents sont insuffisants à deux points de vue :

1. Leur quantité n'est pas assez considérable.
2. Ils ne sont obtenus que sur un *trop petit nombre de groupements tsiganes*.

Les linguistes et les historiens admettent volontiers que si les Tsiganes sont arrivés de l'Indoustan, ils n'ont pas tous suivi le même chemin de migration. Il faudrait donc pouvoir étudier les Tsiganes dans tous les lieux où ils existent ; puis comparer les caractères anthropologiques de ces divers groupes. Ce serait la première partie du travail.

Or, nous venons de voir que les documents somatologiques que nous possédons concernent les Tsiganes de la Péninsule de Balkans, ceux de Hongrie, de Bosnie-Herzégovine, de Crimée—les autres séries d'Europe sont trop petites pour pouvoir être comptées—et d'une ou deux localités en dehors de l'Europe.

Nous pensons que c'est seulement lorsque nous aurons par devers nous ces documents provenant de tous les lieux, ou de presque tous les lieux où existent de forts groupements de Tsiganes que la question de la parenté de cette 'race' bohémienne avec les Indous ou avec tel ou tel groupe hindou—(ce sera la seconde partie du travail) pourra être sérieusement discutée et définitivement résolue.

L'anthropologie de l'Indoustan commence à être esquissée. De nombreux documents ont été rassemblés notamment sur les populations qui nous intéressent le plus ici, à savoir celles du nord-ouest de ce vaste pays. Les travaux de Risley, Crooke, Drake-Brock, nous mettent en mains déjà des matériaux somatologiques. Mais leur comparaison avec ceux obtenus sur les Tsiganes n'a pas encore été faite—au moins d'une manière suffisante.

On a vu ci-dessus que les caractères somatologiques relevés sur les Tsiganes sont fort peu nombreux. Ils se bornent presque à la taille, à l'indice céphalique, à l'indice nasal.

Dans la grande étude que nous avons entreprise, nous avons pris sur chaque individu une trentaine de mesures et notations descriptives. Il est évident qu'on peut en prendre davantage, mais ceux qui ont voyagé dans les pays incivilisés ou peu civilisés savent que ce n'est pas toujours facile d'avoir des individus mesurables à sa disposition.

Et parmi ceux qui veulent bien se laisser mesurer, beaucoup n'ont aucune patience. Au bout de quelques minutes, ils s'esquivent, et il est impossible de les retrouver. C'est pourquoi il est difficile de multiplier les mensurations de même qu'il est difficile d'effectuer certaines mensurations. Nous pensons en ce moment-ci à la mesure de la taille préconisée par M. Papillault. Cet auteur prend la longueur de la taille des individus couchés. C'est sans doute meilleur au point de vue morphologique que de prendre la taille debout. Mais j'affirme que beaucoup d'individus n'accepteront jamais de se coucher pour être mesurés.

A propos de Tsiganes il y a toute une catégorie de mesures qu'il est nécessaire de prendre et que les observations que nous avons faites jusqu'à présent nous permettent de considérer comme importantes.

Nous signalons à cet égard, en plus des mesures que nous avons indiquées ci-dessus: la grandeur des extrémités distales—les mains et les pieds—et la grandeur des autres segments des membres.¹

A propos de la grandeur de la main, il est bon de rappeler la supposition émise par Bataillard, Gabriel de Mortillet, etc. Pour eux, l'introduction du bronze en Europe aurait eu lieu par les Tsiganes. Pour appuyer cette supposition, G. de Mortillet indiquait, entre autres faits, la petitesse remarquable de la poignée des armes de l'âge de bronze et aussi la petitesse des bracelets de cette époque. Sans discuter ces questions on voit qu'il serait intéressant de mesurer la grandeur de la main chez les Tsiganes.

Actuellement on ne possède, sous ce rapport, que des indications si faibles qu'elles sont presque inutilisables. Topinard mentionne bien, dans ses tableaux, la petitesse relative de la main chez les

¹ On trouvera quelques indications à cet égard dans un court mémoire que nous avons publié: *Analyse de quelques grandeurs du corps chez l'homme et chez la femme* (1210 Tsiganes) (*Arch. des sc. physiques et nat.*, Genève, 1906).

Tsiganes. Chez sept de ces individus le rapport de cette partie du corps à la taille est le plus petit qui ait été relevé dans les populations d'Europe. Mais ce chiffre de sept individus est si minime qu'il réclame d'être appuyé par de plus grands nombres.

En résumé je crois pouvoir dire que si nous commençons à posséder une certaine quantité de documents somatologiques sur les Tsiganes, il nous est encore impossible de comparer définitivement ces documents à ceux des Indous que l'on croit être les proches parents des Bohémiens.

Une double étude d'anthropologie physique s'impose : l'examen parallèle des mêmes caractères morphologiques chez les Tsiganes d'un côté, chez les populations du N-O de l'Indoustan de l'autre.

Si une recherche d'anthropologie ethnogénique mérite d'être entreprise, c'est bien celle qui se donnera pour but de connaître l'origine des Tsiganes. Aucune population peut-être n'a été l'objet d'autant d'études. De tous temps ce groupe humain mystérieux a attiré l'attention. La bibliographie qui le concerne est immense.

Dans les quatre campagnes scientifiques que nous avons faites dans la Péninsule des Balkans leur étude a été l'un de nos principaux objectifs. Et c'est pour nous une douloureuse obligation que de ne pouvoir mettre sur pied, faute de temps, l'important mémoire — important au point de vue de la masse des documents amassés — que nous leur destinons.

Ne se trouvera-t-il personne pour réaliser ce magnifique objectif scientifique : constituer une mission scientifique qui se donnera pour tâche de suivre de la Hongrie,¹ par exemple, à l'Indoustan, en passant par la Péninsule des Balkans et l'Asie antérieure tous les groupes Tsiganes qui parcourent ces régions ?

Il nous semble que, parmi les anthropologistes, il se trouve assez de jeunes hommes dont l'activité scientifique pourrait s'appliquer à résoudre le mystérieux problème.

J'ajoute qu'il ne faut pas trop tarder. Le mélange des Tsiganes avec d'autres groupes ethniques au milieu desquels ils vivent, est déjà commencé. On en a la conviction quand on examine les Tsiganes d'Europe (Hongrie, Roumanie, etc.). Du sang étranger est déjà entré dans les veines des divers groupes bohémiens. La

¹ Nous disons de la Hongrie parce que c'est un des pays de l'Europe dans lesquels les *vrais* Tsiganes sont encore nomades.

preuve en est manifeste quand on étudie l'indice céphalique des Tsiganes roumains. La beauté des femmes tsiganes n'a pas toujours laissé insensibles les hommes appartenant à d'autres populations. L'introduction d'un certain nombre de brachycéphales dans ce peuple, si généralement dolichocéphale, en a été le résultat—dans la Transylvanie et la Roumanie en particulier.

Plus les études que nous souhaitons seront rapidement entreprises, plus elles fourniront de documents relativement purs.

Il faut donc s'y mettre sans tarder.

V.—SOME RUMANIAN GYPSY WORDS

By A. BYHAN

DURING a stay at Jassy (pronounced Iaș or Ieș), capital of Moldavia, I found occasion to collect the following two hundred words from two Gypsies, the one a soldier condemned to the company of discipline stationed at Fălceștiu, and aged twenty-two years, the other a boy of thirteen years, residing at Trei Calici, a *mahalà* of Jassy beyond the Bahlui. I have had no opportunity of continuing this study, and it remains a fragment, probably involving, for want of verification, a number of mistakes with respect to sense, as well perhaps as in the spelling, for pronunciation depends on individual usage and, even with the same person, varies at different times. But notwithstanding, I venture to publish this modest vocabulary, seeing that the language of the Rumanian Gypsies is insufficiently known and has been but little studied scientifically; for by so doing I hope to attract attention to a dialect which presents a number of interesting linguistic problems, and deserves to be investigated by scholars in a better, completer, and more systematic manner.

Some of the symbols in the alphabet I have used need explanation:—

The signs in *ā*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, indicate nasalisation, as in the French *an*, *ain*, *on*, etc.

The signs in *ē* and *ø* indicate an open pronunciation, as in German *Männer*.

ô in the Romani words is a guttural, corresponding to the Rumanian *ă*, and equivalent to Bulgarian *o*, Albanese *ε*.

ʿ is the aspirate; equivalent to the German or English *h*.

χ is the guttural aspirate: the Slavic *h*, or the German *ch* in *acht*.

' indicates the palatalisation of the preceding consonant—*e.g.* *d'íru*, *doról'es*, *fušt'*, *en'á*, *m'ézos*.

The signs in *č*, *š*, and *ž* mark the sibilisation of these consonants: English *ch*, *sh*, and French *j*.

δ is the sibilant *d*, as in English *these*, Anglo-Saxon *ð*.

f, *v*, and *z* are pronounced as in English and French, and not as in German.

w is bilabial, as in English *how*, and almost equivalent to the short semi-vowel *u*.

ł is the Polish or Russian cerebral *l*.

ĩ is the semi-vowel *i*.

VOCABULARY

<i>āgrustí</i> , ring.	č'áŕ, girl, daughter.
'ak, pl. 'aká, eye.	čāk, thigh (?).
<i>amāró</i> , our.	čama'ul (?), chin.
<i>ārāró</i> , eyeball.	čár(ó), grass.
<i>avdín</i> , beer, honey.	č'awrú, boy: <i>paralía le č'aw-rustí</i> , 'the boy's hat'; <i>dui palavries de č'awrěki</i> , 'two boys' hats.'
<i>bába</i> , grandmother (Rumanian <i>baba</i> , id.).	čekát, forehead.
<i>bábus</i> , grandfather (instead of <i>papus</i> . By influence of <i>baba</i> , <i>bibi</i> , etc. ?).	čézme (pl. ?), boot (Rum. <i>cizmă</i> , pl. <i>cizme</i> , id.).
<i>baχt</i> , happiness, good luck.	čib, tongue, language.
<i>bał</i> , hair.	čor, robber.
<i>bešaw</i> , sit, stay (the latter sense by analogy to Rum. <i>a ședea</i> , id.).	č'or, beard on the chin.
<i>bestélka</i> , apron (Rum. <i>bestelcă</i> , id.).	čoráp, stocking (Rum. <i>čiorap</i> , id.).
<i>bibí</i> , paternal aunt.	<i>dad</i> , father: <i>mó dadeskoro ker</i> , 'my father's house.'
<i>biš</i> , twenty.	dáŕ, mother.
<i>bólfa</i> , tumour (Rum. <i>bolfă</i> , id.).	dant, tooth.
<i>breátka</i> , seat of trousers (cf. Albanian <i>breke</i> , id.).	<i>de</i> , the (art. sing. fem., and pl. both genders). See <i>e</i> , <i>o</i> .
<i>bukó</i> , lungs.	deš, ten.
<i>bukuría</i> , joy, mirth (Rum. <i>bucurie</i> , id.).	devél, palate (probably by influence of the Rumanian <i>cer</i> ,
<i>buł</i> , rump.	

- which means 'sky,' 'heaven,'
or 'palate').
d'i, bladder(?). [? heart.]
digné, little finger [= *tikno*,
little].
d'îu, wheat.
doba, drum (Rum. *dobă*, id.).
dorôl'es, probably identical with
the Rumanian *durorî*, 'pain,'
'ache.'
dôsu, back (Rum. *dos*, id.): o
dôsu le wastésku, 'back of the
hand.'
dow (fem.), two.
dúř (masc.), two.
duk, pain, ache.
dumúk, fist.

e, the (art. masc. and fem.).
eftá, seven.
en'á, nine.
estí, *estó*, I am. [? I can.]

falk, *fálkes*, jaw (Rum. *falcă*,
id.).
fuřt', petticoat (Rum. *fustă*, id.).

gad, shirt.
gaitán'es, braid, lace (Rum.
găitan, id.).
gimôrlí, knob, button, head of
pin (Rum. *gămălie*, id.).
gúler, collar (Rum. *guler*, id.).
gúša, goitre (Rum. *gușă*, id.).

haw, hole: *e haw le bul'édi*,
'anus.'

řabás, coat, jacket(?) (cf. Greek
řiakās, 'collar of a coat').
řek, one.
řiló, heart.

řak, uncle.
kaló, black, pupil of the eye.
káltsa, breeches (cf. Greek
κάλτσα, 'stocking').
kaltsún'e, stocking (Rum. *căltsun*,
id.).
kān, ear.
kar, membrum virile.
ke, at, on: *si tu guša ke men'*?
'Have you a goitre on the
neck?'
ker, house.
kéraw, *kéres*, make, do: *so kerés*,
'how do you do?'
kęř, knee: *e kęř le pirésti*, 'leg'
(see *koťí*).
kořág, button.
koináko: *o koináko le piréskoro*,
'ankle.'
kokáló, bone (Greek *κόκαλον*,
id.).
kolín, breast.
koltsún'. See *kaltsún'e*.
kordeáwô, band, string (Rum.
cordea-ua, id.).
kōrô, armlet, bracelet(?).
kosnó, kerchief.
koťí, rib (cf. Greek *κότζι*, 'little
bone,' and Rum. *coastă*,
'rib').
kóžô, crust (of bread) (Rum.
coajă, id.): *koža le marésti*,
'bread-crust.'
kukurúzi, maize (Rum., Bulg.,
Serb. *kukuruz*, id.).
kumnátus, brother-in-law (Rum.
cumnat, id.).
kun'í, elbow.
kustíg, girdle, belt.
kutsúlí, dirt, dung (Greek *κουτ-
ζούλια*, id.).

- lákoro*, her (pron. poss.).
lékoro, their (pron. poss.).
léskoro, his (pron. poss.).
lulud'é, *lulud'i*, flower (Greek *λουλοῦδι*, id.).
lumínô, light (Rum. *lumină*, id.): *o lumínô le okéngere*, 'sight.'
mái, still (adv.) (Rum. *mai*, id.).
mánuš, man.
manušél, sleeve (Rum. *mănușă*, glove).
mārô, bread.
mas, flesh.
maškár, middle of the body, waist.
me, *mi*, my (pron. poss. fem.).
men', neck, throat; *men'át*, 'at the neck.'
m'ézos, crumb (Rum. *miez*, id.).
míša, thousand.
minšákur, both (?) [a misunderstanding? Genitive of *minš*, = 'gallant'].
miriklé, pearl.
mĩš, vulva.
mô, my (pron. poss. masc.).
mol, wine.
mortí, skin.
múž, mouth.
musí, arm.
mustát', mustaches (Rum. *mustață*, id.).
nařá, finger, toe [plural]: *o nařá le pirésti*, 'toe-nail' [plural].
nařestukí, -*kó*, I thank [= *nař tuki*, thanks to thee].
nd'nôm tufôťése, I shoot, I fire, literally 'I gave with gun' (cf. Rum. *dădeam cu pușcă*).
o, the (art.).
oxtó, eight (Mod. Greek *ὀχτώ*, id.).
ovôzus, oats (Rum. *ovăz*, id.).
pa'áruš, glass (Rum. *pahar*, id.).
pálmô, palm of the hand (Rum. *palmă*, id.).
páltus, thumb (Bulg. *palec*, id.).
pán'i, water.
p'aparíe, jaw (?).
papúd'e, shoe (Greek *παπούτσι*, Turk. *papudž* and *papuč*, -*uš*, Serb., Bulg. *papuč*).
paralí(a), hat (Rum. *pălărie*, id.).
parnô, white, cornea (of eye).
păš, five.
patúm, foot.
peřínda, fifty (Greek *πενήντα*, id.).
p'en', sister: *e p'en' mre deiédi*, 'my mother's sister.'
píka, a little (Rum. *o pică*, id.).
p'iké, shoulder [plural].
p'ikó, arm [literally 'shoulder'].
pĩró, foot.
p'oxá, eyelash.
pən'. See *pan'i*.
por, umbilicus (?) [literally 'belly'].
poré, bowels, intestines.
postín, fur coat (cf. Rum. *postav* = cloth).
p'ral, brother: *o p'ral me bibi-áko*, 'my aunt's brother.'
prášaw, breast, chest [? mistake = 'I mock'].
púlpa, calf, flesh of the thighs (Rum. *pulpă*, id.).

rořorí, breast-bone, sternum *řoráw*, head.

[=literally 'little spoon']. *řow*, six.

romní, woman. *řtar*, four.

roúl'í, stick, staff.

sakára, rye (Rum. *săcară*, id.).

sálba, necklace made out of coins
(Rum. *salbă*, id.).

saránda, forty (Greek *σαράντα*,
id.).

sasév, I am healthy.

sastév, healthy.

sen'a, loins, reins.

si (with dative of personal pro-
noun), you, etc., have. Liter-
ally = 'is.'

sirím, girdle, belt (cf. Rum.
chimir, id.).

síta, sieve (Rum. *sită*, id.).

so, what (pron. interrog.).

soletókere, their (?) (pron. poss.).

sosten, drawers.

stíkla, bottle (Rum. *sticlă*, id.).

suw, needle.

sumen'ádi, shoulder (?).

řang. See *čák*.

řápka, cap (Rum. *șapcă*, id.).

řel, hundred.

řeró, head.

řóldus, hip, upper part of the
thigh (Rum. *șold*, id.).

řobdeřá, sixty.

tálpa le pirésti, sole of the foot
(Rum. *talpă*, id.).

tór'n'í, youth, young man (? cf.
Rum. *tănăr*, id.).

to, your, thy (pron. poss.).

trín, three.

triánda, thirty (Greek *τριάντα*).

trup, body (Rum. *trup*, id.).

ts'amtsál'e, eyebrow.

tserúl'a, sandal-shoe, gaiters
(Greek *τξερβούλια*, id.).

tu, thou, you.

tufót'i, gun (Greek *τουφέκι*,
Turkish *tüfe(n)k*, id.).

tumáro, your (pron. poss.).

únd'i, nail (of fingers and toes),
(Rum. *unghie*, id.).

'úrdor, child.

wast, hand.

žánô, eyelash (Rum. *gîană*, id.).

žá'ria, pubes.

zawólka, apron (Rum. *zavelcă*,
id.).

žen'ę, back (backbone?).

žíla, vein (Bulg., Serb. *žila*, id.).

NUMBERS

řek, one.

dúř (masc.), *dow* (fem.), two.

trín, three.

řtar, four.

páš, five.

řow, six.

eftá, seven.

oxtó, eight.

en'á, nine.

deř, ten.

děřuřěk, eleven.

děřudúř, twelve.

biř, twenty.

bířtařěk, twenty-one.

bīštadūř, twenty-two.

bīšten'ā, twenty-nine.

triānda, thirty.

triāndatařēk, thirty-one.

sarānda, forty.

peřīnda, fifty.

šóbdešā, sixty.

eftādešā, seventy.

oχtōdešā, eighty.

en'ādešā, ninety.

e šel, a hundred.

dūř šelā, two hundred.

řéχ mīřa, one thousand.

dūř mīře, two thousand.

VI.—TAW AND THE GOŽVALŌ GĀJŌ

By M. EILEEN LYSTER

SIANI WOOD was telling me in Welsh Romnimus of the rambling adventures of her youth.

'And ever after that,' she said, concluding the story of a certain fortune-telling episode, 'the place was haunted.'

'Who haunted it?' I asked.

'Well, no one rightly knew that. It might have been the serving-man or it might have been the old lady herself, but anyway it was a bad spirit, and the family had to leave the house, which fell all into ruins [*kāi sī sá talē*]. But the old gatekeeper and his wife lived on at the little lodge [*bita stigākō kēr*], and often in the night they would be awakened by a bellowing like ten thousand bulls. Then they would see a light come through the gate, it would stop there and laugh [*'čel odói tā sala sá parl ō fan*]. After that the ruined house would be all lit up, and as the light died away the great laughter would come again [*Dikéna palál bárō dud aré filišin, sau χevia dudyeréna 'prē, jal ō dud sá avrt, 'dói 'vela apápalē bárō saliben*].

'The people who lived about there [*gājē te jivénas odotár*] were afraid to go near the house, and the fields where we Gypsies used to play, where we found hedgehogs and killed rabbits [*l'atásas určī tā mārásas ī šošiá*], were all deserted. At last they sent for a wise man¹ to lay the ghost [*len ō gožvalō gājō te řivél ō mulō*

¹ *Gožvalō* means 'wise' or 'cunning.' Cp. the Eng. Gyp. *guzberi gorgi* 'witch,' lit. 'wise woman,' *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 205. In Sir John Rhŷs' *Celtic Folklore* the Welsh *gwr hyspys*—translated by him 'wise man' or 'cunning man'—is a frequent figure. In a long note on the etymology of the word (i. 264) Sir John says: 'In Cardiganshire a conjurer is called *dyn hysbys* where *hysbys* (or in older orthography *hyspys*) means "informed"; it is the man who is informed on matters which are dark to others.' One of his tales (i. 102) contains the following passage: 'She [a mother whose child had been stolen by the *Tylwyth*

talé]. He, and the minister, and the people, all prayed together for four nights in succession [*stár ratsa pal' vaverkéndi*], from midnight to one o'clock in the morning, but it was not until the fourth night, after the minister and the people had gone home, that the ghost was laid. Taw and the wise man fastened the bad spirit down into a bottle and threw it into the lake.'

The old Gypsy known as 'Taw' was my friend's mother-in-law; Siani now stopped abruptly and lit her pipe; the story evidently was to end here.

'Go on, tell me about it,' I said carelessly. 'So Taw was there. I suppose you were too?'

Siani took her pipe from her mouth and spoke impressively in English. '*Rânĩ*,' she said, 'if I tell you about that, will you promise never to let on to any of my people that you know; they'd half kill me if I talked about the old woman?'

'I promise,' I said, 'not to tell any of your people.'

'Well, then,' she resumed, 'what I tell you is true, every word. No one was there, only Taw and the wise man, and I to carry the things, for Taw liked me better nor any of her own daughters.'

The kitchen door opened, and Siani's daughter-in-law came in and busied herself about the fire.

'We won't mind her,' said Siani, 'she doesn't know Romnimus, she thinks we are talking Welsh. The wise man took a bottle with water in it, he lit a candle and put it in the bottle, he read something from a book [*pendás čomóni liléstē*]. Then he and the old Gypsy woman (I don't like to say her name, God rest her soul, she was always good to me) knelt down hand in hand by the book and spoke the words together, I could not hear what they said.'

Siani paused; her daughter-in-law left the room, the sound of voices contending against the noise of a mangle came from the back kitchen. My instructress in the lore and language of the *Kálé* leant over the table towards me and spoke in a rapid whisper, so fast indeed that I could scarcely get the words written.

'The wise man blindfolded the old woman [*čidás yov diklō top i pūriákē 'χā*] and led her across the field [*pīrdē ō dui aylē vast*

Teg] sent for her husband home from the field, and told him to search for a skilled man somewhere or other; and, after a long search, he was told by somebody that the parson of Trawsfynydd was skilled in the secrets of the spirits; so he went to him.' The tale goes on to relate how, by following the fantastic advice given, the child was recovered. Perhaps this sheds some light on the presence of the *rašái*.

tā vast], she carried the bottle and the bad devil that was in it. They went down the steps into the boat-house [*Gilē talē keli-máyerē*¹ *arē ō bērenéŋō kēr*], and there the two knelt again [*gilē top peŋē čoŋā apápalē*]. Then the old Gypsy gave the bottle to the wise man and spoke the words while he dropped it into the lake. Now the ghost was laid, he was down under the water, and troubled the place no more [*Čī na dikén ō gájē akaná muléstī*].

Siani paused again ; when she went on it was in a lighter tone.

‘They came back to the field where they had left me and the book. The wise man took a box from his pocket. “There, old woman, take this, open it !” [*Olē tū, ĵurīa, lē akavá, pirá les !*]. A toad jumped from the box, there was a name written on its back. “Breathe into its mouth,” he said, “and I will do so after thee” [*P’urdē arē leskō mui, ĵurdáva máia pala tutī*]. This was to bind her to him, so that he could call on her again. He paid her well for her help, she bought many things with the money he gave her, new horses, new harps and fiddles [*bošimáyerē bárō tū bita*] for her sons, and new dresses for her daughters. They were all set up [*Sá aprē sas-lē*]. She gave me nothing.

‘There was much talk all over the country about the ghost that had been laid. Many people came to consult the old woman. So many that she had to leave that place to get peace until the excitement had cooled down [*Ī ĵurī gīás peskī from akáva tem te lel konyō poštē šilyerdás ō rak’riben*]. And when we went back the next summer every one wished to have their fortune told by her. To this day that is a good country for fortune-telling, the people are rich and very credulous [*patséna sá arē druk’ribená*]. But all the old Gypsies are dead now and the young ones cannot tell fortunes so well. They are only half-breeds [*poš tū poš si-lē*].

‘Now I have told you all, and I will make you a cup of tea, *ránī*, before you go home.’

And Siani rose, stretched herself, put on the kettle, and calling to her daughter-in-law to mind the baby, which had been sleeping on the sofa during the latter part of my lesson, and was now waking up, went out to purchase some delicacy for my tea.

¹ Siani Wood’s Romnimus is sometimes very ingenious. She knows *pōdos*, ‘step,’ perfectly well, and has often given it to me. But in the excitement of the moment, as may happen to the most fluent speaker in any language, she was at a loss for the right word ; so she at once manufactured one. *K’elībén* means ‘a dance, dancing,’ which in Siani’s mind = ‘stepping,’ therefore ‘steps’ are *k’elimáyerē*, ‘[the things] of the steppings.’

VII.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 5. *Ō P'URŌ PETALÉNGERŌ*

Taken down from Matthew Wood on the banks of Tal-y-Llyn Lake. For variants of this folk-tale see Groome's notes on my abstract in his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 249-52.

Ō P'URŌ PETALÉNGERŌ

*P'RŌ*¹ *petaléngerō jivēlas 'prē ī mūra, leskī romnī, t'ī stīfī-dāi. Kek būti šīs kelas only*² *ō 'pagō 'puvéngerō.*³ *P'urī grasnī ī stīfī-dati.*⁴

*Yekār 'vīās 'prē greskō dumō tārnō čavō. "Wontsáva tut te čivés čioχá talál mō grái."*⁵ *Xoč'ō 'purō petaléngerō, "Šīs mē kek."*
"Dē man ō kola. Kēráva les mē!"

Gīās ō tārnō čavō, tā kērdās bārī yog. 'Vrī 'vīās, tā čindīās ī stār greskē herā. P'andīās ō rat, tā čidās ō stār herā 'prē yog. P'urdīās yog bārī hwáila. 'Yas ō stār herā 'vrī yog tā čidās len top ō sastārn, tā kūrdās len bārī hwáila. Učerdās len talé, tā 'yas len, tā 'vrī gyās, tā čidās len pālē talál ō grái.

THE OLD SMITH

An old blacksmith lived on the hill with his wife and his mother-in-law. All he could do was to make ploughshares. The mother-in-law had an old mare.

Once there came a young boy on horseback. "I want thee to shoe my horse."
"I cannot," quoth the old smith. "Give me the tools. I will do it."

The boy went and made a great fire. He came out and cut the horse's four legs off. He stanchied the blood and put the four legs on the fire. He blew the fire a great while. He took the four legs out of the fire, put them on the anvil and beat them a great while. He threw them down, and took them, and went out, and put them back under the horse.

¹ *P'rō*]=*P'urō*.

² *only*] glossed in my notebook by *palál*.

³ *ō 'pagō 'puvéngerō* can only be accounted for as a formation by analogy with other phrases where nouns in *-engerō* are preceded by an article and adjective in agreement with them. Though always used, it must be regarded as a deviation from strict accuracy, for the genitive of *ī 'pagī 'puv*, "the broken field," should be *ī 'pagē-'puvéngerō*, "[thing] of the broken field." In most cases the Welsh Gypsies form these compounds correctly, e.g. *tatē-mūskrō*, "mustard," lit. "[thing] of the hot mouth," *bārē-bošimāyerō*, "harper." The distinction, though a delicate, is an important one, since in the latter instance *bārō bošimāyerō* might mean "big fiddler." A like nuance exists in the German dialect of Romani where *bārē-šeréskerō* means "big-headed man," *bārō šeréskerō*, "great chief, king."

⁴ *P'urī . . . dati*] lit. "an old mare was to the mother-in-law."

⁵ *te čivés . . . grái*] lit. "that thou putttest shoes under my horse." Note that the Welsh Gypsies never use the word *petul*, "horse-shoe," which they probably abandoned because of its resemblance to the Welsh "pedol."

Ō þurō petalégerō dikélas top lestī. P'učdás ō tārñō čavō sō sas les te peserél. Dīás les ō tārñō čavō kotór sunakái.

Divesá palál reperdás trušul ī stīfī-dakī þurī grasnī. Wont-sélas te čivél člóχā talál latī. Ġas tā 'yas lā, tā andīás lā. P'andīás lā k'ō hudár. Čindīás ō stár herā tā muktás len te ratsén. Na junélas kek sār te 'čel¹ ō rat. Ġas aré te kedás bárī yog tā čidás ō stár herā 'prē yog. P'urdīás tā þurdīás. Ġas te dikél lendī. Sas odói čī. Xočerdás sár ī čikéstī. Ġas avrí tā 'yas ī þurī grasnī tā učerdás len pārl ī bárr.

Ī stīfī-dái tā čái čīgerénas. Ō þurō petalégerō junélas kek sō te kel lendī. Divés or dūī 'vīás ō tārñō čavō top greskō dumō tā dūī þurē juviā. "Kesa tū 'kala dūī þurē juviā tārñé?" "Ná, na šiš mē kek!" "Desa man o kola? Kēráva len mē." "Áua, lē len."

'Vīás ō tārñō čavō talé ī graiéstē: tārđīás ō dūī þurē juviā, tā þandīás len. Kedás ī bárī yog tā čidás len 'prē ī yog. P'urdīás tā þurdīás talál lendī. 'Yas len avrí, čidás len top ō sastárñ, kūrdás len mištō, tā čidás len talé. 'Vilé dūī tārñē raikanē ránīā. Ō þurō petalégerō dikélas tap ō tārñō čavō. Dīás les ō tārñō čavō kotór sunakái.

Divesá 'vīás a'² leskō šērō opré leskī romnī tā stīfī-dái. 'Yas ō dūīén, tā þandīás len, tā čidás len opré yog, tā þurdīás, tā

The old smith was watching him. The boy asked what there was to pay. The boy gave him a piece of gold.

Some days afterwards he remembered about his mother-in-law's old mare. He wanted to shoe her. He went and took her and brought her. He tied her to the door. He cut off the four legs and let them bleed. He did not know how to stop the blood. He went in, made a great fire, and put the four legs on the fire. He blew and blew. He went to look for them. Nothing was there. He had burnt them all to ashes. He went out, and took the old mare, and threw them over the hedge.

The mother-in-law and her daughter were always quarrelling. The old smith knew not what to do with them. In a day or two came the boy on horseback with two old women. "Wilt thou make these two old women young?" "No, I cannot." "Wilt give me the tools? I will do it." "Yes, take them."

The boy got off his horse; he pulled the two old women down and bound them. He made a great fire, and put them on the fire. He blew and blew beneath them. He took them out, set them on the anvil, hammered them well and put them down. They became two young and beautiful ladies. The old smith was watching the young boy. The boy gave him a piece of gold.

After some days it came into his head about his wife and his mother-in-law. He took the twain, and bound them, and set them on the fire, and blew and blew

¹ 'čel] *acáva* in the sense of "to staunch" is of course a usage borrowed from the English 'stop,' used as a causative verb. Cp. above the true word *p'andáva*.

² a'] = *aré*.

þurdias talal lendi. Gias te dikel leŋi. Sas 'doi ei. Xoerdé kotoréndi. Učerdás o hameros talé fā 'vri gias. "Kedóm les akaná! Mārdóm mī þuri grasni, fā mārdóm mī romni, fā mī stifī-dai." Xanadás o šērō fā junelas kek sō te kel. G'as peskī fā muktás o fan oja te ses-lō. Bárō iv fā šil, fā kek stādī 'prē o šērō.

'Viás tārno čavō palal lestī, fā þučas lestē, "Vava mē tusa? "Ná," xoč'ō petalégerō, "Či na kesa mansa." "Muk man te 'vā tusa." 'Yas les o þurō petalégerō. Pīranlō¹ sas tārno čavō.

Rakerdás o čavō lesa, "Kai sī bārī filišin, 'doi sī bārō rai, nasfalō ši-lō ar'ō vodros. Jasa 'mē odói." "Či ne šiš² kērava mē!" xoč'ō petalégerō. "Mā tū þen ei, jasa 'mē 'doi, kērava mē. P'ukā leŋi te mē šom tīrō būtiákerō."

Talé gilē k'i filišin, fā kurdē o hudār. Ō lovinákerō 'vela 'vri. "Akē 'mē 'vasa te mendasén³ i bārē res." "Avén aré." 'Yas len aré k'i yog te bešén talé. P'učas lendē sō lenas te xon fā pīén. Lilé dosta te xon fā pīén. Bišterdás pes o þurō petalégerō. Ō bita čavō þendás leskī, "Nē 'kaná, þen tū kana 'vela lovinákerō aré, te wonsésa te jes k'ō rai."

Gilē 'prē k'ō rai. Bita čavō kārdás čuriákī, pīriákī, fā pāniéskī,

beneath them. He went to look for them. Nothing was there. They were burnt to pieces. He threw down the hammer, and went out. "I have done it now. I have killed my old mare, and I have killed my wife and my mother-in-law." He scratched his head and knew not what to do. He went away and left the place as it was. Deep snow was there and cold, and he had never a hat on his head.

The young boy came after him and asked him: "Shall I come with thee?" "No," quoth the smith, "thou wilt do nothing with me." "Let me come with thee." The old smith took him. The boy was barefoot.

The boy talked with him. "Here is a great castle. In it is a mighty lord. He is ill in bed. Let us go there." "I can do nothing," quoth the smith. "Say nothing! We will go there; I will do it. Tell them that I am thy servant."

Down they went to the castle and knocked at the door. The butler came out. "We come here to heal the great lord." "Come in!" He took them in to sit down by the fire. He asked them what they would have to eat and drink. They had plenty to eat and drink. The old smith forgot their business. The little boy said to him: "Now then when the butler comes in say that thou wishest to go to the lord."

They went up to the lord. The little boy called for a knife, a pot, water, and

¹ *Pīranlō*]. An interesting old compound. Cp. Paspati, p. 438, "*Pīrangó, pinangó*," from *pīrō* and *naŋō*. The Welsh Gypsy form *pīranlō* or *pīraylō*, identical with Boehtlingk's Russian Gypsy *pīranglō*, and Bischoff's German Gypsy *pringlō*, is based on *naŋalō*, not *naŋō*. Beside *pīraylō* Welsh Gypsy has *heréylō*, "bare-legged," a word which I have not noticed in any Continental Gypsy vocabulary.

² *Či ne šiš*] pronounced as one word, with stress on the penultimate, *čīnēšiš*.

³ *mendasén*] from *mendasáva*—loan-verbs forming stem in -as.

*tā roiákī.*¹ Čindrás reskō šērō tā čuṇardás top ō vast te 'čel ō rat. Čidás ō šērō atré pīrī. Čidás les top ī yog te keravél. Keradás bárī hwáila. 'Yas sunakéskī rói: čaradás les roiása. 'Yas ō šērō avrī pīrī tā čidás les pálē top ī reskī men. Ō rái 'vías mištó tā 'prē 'čas.

Dīas len ō rái gonō sunakái tā gilē peṇī 'prē ō drom. "Sá kái² wontsáva mē," xo'ō bita čavō, "sī nēvē čióχα." "Ná, náí man kek. Bitá dosta ši-lō maṇī." Ojá pēndás ō petaléṇerō. Gyás peskī bita čavō: muktás les.

Ō purō petaléṇerō jala kokoró. Dikás dūī mūrš³ 'prē greṇē dumé, tā lilé ō lōvó sār. P'irdás ō petaléṇerō 'prē ō drom. Sundás bárī filišin. 'Dói sas rái nasfalō, tā 'dói g'as.

Kūrdás ō hudár. Ō lovinákerō kárdás les aré. Dyas les dosta te χol. Pala-sō⁴ kedás te χol, gías ō purō petaléṇerō opré k'ō rái.

K'árdás ī pīriákī, tā pānīeskī, tā roiákī. Čindrás oléskō šērō tā mukdás les te ratsél. Na júnēlas kek sār te 'čel ō rat. Čidás ō šērō aré pīrī top ī yog te keravél. Keradás bárī hwailá. 'Yas ī rói tā čaradás les. Čī na šiš kelas lestī: ō šērō jalas kotōréndī. Ō rái ratsélas te mēr'las.

a spoon. He cut off the lord's head and spat on his hand to stop the blood. He put the head in the pot. He set it on the fire to boil. It boiled a great while. He took the golden spoon: he stirred it with the spoon. He took the head out of the pot and put it back on the lord's neck. The lord got well and stood up.

The lord gave them a sack of gold and they went away along the road. "All that I want," quoth the little boy, "is new shoes." "No, I have none. There is little enough for me." Thus spoke the smith. The little boy went away; he left him.

The old smith went on alone. He met two men on horseback and they took all his money. The smith walked along the road. He heard about a great castle. The lord of that place was ill, and there he went.

He knocked at the door. The butler called him in and gave him plenty to eat. After he had done eating, the old smith went up to the lord.

He called for a pot and water and a spoon. He cut off his head and let it bleed. He did not know how to stop the blood. He put the head into the pot on the fire to boil. It boiled a great while. He took the spoon and stirred it. He could do nothing to it; the head was falling to pieces; the gentleman was bleeding to death.

¹ čuríákī . . . roiákī]. This list of feminine and masculine datives is a fairly good instance of the perfect grip of gender retained by the Welsh Gypsies.

² kái]. A somewhat less common form of the relative pronoun than *te*, Mik. vii. 69; Pott, i. 310 (7).

³ mūrš] see note to *Ō Vēnd*, J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 317, note 3.

⁴ Pala-sō] see note to *Ī Kālī Rānī*, J. G. L. S., New Series, i. 27, note 2, and also the variant form *palāl-sō* later in the present tale.

Komóni 'vīds fā kūrdās ō gūdār. *Ō* petaléyerō sas trašadō. "Nái kek te 'ven aré akái." "Mukésa tū ō bita pīranló čavō anré?" Šundās ō p'rō petaléyerō, fā pīradās ō gudār fā 'rē 'vīds ō bita čavō.

Kana 'vīds aré, g'as k'ō rái fā pāndiās ō rat. G'as k'ī pīrī, tārđiās ī sunakéskī rói fā čaradās ō šērō. Bārī hwáila sas-lō mankē 'yas ō šērō kitanés: keradō kotōréndī sas-lō. 'Yas les avrē, fā čidās les opré ī reskē men. Beštās ō rái opré. *Ō* petaléyerō fā bita čavō gilē, fā lilē dūī gonē sunakái.

Opré ō drom pučtās ō čavō, "Wontsáva mē čioχá." "Áua," χoč'ō petaléyerō, "tūrō sī sár." *Ō* čavō pūkādās "Na wontsáva mē les kek, čioχá wontsáva mē." 'Yas čioχā ō čāvō.

P'irénas ō dūī opré ō drom. P'ukādās ō bita čavō, "Sī vavér bārō rái talé'kái. Šī 'kala¹ res čoveχanó, fā kek šis kūr'na les. Jasa 'mē odši. 'Dói sī trin gonē sunakái te 'vel linó te kūrása les."

Gilē k'ō hudār te rakerén ī resa. Lilē χobén fā 'vrī 'vilē. Gilē 'rē pūrē kēréstī, 'dói sas bārō pūrō pūrdimāy'rō. *Ō* reskō čoveχanó pūrdiās poš dārīāv opré. "Jā tū 'kaná, bita čavō," pūkādās ō petaléyerō. G'as ō čavō fā pūrdiās. P'urdīās bārō mačō opré te pīdās sau² pānī.

Gīās ō vavér pápalē te pūrdél. P'urdīās giv 'já sār brišindō. G'as ō bita čavō fā pūrdiās čeriklé te χolē sá ō giv. P'urdīās ō reskō mūrš būt šošoiá'prē. G'as ō bita čavō, fā pūrdiās trin

Some one came and knocked at the door. The smith was afraid. "No one is to come in here." "Wilt thou let the little barefoot boy in?" The old smith hearkened and opened the door, and the little boy came in.

When he came in, he went to the lord and staunched the blood. He went to the pot, took the golden spoon and stirred the head. It was a great while before he got the head together again: it was boiled to pieces. He took it out and set it on the lord's neck. The lord sat up. The smith and the little boy went and got two sacks of gold.

On the road the boy begged: "I want shoes." "Yes," quoth the smith: 'everything is thine." The boy said: "I do not want it; I want shoes." The boy got the shoes.

The two were walking along the road. The little boy said: "There is another great lord down here. This lord has a wizard and no one can beat him. Let us go there. There are three sacks of gold to be got if we beat him."

They went to the door to speak with the lord. They got food and came out. They went into the old house. There was a mighty old pair of bellows. The lord's wizard blew half the sea up. "Now it is thy turn, little boy," said the smith. The boy went and blew. He blew a great fish up that drank all the water.

The other went to blow again. He blew corn like rain. The little boy went and he blew birds that ate all the corn. The lord's man blew many rabbits up.

¹ 'kala] oblique of 'kava before the prepositional *res*.

² sau]=sá ō.

halikonā,¹ *t'ī halikonā* *χολέ* *šoșoiā*. *Kūrdās ī reskē*² *mūršēs*; *lilē trin gonē sunakāi*.

Na junēlas ō ħpurō petalēnerō kek sō te kel peskē lōvēsa. 'Vīās *a' leskō šērō te kelas nēvē petaley'rēskō kēr*. *Kedās kušī nēvē kērā*, *budīka, tā trin kirčīmī*.

Kelas bita būti yekār, tā 'vīās ħpurī juvel k'ō hudār, rātī, te maḡel lodimáskī. "*Aua*," *χoč'ō ħpurō petaleynerō*. "*Šī man vodros tukī yek ratsákī*."³ *Nái man kek būtiákerī*. *Jā 'rē ō kēr, čī kekāvī 'prē yog, kēr mutārimáḡerī tī kokorīákī*." *Xoiās ī ħpurī tā g'as ar'ō vodros*.

'Čas *oprē ar'ī 'sarla*. *Ō ħpurō petalēnerō tā yōī χολέ*. "*Dava tut trin kolá—sō kamésa?*" *χoč'ī ħpurī*. *Ō petalēnerō ħpendās lakī*, "*Kamós*⁴ *t'ō mūrš, te lela mīrō hameros ar' peskō vast, ne-šiš mukéla les postē ħenos mē*." 'Yas *les*. *χoč'ī ħpurī*, "*sō sī vavér kova te kamésas?*" "*Dikésa odóia ħpurī skamín ar'ō kunsus?*" "*Aua*," *χoč'ī ħpurī*. "*Kamós t'ō mūrš te jala odóī te bešél ne te*⁵ *prečél postē 'vava mē kī yov*." "*Aua, lesa les!*" "*Kamós t'ō mūrš te 'vela 'rē mīrē počīdtī na šiš te 'vel avrī postē mukáva les mē*." "*Aua*," *χoč'ī ħpurī*. *Parikedās les ī ħpurī tā g'as peskī*.

The little boy went and he blew three greyhounds, and the greyhounds ate the rabbits. He beat the lord's man: they got three sacks of gold.

The old smith did not know what to do with his money. It came into his head to build a new smithy. He built a few new houses, a workshop, and three inns.

He was doing a little work once, and an old woman came to the door at night to beg for a lodging. "Yes," quoth the old smith, "I have a bed for thee for one night. I have no servant-maid. Go into the house, put the kettle on the fire, make tea for thyself." The old woman ate and went to bed.

She got up in the morning. The old smith and she had breakfast. "I will give thee three things—what dost thou wish?" quoth the old woman. The smith said to her: "I wish that the man who takes my hammer in his hand cannot let it go until I say so." He got it. "What is another thing thou wouldst wish?" quoth the old woman. "Dost thou see that old chair in the corner?" "Yes," quoth the old woman. "I wish that the man who seats himself there cannot get up until I come to him." "Yes, thou shalt have it." "I wish that the man who gets into my pocket cannot come out until I let him." "Yes," quoth the old woman. She thanked him and went away.

¹ *halikonā*] modern Welsh "hulgwn."

² *ī reskē*] oblique article and adjective before accusative.

³ *ratsákī*] The change of *t* to *ts* in oblique cases of *ī rat*, "night," may be paralleled from German Gypsy. Cp. Pott, ii. 273, who quotes from Zippel *ratsiakro*, *ratsjakki*, etc. Finck ignores this peculiarity in his table of declensions of nouns (*Lehrbuch*, pp. 28, 29). The same change of *t* to *ts* accounts for such forms as Welsh Gypsy *matsibén* from *mātō*, Welsh Gypsy *kats*, English Gypsy *katsers* from Greek Gypsy *kat*, "scissors," and English Gypsy *būtsī* for *būti*.

⁴ *Kamós*] contr. of *kamávas*, lit. "I should like."

⁵ *ne te*] always pronounced as one word *ntēš*.

Kuši divesá palál 'vīas mūrš ar'ī budīka. P'učtās sār sas-lō.
"Miša dosta," *χοῦ'ō petalég'rō,* *"sār šan tū?"* *Rakerdē bārī hwáila*
postē p'učtās akáva mūrš anī bik'nélas pes. 'Čas ō petalég'rō bita.
"Áua," *χο'ov,* *"kisī lōvō desa man?"* *"Dava tut gonō sunakái."*
"Dē man les," *χοῦ'ō petalégerō. "Vesa tū mansa palál panč bēš.*
'Vava mē 'káī te lā tut." Gīas peskī basavō mūrš, tā 'vrī g'as
ō petalég'rō k'ī kirčīma te pīēl.

Aré budīka sas-lō yek divés, tā kelas bita būtī, tā basavō mūrš
'vīas odói. "Vesa 'kaná." "Áua, 'vava mē. Ač bita, lē mīrō
hameros, kūr bita 'prē 'kava sastārn. 'Vā mē palál sō kedóm
'káia bita būtī."

G'as ō petalég'rō ī būtīasa kērē, tā g'as k'ī kirčīma palál.
Matserdās odói. Avrī 'vīas, tā gyas k'ī vavēr kirčīma. 'Yas
dropa, tā 'vrī 'vīas.

Ak'ō basavō mūrš 'vela 'vrī budīka, t'ō hameros ar'ō vast, tā
jala te r'ōdēl ī petalég'réskī. L'atīas les ar'ī durtanī kirčīma,
tā pīelās kuši rensa. Aré 'vīas akáva pūrō beḡ. Opré 'čas ō
petalég'rō. "Sō wontsésa tū mīrē kolénsa?"¹ "Av akái," *χοῦ'ō*
beḡ, "lē 'kava kova: dava tut panč bēš pápalē." 'Yas les ō
pūrō petalégerō tā kērē gyas.

Ō panč bēš² jala, divés tā divés.³ Kuši divesá palál ō beḡ 'vela

A few days after, a man came into the smithy. He asked how he was. "Very well," quoth the smith, "how art thou?" They talked a great while until at last this man asked whether he would sell himself. The smith considered a little. "Yes," quoth he, "how much money wilt thou give me?" "I will give thee a sack of gold." "Give it me," quoth the smith. "Thou wilt come with me five years hence. I will come here to take thee." The evil one went away and the smith went out to the inn to drink.

He was in the smithy one day doing a little work, and the evil one came there. "Now thou must come." "Yes, I will come. Wait a moment, take my hammer, beat a little on this anvil. I will come back after I have done this small job."

The smith went home with his work and afterwards went to the inn. He did some hard drinking there. He came out, and went to the other inn. He had a drop and came out.

Lo! the evil one came out of the forge hammer in hand, and went to seek for the smith. He found him in the furthest inn drinking with a few gentlemen. In came this old devil. The smith got up. "What dost thou want with my tools?" "Come here," quoth the devil. "Take away this thing; I will give thee five years more." The old smith took it and went home.

The five years passed day by day. A few days after the devil came into the

¹ *kolénsa*] *kova*, "thing," is regularly declined as a demonstrative.

² *Ō panč bēš*] = the quinquennium, hence the verb in the singular. Note the repetition of this sentence later on, a true sign of antiquity.

³ *divés t'ā divés*]. The regular expression of the distributive numerals. Cp. *yek t'ā yek*, "one by one," *dui t'ā dui*, "two by two." Pott, i. 226; Mik. vii. 7.

aré budika. "Sār šan?" *χοῦ'ō beṇ leskī.* "Miša dosta! sār šan tū?" "Vesa 'kaná!" "Aua, beš talé top okóia *ḡurī skamín.*" *G'as* *ō beṇ tā beštás talé.* "Ač odóí bita," *χοῦ'ō petaléṇerō,* "wontsáva te já akalésa kērē."

Avrí gyás *ō petaléṇ'rō talé k'ī kirčíma.* *Gyás poš mātó.* *Ō ḡurō beṇ sas kinó te bešélas talé.* *Akē yov 'čela 'pré.* *Na šiš 'čelas opré kek.* *Palál 'yas ī ḡurī skamín pala pestī talé k'ī kirčíma.* *P'učtás sas ō rái aré.* "Ná," *χοῦ'ī gájī,* "nái-lō 'kái kek, kī vavēr kirčíma gyás."

Gíás *ō beṇ k'ī vavēr kirčíma tā 'rē gíás 'rē komóra.* *L'atíás les odóí.* *Ō petaléṇerō dikás top lestī,* "Sō wontséla 'dova mūrš mīrē skaminyása?" "Av akái," *χοῦ'ō beṇ,* "wontsáva te rakerá tusa. *Lē 'káia skamín.* *Dava tut panč bēř pápalé.*" *Tārdíás* *ō petaléṇerō, tā gyas pesk' ō beṇ avrí.* *K'ērē g'as ō petaléṇ'rō.*

Ō panč bēř jala, divés tā divés. *Ak'ō ḡurō beṇ 'vela pápalé.* *Ses 'dóí kek aré budika: avrí sas-lō, tā piélas.* *Ō ḡurō beṇ jala tā r'odéla leskī.* *L'atíás les komōriátī.¹* *Beštás ō ḡurō beṇ pošé lestī, tā rakerdás šukár lesa.* "K'ārdóm mē lovinákī. *Párá tut 'rē činimaṇ'ríatī aré mīrī počī te peserá lakī.*" *'Já kedás ō beṇ.* *Matserdás ō ḡurō petaléṇerō, tā kērē gyás aré vodros.*

Jala te sovél. *'Dóí sas čumónī talál leskō šērō te kelas godltí.* *'Prē 'čas, tā 'vīás talé, tā gyas aré budika, tā 'yas ī počī, tā tildás lá tap ō sastárn, tā 'yas ō hameros, tā kūrdás les mištó.* "Muk

smithy. "How art thou?" quoth he to him. "Very well! how art thou?" "Now thou must come." "Yes, sit down on that old chair." The devil went and sat down. "Wait there a little," quoth the smith, "I want to go home with this."

The smith went off down to the inn. He got half drunk. The old devil was tired of sitting down. He wanted to get up. He could not get up. At last he took the old chair behind him down to the inn. He asked whether the master was in. "No," quoth the woman, "he is not here, he went on to the other inn."

The devil went to the other inn, and went into the parlour. He found him there. The smith looked at him, "What does that man want with my chair?" "Come here," quoth the devil, "I would speak with thee. Take away this chair. I will give thee five years more." The smith pulled and the devil went out. The smith went home.

The five years passed day by day. Lo! the old devil came again. There was no one in the smithy, he was out drinking. The old devil went to seek for him. He found him in the parlour. The old devil sat down by him, and talked with him quietly. "I have called for ale. Turn thyself into a pound in my pocket that I may pay for it." The devil did so. The old smith drank his fill and went home to bed.

He was going to sleep. There was something under his head that made a noise. He got up and came down and went into the smithy, and took the

¹ *komōriátī*] prepositional used locatively.

man," *χoč'ō þurō beŋ*. "*Mukáva tut. 'Vava mē kekār kī tū te mukésa mǎn 'kaná.*" *Mukdás les ō þurō petaléŋ'rō te jal.*

Mūiás ō petaléŋ'rō tā gyas kī beŋeskō ludár tā kurdás les. Yek' o beŋeskē mūrš¹ 'viás avrí. "P'en tī dadéskī t'ō petaléŋ'rō sī akái." Gyas ō bita beŋ tā þendás peskī dadéskī, "Mā muk les aré," χoč'ō þurō beŋ, "mār'la 'men sá!" "Olē,"² χoč'ō þurō beŋ ke peskō būtiákerō, "Lē 'kava þus, tā čī yog kī lestī, te dudyerél les opré k'ō mō dīr devél."

Ojá kedás ō beŋeskō būtiákerō. Gyas ō þurō petaléŋerō opré k'ō mō dīr devél. Odói sas-lō te bošavélas ī bárī bošimaŋerí, tā dikása les sár 'mē te ne jasa k'ō beŋ.

Okē sár šī man te þená 'kaná.

pocket and held it on the anvil and seized the hammer and beat it soundly. "Let me go," quoth the old devil. "I will let thee alone. I will never come to thee again if thou wilt let me go now." The old smith let him go.

Now the smith died and he went to the devil's door and knocked. One of the evil ones came out. "Tell thy father that the smith is here." The little devil went and told his father. "Do not let him in," quoth the old devil, "he will kill us all." "There!" quoth the old devil to his serving-man, "take this straw and set fire to it to light him up to my dear God."

The devil's servant did so. The old smith went up to my dear God. There he was, playing the harp, and we shall all see him if we do not go to the devil instead.

That is all I have to tell now.

VIII.—TRANSYLVANIAN GYPSIES

AMONG the five sketches by Mr. Joseph Pennell, which appear in this number of the Journal, is one which is associated with an interesting Gypsy custom. On pages 198 to 202 of *To Gypsyland* Mrs. Pennell describes how she and Mr. Pennell became aware of its existence:—

'It was on the same day too that we met the three Romanies, in the rags of Callot's beggars, whom we followed into a bank, where the polite superintendent and cashiers suspended all business, while one of the wanderers sang a gipsy song for Dr. Herrmann, and J—— sketched a second, who had a face like an

¹ *Yek' o beŋeskē mūrš*] see note to *Ō Grīno Mūrš*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 266, note 2.

² *Olē*]. This interjection, used only in offering something to a person, generally followed by the imperative *lē*, the Gypsies translate "there!" *Olē lē les*, "There! take it." The plural form *olén*, only once met with, points to a verbal origin: *Olén čávolín, akē čomónī tuméŋī!* "There, mates, here is something for ye!"

angel, but who grovelled in the dust to kiss our feet in thanks for a few kreutzers and a half-smoked cigar. The wonder was to see them in such a place; but after they had gone the superintendent took us into a near room and showed us the silver cups they had brought to pawn, and then shelf after shelf full of other cups, all beautiful in design, many dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is no gipsy family in Transylvania without one; pawn it they may, and do often enough, but no matter how sore their straits, they never sell it. It is a superstition with them, and they would rather sell themselves.'

The possession of valuable cups is an old-recorded Gypsy ambition, and Grellmann in a note (Raper's translation, p. 189) even hints that the 'gold and silver,' to which Stumpf, who died in 1558, referred in his *Chronik*, consisted of such heirlooms; while Heister, on page 26 of his *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen*, suggests that it may have been these vessels which, according to Cervantes, Gypsy bands were required to deposit with the magistrates of villages, near which they camped, as surety for their good behaviour.

But the method by which Mrs. Pennell's Gypsies safeguarded their treasures when they went a-wandering shows the influence of modern civilisation, for in Grellmann's time, a century earlier, very simple precautions were used. Speaking (on page 27 of Raper's translation) about sedentary Gypsies, he says:—

'They are very fond of gold and silver plate, particularly silver cups, which is a disposition they have in common with the wandering Gypsies. They let slip no opportunity of acquiring something of the kind, they will even starve themselves to procure them. Though they seem little anxious to heap up riches for their children, yet these frequently inherit a treasure of this sort, and are obliged in their turn to preserve it as a sacred inheritance. The ordinary travelling Gypsies, who are in possession of such a piece of plate, commonly bury it under the hearth, of their dwelling, in order to prevent its being made away with.'

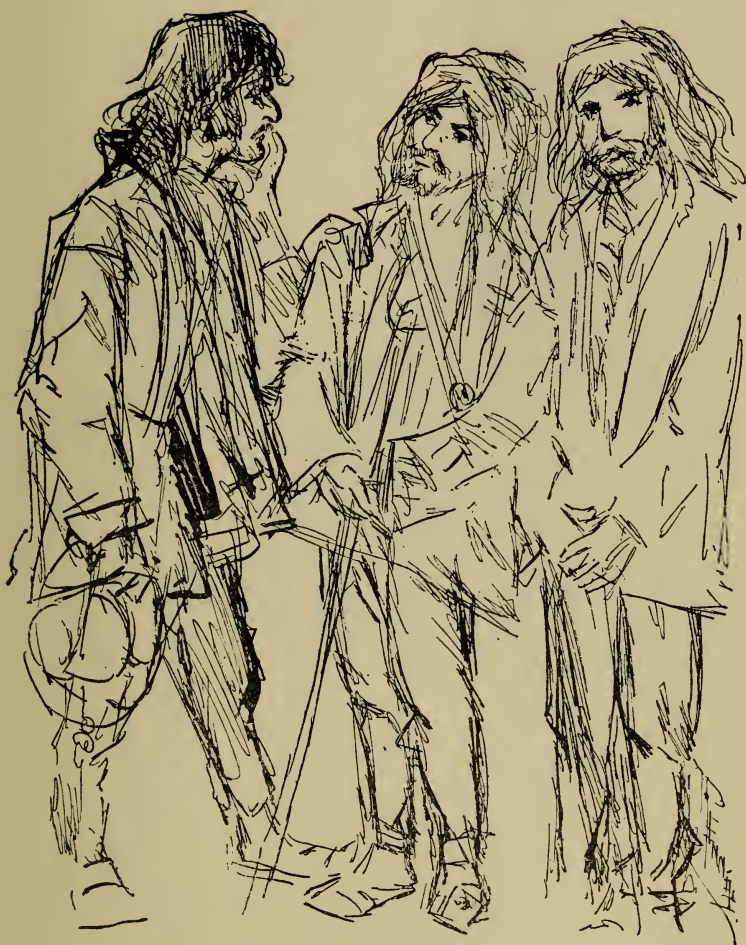
And perhaps it was advancing civilisation also which led the British Gypsies to replace silver cups by the silver tea-pots with which all are familiar who have received the honour of an invitation to take tea in an aristocratic Romany home.



PROFESSOR ANTON HERMANN EXAMINING A CHILD'S EAR-RINGS NEAR MAROS VÁSÁRHELY

By JOSEPH PENNELL

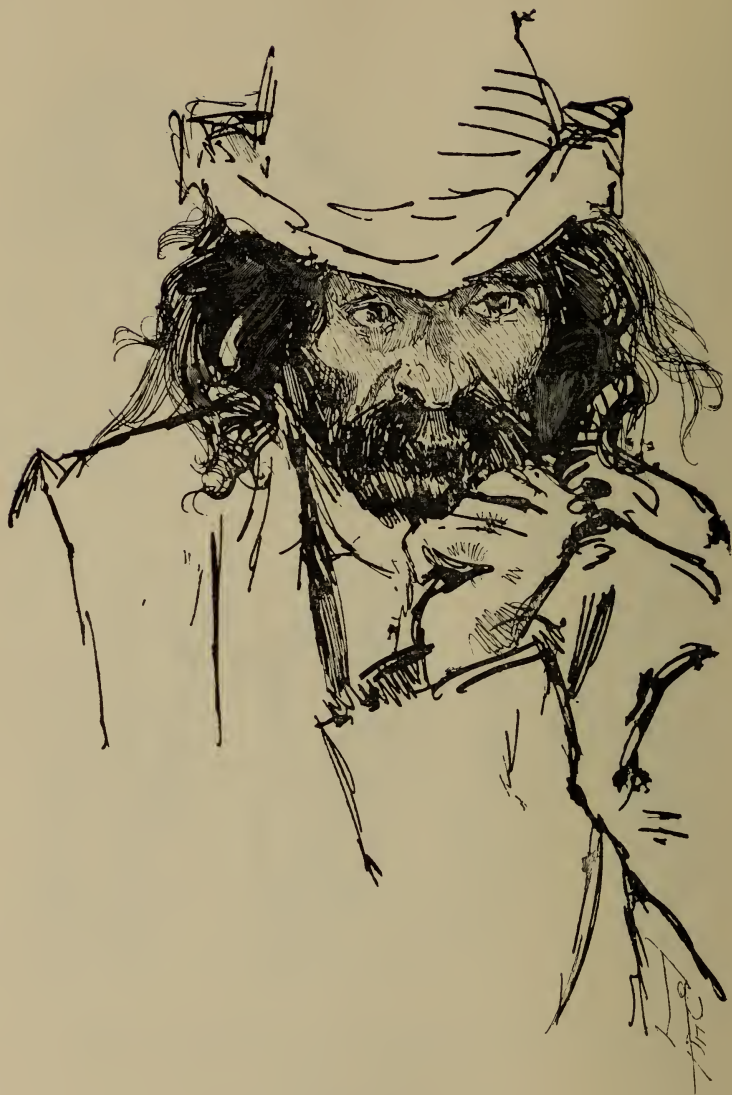
(To whom the copyright belongs)



DEPOSITORS AT THE MAROS VÁSÁRHELY BANK

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

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A TYPE

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

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A REAL OLD DAI

By JOSEPH PENNELL

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JO PENNELL
1891

THE CAMP BY THE RIVERSIDE

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

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REVIEWS

Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner (= *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg. VIII Série. Classe historico-philologique. Volume VIII. No. 5*). Von FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK. St.-Petersbourg, 1907. 131 pp.

VORLIEGENDE Schrift ist die ausführliche Arbeit über die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner, über deren Hauptresultate Professor Finck in dem Aufsätze *Die Stellung des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen im Kreise der verwandten Mundarten* (Halle a. d. S., R. Haupt, 1905) sowie in diesem Journal (I, 34 ff.) schon vorläufig Bericht erstattet hat. Die Kenntnis dieser Form des Zigeunerischen, für welche man bisher im wesentlichen auf das 1887 erschienene Buch von K. P. Patkanov angewiesen war, wird durch sie erheblich erweitert, da Finck durch dankenswerte Zuvorkommenheit von verschiedenen Seiten her in den Stand gesetzt wurde, alles über den Gegenstand vorhandene gedruckte und ungedruckte Material benützen zu können, darunter die von ihm als die ergiebigste Quelle bezeichneten, dem Asiatischen Museum zu St. Petersburg gehörigen Aufzeichnungen von Grigor Vanthsean aus dem Jahre 1890. Wir vermissen in der das Buch eröffnenden Aufzählung dieser Materialien nur einen in der Orientalischen Bibliographie XV, No. 3308 angeführten Aufsatz der *Etnografičeskoe Obozrěnie*, welcher jedoch wohl nur die russische Bearbeitung des hier unter No. IV. gegebenen Buches von Phaphazean darstellt. Dem Verzeichnis folgt auf S. 4-31 der vollständige Abdruck dieser sämtlichen Quellen, dann auf S. 32-54 eine eingehende Erörterung des Systems der Flexion und der nominalen Stammbildung, welches von einem vereinzelt indischen Rest abgesehen sich als armenisch resp. westarmenisch ausweist. Nach diesem Ergebnis hat sich die eigentliche Erforschung dieses Zigeuneridioms, wie auf S. 54 festgestellt wird, auf die etymologische Aufhellung der einzelnen Wörter und die auf die indischen Bestandteile zu gründende Lautlehre zu beschränken—ein Gegenstand welchem somit der zweite Teil der Schrift hauptsächlich gewidmet ist. Davon entfallen S. 54-58 auf die leicht auszuscheidenden nicht-indischen Bestandteile, S. 59-74 auf die sicher indischen Wörter, S. 74-81 auf den Rest derer, welche vorläufig in lautlicher oder anderer Beziehung mehr oder weniger

unklar bleiben. Es folgen auf S. 81-88 eine Lautlehre der indischen Bestandteile, S. 88-92 nach einigen kurzen Bemerkungen zur Wortbildung eine paradigmatische Darstellung der Conjugation und Declination auf Grund der im ersten Teil ausgeführten Untersuchung, S. 92-104 die in den Quellen enthaltenen umfangreicheren Original-Texte in lateinischer Transcription mit einer interlinearen und einer freieren Übersetzung. Den Schluss machen erschöpfende Wortverzeichnisse und eine Inhaltsübersicht, welche die allseitige Verwertung des gebotenen Stoffes in wünschenswerter Weise erleichtern. Alles in allem erhalten wir—was das Tatsächliche anbetrifft—eine umsichtige und durchaus zuverlässige Bearbeitung des interessanten Gegenstandes, wie wir sie von diesem bewährten Kenner des deutschen Zigeunerisch und des Armenischen erwarten durften.

Um so befremdender wirkt das Ergebnis über die Stellung des armenischen Zigeunerisch, welches wir mit Fincks eigenen Worten S. 58 f. wiedergeben wollen:

‘Ein Vergleich des Wortschatzes der armenischen Zigeuner mit dem der übrigen asiatischen, soweit er bekannt geworden ist, und dem der europäischen Zigeuner zeigt nun schon auf den ersten Blick, dass die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner sich ziemlich scharf von den verwandten Mundarten abhebt, und zwar insofern, als sie im Gegensatz zu allen anderen fast ausschliesslich Prakritformen voraussetzt. Pischel, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner* 46, hat es schon als auffällig hervorgehoben, dass die Mundart der armenischen Zigeuner an Stelle des im Kreise der verwandten Dialekte gebräuchlichen *hast*, *vast*, *chast*, *chasta* ‘Hand’ mit Erhaltung des *s* von skr. *hastah* die in den neuindischen Sprachen gewöhnliche Form *hath* bietet und im Anschluss daran bemerkt, dass sich also auch hier bei den Zigeunern Dialektspuren nachweisen liessen. Diese Differenzen sind nun aber nicht etwa, wie man nach dieser Bemerkung vermuten könnte, mit denen innerhalb der übrigen Zigeunermundarten erscheinenden auf eine Linie zu stellen, vielmehr als Grundverschiedenheiten anzusehn, die zu der Einsicht zwingen, dass die wohl noch ziemlich allgemein geltende, von de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l’Asie* 33 ff., ausdrücklich behauptete Annahme eines einheitlichen Ursprunges der europäischen und asiatischen Zigeunermundarten nicht auf den Dialekt der armenischen Zigeuner ausgedehnt werden darf.’

Nimmt man hinzu, was Finck in diesem Journal I, 38 und 40

sowie in der Schrift: *Die Stellung des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen* in gleicher Richtung bemerkt hat, so lässt sich seine Meinung—mit Hinweglassung der weiter noch daran angeschlossenen Hypothesen—dahin zusammenfassen, dass das armenische Zigeunerisch allein auf einen Präkrit-Dialekt, specieller auf die von den Grammatikern Apabhramśa genannte Sprachform zurückzuführen ist, während die Heimat sämtlicher anderen bisher bekannt gewordenen Zigeunermundarten aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im Nordwesten des indischen Sprachgebiets, am Hindukusch, in den Kafir- und Dardudistricten zu suchen ist. Ein Hauptmangel dieser Ansicht ist der, dass das Verhältnis eben auch dieser Hindukusch-Dialekte und der damit in Beziehung gesetzten Zigeunermundarten zum Präkrit ganz und gar im Unklaren bleibt. Nun ist das Zigeunerische—wobei wir von der armenischen Mundart vorläufig absehen—nach Lautbestand und Grammatik ein zweifellos neuindisches Idiom, welches seinem ganzen Charakter nach mit den modernen arischen Sprachen Indiens völlig auf eine Stufe zu stellen ist. Beziehungen zu den Dialekten des nordwestlichen Berglandes zuerst nachgewiesen zu haben, wird als bleibendes Verdienst von Miklosich anerkannt werden müssen; aber mit voller Evidenz hat daneben R. von Sowa in der Einleitung zu seinem Buche *Die Mundart der slovakischen Zigeuner* den Beweis geliefert, dass beachtenswerte Eigentümlichkeiten des Zigeunerischen nur in den Sprachen des inneren Indiens ihre Entsprechungen finden. Das Zigeunerische nimmt also eine Mittelstellung zwischen den beiden Gruppen ein. Alle drei aber setzen bei unleugbarer Verschiedenheit in Einzelheiten zweifellos ein Stadium voraus, welches im wesentlichen dem allgemeinen Typus der Präkrit-Dialekte entsprochen haben muss; daran können auch die mehrfachen Altertümlichkeiten der Hindukusch-Dialekte und des Zigeunerischen in Bezug auf Nicht-Assimilation von Consonantengruppen kaum etwas ändern, denn solche Nicht-Assimilationen sind in verschiedenen Abstufungen auch für die nordwestlichen und westlichen Dialekte des eigentlichen Indiens neben sonstigen echt präkritischen Eigentümlichkeiten seit den Tagen König Aśoka's bis auf den heutigen Tag von jeher charakteristisch gewesen. Wollte also Finck die Abstammung vom Präkrit auf das armenische Zigeunerisch beschränken, so hätte er beide Typen des Zigeunerischen auf ihr Verhältnis zum Präkrit hin mit einander confrontieren und dadurch ihre spezifische Verschiedenheit dartun müssen. Da er dies unterlassen

hat, ergibt eine Nachprüfung der angeblich entscheidenden Wortliste in § 58 (S. 59-73) ein ganz überraschendes Resultat. Es handelt sich im ganzen um 122 Wörter (meine Schreibung beruht auf dem Wortverzeichnis S. 105 ff., ist aber der von Miklosich tunlichst angeglichen worden). Davon sind ganz neu, wenn ich nicht irre, höchstens 14: *džanrav* 'Braut,' *džari* 'Dirne,' *džudž* 'Streit,' *džunak* 'jung,' *vanthel* 'kochen,' *kam* 'Arbeit,' *khavel* 'werfen' (zu skr. *kṣip*, eur.-zig. mit palataler Verwandlung *čivava*), *kherav* 'Stadt,' *hi* 'ja,' *sis* 'Kopf' (=hindi u. s. w. *sīs* neben *sir*, auch im Šinā und anderen Hindukusch-Dialekten ist das entsprechende *šiš* gebräuchlich), *tel* 'Öl,' *lavavel* 'brennen,' *pesel* 'eindringen,' *melel* 'loslassen.' Ferner finden sich 8 bereits in dem asiatischen z. T. gleichfalls armenischen Zigeunerisch Paspatis: *bab* 'Vater' (P. *babo*), *biel* 'sich fürchten' (P. *bihemi*), *buhu* 'viel' (P. *buhu*), *chal* 'Sack' (P. *khel*), *lehi* 'Dorf' (P. *di* = pers. *dih*, womit die Herkunft aus dem Persischen gegen Fincks Ableitung von einem skr. *deśikam* erwiesen sein dürfte), *panth* 'Weg' (P. *pathon*), *pav* 'Fuss' (P. *bav*), *čoki* 'Mädchen' (was doch wohl mit P.'s *djaghi* 'fille,' *tchagh'u* 'enfant' zusammenhängen wird); *bar* 'Tür,' ist trotz Finck eher iranisch als indisch (vgl. die dialektischen Belege bei P. Horn, *Grundzüge der neupersischen Etymologie* No. 545). Die übrigen gehören dem allgemein zigeunerischen Wortschatze an und finden sich daher auch im europäischen Zigeunerisch mit meines Erachtens unerheblichen lautlichen Varianten wieder. Unter ihnen sind zwei, auf welche Finck in diesem Journal I, 40 ein besonderes Gewicht gelegt hat. Das eine ist das schon vorher erwähnte *hath* 'Hand,' welches von dem sonstigen *vast* (as.-zig. bei P. *hast*) gerade so abweicht wie *nath*—wenn es von Finck richtig gedeutet ist (der betreffende Satz ist mir nicht ganz klar)—von eur.-zig. *nasti*. Aber um diese Abweichung zu erklären brauchen wir uns noch nicht aus dem Kreise der Hindukusch-Dialekte zu entfernen. Das armenische Zigeunerisch stimmt eben in diesem Falle besser zu dem *hath* des Kaśmīrī und Šinā als zu dem *hāst*, *host* des Kalāšā und Khōwār und wir haben hier nur einen neuen Beleg für die von mir schon früher geltend gemachte Tatsache, dass das Zigeunerische—das europäische sowohl wie das asiatische—bald zu diesem bald zu jenem Hindukusch-Dialekte nähere Beziehungen zeigt und demnach trotz seiner generellen Übereinstimmung eine stricte Einheit jedenfalls nicht darstellt. An derartigen Schwankungen fehlt es auch sonst nicht: das Kaśmīrī, welches sonst *st* zu *th* assimiliert, hat es in *šistar*

‘Eisen’ = eur.-zig. *šaster* unverändert erhalten und im europäischen Zigeunerisch selbst steht dem alten *st* durchgängig die Assimilation von *sth* zu *th* zur Seite. Das zweite von Finck für bedeutsam erachtete Wort ist das Pronom *hev* ‘er,’ ‘sie,’ ‘es,’ welches er durch die Zwischenstufe **heu* auf *ehu* des Apabhramśa zurückführen will; es könnte aber recht wohl auch mit eur.-zig. *ov*, *gov* identisch sein (vgl. as.-zig. bei P. *džev* ‘Gerste’ neben eur.-zig. *džov* und arm.-zig. *džav*). Wenn vollends (*Die Stellung u. s. w.* S. 10) arm.-zig. *lui* ‘zwei’ auf die Apabhramśa-Form *dvi* zurückgeführt wird, so hat dasselbe natürlich erst recht von eur.-zig. *dvi* zu gelten.

Es bleiben weitere 96 Wörter, die ich zunächst in der Reihenfolge von § 58 übersichtlich zusammenstellen will (-*el* bei den Verben ist die armenische Infinitivendung): *ak* ‘eins,’ *akhi* ‘Auge,’ *anel* ‘bringen,’ ‘holen,’ *ankhor* ‘Nuss,’ ‘Haselnuss,’ *anlu* ‘Ei,’ *avel* ‘kommen,’ *banthel* ‘binden,’ *bukhav* ‘hungrig,’ *bul* ‘Gesäss,’ *thovdžuel* ‘waschen,’ *džahri* ‘Sieb,’ *džanel* ‘wissen,’ *džav* ‘Gerste,’ *džel* ‘gehen,’ *dživ* ‘Laus,’ *arakhic* ‘Fasten,’ *arovel* ‘weinen,’ *gian* ‘Geruch,’ *gadžav* ‘Bauer,’ *gilav* ‘Lied,’ *karel* ‘machen,’ *giu* ‘Weizen,’ *khusel* ‘reinigen,’ *khori* ‘Pferd,’ *khas* ‘Gras,’ *khelel* ‘spielen,’ *khel* ‘Fett,’ *leval* ‘Gott,’ *las* ‘zehn,’ *lui* ‘zwei,’ *luth* ‘Milch,’ *khar* ‘Haus,’ *koli* ‘Brust,’ *kurel* ‘schlagen,’ *chari* ‘Esel,’ *chathel* ‘essen,’ *chasel* ‘lachen,’ *lekhel* ‘sehen,’ *savə* ‘ganz,’ *savel* ‘schlafen’ und *sutav* ‘Schlaf,’ *phal* ‘Bruder,’ *phanel* ‘sagen,’ *nol* ‘Salz,’ *thulav* ‘saure Milch,’ *ke* ‘was’ und *keti* ‘wieviel,’ *lank* ‘Nase,’ *ladžel* ‘sich schämen,’ *lel* ‘geben,’ *liel* ‘nehmen,’ *lom* ‘Zigeuner,’ *ma* ‘nicht,’ *mančav* ‘Fisch,’ *manus* ‘Mensch,’ *mandž* ‘Mitte,’ ‘Taille,’ *mangel* ‘bitten,’ *mari karel* ‘töten,’ *merav-* ‘ich’ und *terav-* ‘du,’ *piel* ‘trinken,’ *pani* ‘Wasser,’ *parel* ‘fallen,’ *mol* ‘Preis,’ *muh* ‘Mund,’ *mulel* ‘sterben,’ *murel* ‘harnen,’ *na* ‘nicht,’ *nasuav* ‘krank,’ *nasuel* ‘verloren gehen’ u. s. w., *nəklel* ‘hinausgehen,’ *nəgalel* ‘entblößen,’ *pučavel* ‘fragen,’ *phus* ‘Stroh,’ *tharel* ‘haben,’ *tatav* ‘heiss,’ *teresul* ‘Kirche,’ *čtar* ‘vier,’ *čam* ‘Fell,’ *činel* ‘schneiden,’ *čumel* ‘küssen,’ *čuri* ‘Messer,’ *vališ* ‘Haar,’ *vəgnel* ‘verkaufen,’ *thavel* ‘in eine Lage bringen,’ *učarel* ‘bedecken,’ *per* ‘Leib,’ *malav* ‘Brot,’ *mahl* ‘Wein,’ *pakrel* ‘sprechen,’ *vesel* ‘sitzen,’ *pelav* ‘männliches Glied,’ *thenav* ‘Platz,’ *čolel* ‘giessen,’ *upra* ‘auf,’ *anra* ‘hinein.’ Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Wortschatze des europäischen Zigeunerisch ist bei diesen Wörtern so gross, dass sie in den meisten Fällen einer besonderen Hervorhebung kaum bedarf; zur Beurteilung einzelner Lauterscheinungen

mag etwa folgendes bemerkt sein. Die Zischlaute *š* und *s* sind in dem einen *s* zusammengefallen, ein Vorgang der freilich auch dem europäischen Zigeunerisch nicht ganz fremd ist (Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten u. s. w. der Zigeuner Europa's* IX, 37) und daher ebenso secundär sein wird wie der Übergang des anlautenden *d* in *l* (auch *lom* = eur.-zig. *rom* wird ja wohl auf älteres *dom* zurückzuführen sein). Den beliebten Vorschlag von *j* oder *v* scheint der Dialekt nicht zu kennen, während er die Neigung, anlautendem *r* einen Vocal vorzuschieben, in einzelnen Fällen namentlich mit dem griechischen Zigeunerisch gemein hat (so stimmt *arakhīš* zu griech.-zig. *arakhava* 'bewahren' u. s. w., wegen der Bedeutung 'Fasten' s. Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches* S. 36; vgl. auch *aratuin*, *aratuin* 'Nacht' bei Finck S. 55 mit griech.-zig. *arat*, *rat*); endlich zeigen sich einzelne Abweichungen in Gebrauch oder Nichtgebrauch der Nasalierung. Sonstige kleinere Lautverschiedenheiten kommen kaum ernstlich in Betracht. Merkwürdig ist der häufige Ausgang *-av*, dem mehrfach eur.-zig. *-o* zur Seite steht; es ist der von Finck in § 50 behandelte Rest indischer Stammbildung, den er auch in pers.-zig. *menav* nachweist und—was nicht unwahrscheinlich ist—mit skr. *-aka* vermitteln möchte.

Über einzelne Wörter füge ich noch nachstehendes hinzu. Das mit arm.-zig. *ankhor* identische eur.-zig. *akhor* habe ich in der *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* V, 218 f. von skr. *ākṣoṭa* u. s. w. abgeleitet, womit auch die für Finck bei seiner Ableitung von skr. *ankolla* so auffällige Aspiration ihre Erklärung findet. *džahri* wird von Finck selbst auf skr. *jaṭi*, also auf eur.-zig. *džar* zurückgeführt. Sehr richtig ist S. 64 *khori* dem präkr. *ghoḍiā*, skr. *ghoṭikā* (also hindī *ghoṛā*, f. *ghoṛī*, auf welches schon Paspātī unter as.-zig. *agora*, *agori* aufmerksam gemacht hat) gleichgesetzt, womit sich Miklosichs Hinweis (VII, 81 unter *khuro* 'Füllen') auf das dem Persischen entlehnte hindūstānī *kurrah* oder das armenische *khurak* (ebd. VI, 67) von selbst erledigt. *savə* ist eur.-zig. nur in der Ableitung *savoro* erhalten (ebd. X, 14). *phal* unterscheidet sich von eur.-zig. *phral* nur durch die auch in *pakrel* wiederkehrende Assimilation des *r*, über deren gänzliche Bedeutungslosigkeit man z. B. die Bemerkungen von Miklosich IX, 3 vergleichen mag; berücksichtigt man noch syr.-zig. *par*, so stimmt *phral* wohl am nächsten zu khōwār *brār*, an welches sich das *brā* u. s. w. anderer Hindukusch-Dialekte und das *bhirā* des westlichen Panjābī anzuschliessen scheinen, so dass die Zurückführung des *l* auf das *d* von präkr. *bhādā* abzu-

weisen ist. Die Metathesis *nol* für *lon* findet sich auch in pers.-zig. *nul* wieder, übrigens haben Kaśmīrī und Nepālī *nun. lank* beruht zunächst auf pers.-zig. *nank* (für hindi u. s. w. *nāk*), dem das Nepālī *nākh* zur Seite stellt. Mit *mandž* 'Mitte, 'Taille' (zu hindi *māñh*) dürfte das bekannte eur.-zig. *mindž* ursprünglich identisch sein. *nasuav* wird doch wohl mit *nasuel* in der Bedeutung 'zu Grunde gehen' direct zusammenhängen und ist jedenfalls—wie auch Finck annimmt—verwandt mit eur.-zig. *nasvalo*, dessen verunglückte Herleitung von *na* + *sabala* eben damit hinfällig wird. *čam*=präkr. *čamma*, hindi *čām* ist mehrfach durch das dem Armenischen entlehnte *morti* verdrängt, fehlt daher bei Paspātī in dieser Bedeutung, während es z. B. im deutschen und englischen Zigeunerisch erhalten ist. Da *malav* pers.-zig. *menav* lautet, wird *l* aus *n* hervorgegangen sein; *menav* aber verhält sich zu eur.-zig. *manro* wie as.-zig. bei P. *anu* 'Ei' zu sonstigem *anro* u. s. w. Sehr glücklich ist endlich die Erklärung von *pakrel* aus **prakarati*, die gleichzeitig über das gegenseitige Verhältnis der europäischen Formen *vrakerava*, *vakerava* und *rakerava* erwünschten Aufschluss gibt; die ungewöhnliche Assimilation von ursprünglichem *pr* zu *r* in *rakerava* vergleicht sich danach der von *tr* zu *r* in arm.-zig. *murel*.

Schliesslich noch zwei Bemerkungen zu dem Verzeichnis der vorläufig unklar bleibenden Wörter. Zu *phevri* 'Tausch,' 'Wechsel' vergleicht Finck S. 78 eur.-zig. *paruvava* 'wechsle'; da letzteres, wie die Belege bei Paspātī zeigen, ursprünglich den Kleiderwechsel bezeichnet, wird es mit pālī *pārupati* 'to dress' in Verbindung zu setzen sein. *thuli* 'Erde,' 'Boden,' 'Asche,' 'Schnee' ist offenbar skr. *dhūli*.

Ziehen wir aus all dem gesagten unseren Schluss, so wird dieser nur dahin lauten können, das Fincks These von einem spezifischen Gegensatz zwischen dem armenischen Zigeunerisch einerseits, den anderen Zigeunermundarten anderseits unbedingt abzulehnen ist. Sicher ist allein die allgemeine Verwandtschaft sämtlicher Zigeunermundarten, aber die Frage nach den genaueren Graden dieser Verwandtschaft steht auch nach Fincks Schrift noch auf demselben Standpunkt, den Mr. J. Sampson in diesem Journal I, 22 richtig charakterisiert hat: sie ist überhaupt noch nicht spruchreif. Finck's voreilige Stellungnahme beruht auf unzureichender Kenntnis der indischen Sprachgeschichte und der faszinierenden Wirkung, welche die glänzende

Methodik von Pischel's Prākrit-Grammatik auf ihn ausgeübt hat. Zur Lösung der Frage bedürfen wir dringend einer noch eingehenderen Kenntnis weiterer asiatischer Zigeuner-Dialekte, vor allem derer, welche die alte Grammatik bewahrt haben, und der mannigfaltigen Sprachformen des ganzen nordwestlichen Indiens und in diesem Sinne begrüßen wir freudig Mr. Macalister's vorläufigen Bericht über die Sprache der syrischen Zigeuner (vgl. Pischel in diesem Journal I, 386f.), dem sich recht bald seine ausführlicheren Mitteilungen sowie eine Bearbeitung der über den gleichen Dialekt von dem verstorbenen J. Wetzstein gesammelten Materialien (s. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LXI, S. LVI und 514 Anm. 1) anreihen sollten. 'In the prosecution of these studies lie the discoveries of the future.'

ERNST KUHN.

MÜNCHEN, April 1908.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ROMANY: A REVIEW, WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON VARIOUS METHODS OF COLLECTING THE GYPSY TONGUE.¹

Professor Prince's monograph on the Anglo-American dialect of Romany has two claims to our notice. The vocabulary is offered to us as a collection containing 'practically all the words in common use,' and as representing 'the result of twenty years of more or less intermittent personal study of the English gypsies on the American roads.' It is, moreover, an attempt to fulfil the desire of the late Charles Godfrey Leland 'that a systematic etymological English-Romany vocabulary should be prepared, to facilitate the further study of this highly interesting linguistic survival.'

For students of English Gypsy peculiar interest attaches to the study of American Romany. It is no uncommon thing to hear English Gypsies account for the decay of the language by telling us that 'all the real old roots' emigrated years ago to the States, while others who, like my friend Poley Herren, have journeyed *pārdal* the *pānī* refer with respect to the deep *Romnimus* of the old American Gypsies. We turn eagerly therefore to Professor Prince's glossary, in the hope that it may clear up many doubtful questions. How far have the American Gypsies preserved the old tongue? Have they retained words and inflections which are either obsolete or obsolescent in English tents? To which of the English dialects is American Romany most akin? Does it present any marked affinity to the speech of the North Country Boswells exemplified in Bath Smart and Crofton's grammar, to the Romany of East Anglia or the Midlands, to the South English Gypsy of Leland and 'Carew,' or to the perfectly preserved grammatical forms of the descendants of Abram Wood? Have individual tribes retained their family peculiarities, or have the American Gypsies welded different varieties of their tongue into a single homogeneous form of speech as would seem to have been the case with the transplanted Spanish Gypsies of Brazil?

¹ *The English-Romany Jargon of the American Roads*, by J. Dyneley Prince. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxviii. 1907, pp. 271-308.

It may be trite to say that the value of a collection depends upon the method by which it has been obtained, but obviously a skeleton vocabulary, such as Professor Prince has given us, may either be a digest of patient research and exceptional knowledge, as exemplified in the glossaries of Liebich or Thesleff, or on the other hand may be the work of a dabbler in the subject, whose lack of experience and whose unsound methods merely result in misleading himself and others. Except for the expert it may be difficult to distinguish between the two, but the difference is a vital one.

Every *Romano Rai* is, or should be, a collector. His very mistakes lend zest to the game, and his growing grip of Gypsy lore is all the sweeter because it has been dear-bought and won by his own exertions. It is hard to say whether greater pitfalls beset the path of the student who begins *de novo* and works out his own salvation, or of him who has already a fair book-knowledge of the work of the affectionated. The former may indeed in 'prentice days perpetrate almost every sort of blunder. A word may be misheard or mistranslated. Like Bryant, he may mistake *sauvee*, 'a needle' for 'an eagle,' or inquiring the word for 'a nutmeg' may be given that for 'an uncle,' or rather 'O uncle'—for *cockwhur* I take to be only *kókoa*, the vocative of *koko*. He may receive a *quid pro quo* such as *borwardo*, 'a giant'='the giant's caravan,' or may treat a suffix or a whole sentence as a word. He may accept *bauro beval acochenos*—i.e. 'great wind a'catching us'—as the Romany for 'a storm'; or like the veteran *rai* who first pointed out this mistake, he may be entrapped by such an innocent snare as *sorto-poor*, 'garden.' But these trips of the self-taught seeker are not, after all, of far-reaching consequence; they put no false coin in currency, they are readily detected by himself or others. If he pursue the subject further, a little common-sense will enable him to dissect his words and sentences scientifically, to compare one form with another, to analyse and arrange his suffixes and inflections, to remember and respect individual differences of pronunciation, and, in fact, to discourse with 'every tinker in his own tongue,' instead of in the 'dixinary talk' of some particular book.¹ We have an example of this type of collector in the great figure of Paspatis, working alone, and owing little to his predecessors.

Somewhat different is the position of the beginner who relies mainly on written authority, especially if he is 'a one-book man.' He is apt to hear the words and forms which he expects rather than those actually used, and, unless a phonologist, to record them by some conventional spelling with which he is familiar instead of by accurate phonetic symbols.² He is even half-inclined to mistrust the forms used by his own Gypsies, and to view them as careless or incorrect enunciations of the real (or printed) word. Hence, though he may make fewer obvious mistakes than the unlearned collector, his results are less interesting and valuable, and his errors more dangerous because more difficult to detect.

Another familiar type of the *Romano Rai* is the *lavengro* whose mission is to present Gypsy not as it is but as it should be. After a smaller or larger acquaintance with the spoken tongue, he proceeds to embellish it in a manner of his own, devises improvements, light-heartedly coins words and phrases without any

¹ As an illustration of my meaning, Smart and Crofton is indubitably the best book on English Gypsy, but it would be no use talking 'Westeriously' to the younger generation, or even in the broken dialect using *tute's* to one of the Robinsons, who for some odd reason always say *leste's* for 'thine.' Again, a great part of Wester's Romany would make the Welsh Gypsy Quintilians 'gasp and stare.' Note John Roberts' pleasant mockery of the broken English dialect in his story of 'An Old King and His Three Sons,' and his use of forms like *totays*, etc., as nominatives, going one better than the English Gypsies.

² The same of course is true of English. How many speakers would recognise their own mode of pronunciation in an exactly phonetic representation taken down, let us say, by Professor Sweet?

particular acquaintance with word-formation, and ends by speaking a brand of Romany which, though it never was in field or tent, is 'deep' to the point of unintelligibility. 'My *rai*,' said one of the younger of Lazzie's brood, who had conceived a poorish opinion of my knowledge, because I always spoke to him in his own *posh* and *posh romninus*, 'you should hear Captain — *rokker*. He's what I calls a beautiful speaker. He *rokkers* that deep you can't *haier* a *lav* he *pens*.' Not that this is by any means the customary attitude of the *Romani-chals*. Ordinarily they deny the existence of any word not used in their own family, and pityingly assure the *rai* that spurious *lavs* have been foisted on him by ignorant or deceitful Gypsies.

Probably the only sound method of collecting is to record words and phrases actually heard in conversation or narration, or volunteered as the equivalent of an English expression. However well one may know Continental dialects, the use to which the knowledge may be put must be limited to the recognition of a true word when one hears it. One may hope all things, but to suggest is not playing the game, and the patient *Romano Rai* will have his reward in the certainty which attaches to a precious word when it appears. I remember my own delight a few years ago on one such occasion. I was sitting in a little inn at Ruthin going through my Welsh Gypsy vocabulary, the collection of years, with the harper Edward Wood, and endeavouring, for the tenth time, aided by my friend the editor, to satisfy myself finally as to the precise words in *k*, *p*, and *t*, that are aspirated in Welsh *Romninus*.¹ 'Give me the Romany for "shoulder." ' *P'ikō*, of course, is a very common word, but Wood's memory, like that of many Gypsies, sometimes plays him surprising tricks. He remarked apologetically that for the moment he could not remember it, going on, 'Now if you had asked me the word for "armpit"?' I remembered of course Paspoti's *kak*, 'aisselle,' but knew too that the word must be rare, since it was not recorded in any North-European dialect. Heroically concealing my excitement I asked in as indifferent a manner as I could command, 'Well, how *would* you say "armpit"?' and was told that if I were a fiddler carrying my fiddle under my arm I would speak of it as *talāl mī kak'ātī*. I had landed my fish—or rather *viās burnek*, as the Welsh Gypsies say when a fish almost bounds into their hands. Even the feminine gender was certified to by the form of the prepositional.

It may perhaps be a counsel of perfection to expect the *rai* to rely solely on the trustworthy method of taking down words actually volunteered. There is a natural desire to ascertain whether one's own Gypsies are familiar with words recorded by other collectors. Yet that way perdition lies. The badgered Gypsy is like a hapless witness in a court of justice, and, with every intention to speak the thing that is, may either deny sturdily the existence of a word which he uses every day, or may be convinced that he knows one which he has never heard at all. He may persuade himself that he recalls its being used by the older generation, or, deferring to the superior knowledge of the *rai*, he may fancy that because it sounds all right it must be all right. If he is amiable and ingenious enough, he will even work it into sentences and execute variations upon it with deceptive ease. But the test is this, that next morning he will have forgotten the word altogether, and assuredly will never use it again in his life. The admissions which have been wrung from him by torture are disavowed once he has got clear of the rack. It is only *Romano Rais* who pick up words from one another; Gypsies seldom or never add to the store which they learnt in childhood from their own people.

¹ The distinction between the aspirated and unaspirated *tenues*, which generally correspond to those heard in Continental Gypsy, is perfectly easy to recognise when one is once familiar with it, though it varies greatly with different speakers. Yet, oddly enough, it was some time before my attention was directed to this, and then only at first in such extraordinarily strong instances as *pχuv* or *yakχ*.

Now it is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that Professor Prince's vocabulary has been procured entirely by this method of suggestion, and that the words suggested have all, with one or two exceptions, been drawn from the same source. He has conceived, very rightly, a high esteem for the work of his fellow-countryman, our late President, Charles Godfrey Leland. Leland was a gifted and facile writer, a student of many tongues, one of the pioneers of Gypsy study, a considerable collector, and as a populariser of Gypsy lore second only to Borrow himself.¹ But one of his methods of augmenting his vocabulary was assuredly the worst in the world. He was in the habit, he tells us,² of reading aloud a Hindustani dictionary to a Gypsy in the hope that it might suggest Anglo-Romany cognates. Leland was of course not insensible to the perils of the short cut. 'If it was difficult,' he says, 'in the beginning for me to accustom the Gipsy mind to reply clearly and consistently to questions as to his language, the trouble was tenfold increased when he began to see his way, as he thought, to my object, and to take a real interest in aiding me. For instance, I once asked—'Puro! do you know such a word as *punji*? It's the Hindu for capital.'

(Calmly).—'Yes, rya; that's a very good word for capital.'

'But is it Rommany?'

(Decidedly).—'It'll go first-rate into Rommany.'

'But can you make it out? Prove it!'

(Fiercely).—'Of course I can make it out. *Kushto*. Suppose a man sells 'punge-cake, wouldn't that be his capital? *Punje* must be capital.'

Again, he says,³ 'I had given him the Hindustani word *janwur*, and asked him if he knew such a term, and he answered:

'Do I *jin* sitch a *lav* (know such a word) as *janwur* for a "hanimal"? *Āvo* (yes); it's *jomper*—it's a toadus (toad).'

'But do you *jin* the *lav* (know the word) for an *animal*?'

'Didn't I just *pooker tute* (tell you) it was a *jomper*? for if a toad's a hanimal, *jomper* must be the *lav* for hanimal.'

Now *janwur* certainly has little air of being a Gypsy word, and, as we have seen, poor Matty Cooper with all his ingenuity was unable to torture it into anything nearer the required shape than *jomper*, 'toad.' So that when I find Professor Prince including *janwar*, 'animal,' in his list of words in common use among the Gypsies of America, I can only quote the words of Michael Finsbury that it looks 'devilish fishy.' Frankly, I cannot swallow *janwar*; I could as soon be persuaded that the chief industry of the American Gypsies was buying and selling unicorns.

Quite apart from the circumstance that only a few very strong and simple words are transmitted intact in this manner,⁴ and that—unless *janwar* was wafted across the ocean to America—it is strange that it should have left no mark on the Gypsy dialects of Greece, the Balkan provinces, Germany, and England, it might be pointed out that Hindi is not the parent of Romany, nor even the nearest sister speech. A closer glance at this un-Gypsy looking word confirms our first impression, for *janwar* is built up of the Hindi-Persian *jan* 'life' (the Romany for which would be *jiviben*) and the possessive suffix *-war* (pronounced *-aur*) = Sanskrit *-wala*, which in Romani has become *-valō*, as in *ratvalō*. If an exactly parallel form existed in Gypsy—it does not—it would be *jibēnvalō*, which is a far cry from *janwar*. So that we have obtained, by some process of suggestion, a word which not only is not, but could not be Gypsy.

¹ In my references to Leland's books I use L. i. for *The English Gipsies*, L. ii. for *English Gipsy Songs*, and L. iii. for *The Gypsies*.

² L. i. 130.

³ L. i. 136.

⁴ As to this compare the interesting passage in Beames, i. 27.

Jánwar is not an isolated example. The dictionary method obviously accounts for Leland's *mun* 'forehead' (L. ii. 266), though this is merely the Hindi form of our Romany *mūi*, and the true word for 'forehead' is *chikat*, still preserved by the Welsh Gypsies. In a single chapter of *The English Gypsies* (L. i. pp. 109-133), in which Leland institutes analogies between Anglo-Romany and other oriental languages, we find *dubeni* 'doubtful,' *kessur* 'smoke,' *nag* 'blindworn,' *nitchering* 'fidgeting,' *piller* 'to attack,' *putti* 'hub of a wheel,'¹ *shali giv* 'small grain-corn (rice),' *shulam* 'salutation,' and *shummy* 'awning.' Elsewhere we have strange words, such as *chámor* 'cherries' (L. ii. 254), *chíngaror* 'sparks' (L. ii. 91), *heb* 'heaven,' sky' (L. i. 218), *hūsker* 'help' (L. i. 209), *lunter* 'boast' (L. i. 254), *núcker* 'neigh' (L. i. 258), *pilfry* 'heavy' (L. i. 177), *plocht* 'jolly' (L. i. 232), *pínsy-ran* 'fishing-rod' (L. i. 251), *serber* 'capture' (L. i. 177), *suder-apré* 'hang up' (L. ii. 273), *toonery* 'bold,' (L. i. 254). None of these words are found in Continental dialects, none of them have been recorded by other English collectors, the odds are that they originated in Leland's eagerness to press home his point and Matty Cooper's to earn his half-crown. It might savour of dogmatism to assert that not one of them is genuine, so I will merely point out that, considering their rarity in the mother country it is surprising that they should all be in daily use in the dialect of New Jersey.² Quite apart from absence of corroboration, most of them are for one reason or another open to doubt. *Rukestaméngro* may be pretty, but is it *Romnimus*? Why should the English Gypsies, already provided with true words for 'smoke,' 'sea,' 'again,' and 'boast' use *kessur* which means 'care' instead of *tuv*, *barya* which means 'stones' for *dáriav*, *ajaw* which means 'so' for *pápalē*, and *lunter* which means nothing at all, unless we presuppose a local boaster named Lunt, instead of *báxer*. Several of the words in the vocabulary appended to Leland's *English Gipsy Songs* owe their origin to the same sort of simple mistake which I have instanced from Bryant. *Kúder* 'to open' may serve as a type of these (L. ii. 262). It really means 'door' not 'open,' for *kúder* is merely a variant of the more usual *wuder*, and is the same as the Welsh Gypsy *gudár*, which exists side by side with *wudár*, *huddár*, and *udár*. Yet, according to Professor Prince, the American Gypsy word for 'open' is *kúder*, while the true word *pirav* is unknown in this weird dialect.

It is part of Leland's charm that he does not always write *au pied de la lettre*. He plays around his subject and embellishes his truths. His works are literature, not cut and dried treatises on Gypsy language and custom. It needs no profound knowledge of Romany to distinguish between the cases in which he faithfully reports the words of the real Gypsy, or speaks 'romanly' in his own person, or allows himself more than a little linguistic licence in rounding off a Gypsy ballad or turning some of his quaint fancies into Romany. Professor Prince continually falls into this class of error. Leland, in trying to 'draw' a scissors-grinder, observes that 'the bellows is a *pudemengro*, some call it a *pishota*' (L. i. 39). Here, out of sheer copiousness, he gives the Continental as well as the English Gypsy word for 'bellows' and dubs the grinder 'Mr. Katzimengro.' He did not mean, and does not say, that *pishota* is English Romany, or that *Katzimengro*, his own playful mistranslation of the Struwpeter, 'scissors-man,' was ever used by a living Gypsy, yet apparently the American Gypsies use *pishota* for 'bellows,' and *katsimengro* for 'scissors-grinder,' though they have no word at all for the more familiar and needy 'knife-grinder.'

¹ Common-sense is, or ought to be, a quality of the collector. How should the Gypsies with no word for 'wheel' have kept a word for 'hub of a wheel.' Or is it probable that with few names for animals they see every day they should have preserved words for 'dolphin' (L. i. 112), 'mermaid' (L. i. 122), and 'pelican' (L. iii. 22, 23).

² None of them, it may be observed, are followed by the note 'rare,' as is the case with *teero*, *se*, etc.

Leland, like everybody else, occasionally gives loose translations of words or phrases with the literal meaning of which he was no doubt familiar. Thus we have *bender* the *drum* [=bend of the road] translated 'across the road' (L. i. 209), *purgis* [=bridges] translated 'road' (L. i. 67), and *pennis* [= 'saying,' as we gather from his vocabulary in *English Gipsy Songs*, though this itself is only bad Romany for *penipen*] translated 'thing' (L. i. 104, ii. 268). Professor Prince has *bender* 'across,' *pūrgis* 'road,' and *pēnnis* 'thing.' Leland in one of his stories (L. i. 223) translates '*maun pogger* the *bawris*' [plur. = 'snails'], 'don't crush the snail' [sing.], and writes *mees* for 'miles' (L. i. 29) where the form *mees* is only a double plural like *gryors*; for the plural of *mīa* is *mī* [= *mīi*]. But Professor Prince of course has *mee* 'mile,' and *bawris* 'a snail.' Leland makes the word *kukalo* 'doll' serve in the unusual sense of 'goblin' (L. i. 227). The American Gypsies have *kukalo* 'goblin,' but no word for doll. Leland (L. i. 214) translates 'in *boro toob*' 'with great amazement.' The literal meaning of *toob*, better heard as *tūg*, is 'grief' (see L. ii. 274), but the American Gypsies use the word only in the sense of 'amazement.' One of Leland's collaborators, in a line which somewhat detracts from the pathos of the ballad where it occurs (L. ii. 42), uses *shock* [= 'cabbage'] as a translation of 'bough.' The American Gypsies would appear to have the same perplexing usage. Forfend the day when Omar in Trans-Atlantic disguise desiderates 'A book of verses underneath the cabbage.'

Again Leland, especially in his later works, coins fanciful words of his own to supply *lacunae* in our Romany vocabulary. Thus in two pieces, which are evidently his own composition he gives *pūv-sūver* for 'spider' (L. iii. 316), and *nebollongerī* (L. iii. 326) for 'un-Christians.' Both these words are sufficiently dreadful. By *pūv-sūver*, as he himself explains, he means 'earth-sewer,' so that it is strange it should reappear in identical form in America, where, according to Professor Prince, the word for 'sew' is *sīv*, and *sūv* = 'swim.' *Nēbollēngro* is a doubly impossible form on which I shall comment later.

Let us glance next, not at rare or unusual words, but at those which, in one form or another, are familiar to every Gypsy. As every one is aware, some of the commonest words in the language are pronounced very differently by different families. Take for instance the *Romnimus* for 'apron' where Mr. Crofton notes the following variants:—*chárdoka*, *járifa*, *járíka*, *jorjóxa*, *jorjáffa*, *shárdoka*, *yárdooka*, *yárduxa*.¹ Probably there are not two Gypsies who speak exactly alike, and hardly a single collector, on however small a scale, who has not, owing to this circumstance, enriched our knowledge in some particular. Yet when we turn to Professor Prince's vocabulary to ascertain in what shape particular words are used in America, we meet, instead of any of the interesting personal peculiarities which we might have anticipated, with a stereotyped re-issue of Leland's forms even when these are somewhat unusual. The normal forms of some ordinary words are *gin*, *hoino*, *járdóxa*, *juvel*, *kedo*, *kino*, *mariklo*, *rig*, *romer*, *shol*, *til*, *tug*, *vongar*. Leland and Professor Prince both have *ken*, *hinnalo*, *jelliko*, *juva*, *kerro*, *kinlo*, *malliko*, *rikkorus*, *rummer*, *shell*, *tul*, *tukli*, *hangar*. Leland uses *skill* ['frigus'] for 'ice,' and *shillo* (which should be *shilino* or *shilalo*) for the adj. 'cold'; so also does Professor Prince. Leland mentions that 'a certain Bosville' (L. iii. 218) taught him the rare word *pisāli* 'saddle.' Perhaps this was the same 'Captain Bosville' who, some twenty years before, had taught Borrow a *gili* made by his 'old mother, who was wonderfully deep in Romany'—so deep in fact that the song is in Hungarian, not in English Gypsy. He may of course have emigrated to the States and taught the word to the

³ The etymology of this word is somewhat obscure, but it is evident that the mean between these extremes of corruption lies somewhere near the Welsh Gypsy form *járdóxa*.

American Gypsies, for they too sometimes use *pisáli* as a variant of *böshto*. The few compounds found in Prince, such as *bongo siv* 'hook' (L. i. 251) and *kil-málliko* 'cheesecake' (L. i. 248), are likewise in Leland. How are these coincidences to be explained except on the view that they are all 'pertaining to the finny tribe'?

Professor Prince has rashly supplied us with the phonetic symbols by which, we are given to understand, his words have been taken down.¹ He tells us that he has 'followed generally the system of pronunciation [*sic* ? spelling] given by Leland, as this is in use to-day among such few Rommanys as write their idiom' ! Perhaps the less said about Leland's phonetic system the better, but whatever it may have been, it is quite plain that the professor did not understand it, and has adopted printed forms of words to which he must have unwittingly assigned a false pronunciation that the slightest intercourse with Gypsies would have corrected. Unless indeed the American Gypsies pronounce *lollo* as *lawlaw*, *adré* and *opré* as *adrée* and *oprée*, *gad* as *god*, *lav* as *larv*, *macho* as *mochav*, *so* as *saw*, and *lilái* as *lilly*.

To sum up. The identity of Professor Prince's *Romnimus* with that of Leland is explicable only on one of three suppositions. We may assume that Leland's Gypsy is in every minute point an accurate presentment of the particular Romany dialect that English Gypsies must have carried to America and retained religiously in precisely the same form, just as the Brahmans preserved Sanskrit. Or American Gypsy may not be, like our own, inherited traditionally, but derived rather from a profound study of the writings of Hans Breitmann. Or thirdly, Professor Prince must have hypnotised the American *Romani-chals* into a wholesale acceptance of a vocabulary compiled from Leland's books. Among the multifarious works of the latter is one with the alluring title *Have You a Strong Will?*, by which perhaps the professor may have profited.

Among Professor Prince's words are a few not found in Leland. These come from Pott. A little slip of Professor Prince's on p. 298 gives us a clue to the source from which some rare Romany words have been secured for America. In giving *wéllgáara* 'fair, exposition' (the word has many variants, but Leland of course has *wéllgóora*) he adds, 'Note here that according to Harris, *vailgoro* "fair in color." If this is correct—I have never heard it so used—then the last element must = H. *gōrā* "fair, handsome."' This has a jaunty air of familiarity with the work of previous labourers in the Gypsy field; but unfortunately for Professor Prince there never was such a *romano rai* as Harris. The explanation of the mystery is to be found in Pott, ii. 83, where 'Harr.' is used as a contraction for Colonel Harriot, the author of this blunder. Another fatal finger-print may be detected in Professor Prince's *kováskaruk* 'willow, laurel.' It is rather more than a century ago since Jacob Bryant, pointing to a laurel bush and inquiring its Gypsy name, received the answer *Kova sī ō ruk*, 'this is a tree,' duly recording in his note-book *covaseorook*, which Archaeologia misprinted *covascorook* 'laurel.' Thence Pott transferred it to his *omnium gatherum*, where it was pounced on by Bath Smart and Groome, who gleefully added it to their lists of ghost-words. Now after many days it returns to us as a present from Columbia.²

¹ Viz. 'a as o in *spot*; ā as a in *father*; ai, au, and ay as in English; ɛ as e in *met*; ee as in English; i as i in *pin*; i as i in *machine*; o as au in *taught*; ō as o in *more*; ɔ as o in *spot*; u as oo in *foot*; ū as oo in *fool*; y as the vowel y in English. The consonants are to be pronounced as in English.'

² Word-lifting, it may be observed, is not entirely confined to students of Anglo-Romany. Kogalnitchan, as Groome long ago pointed out, took many of his words straight from Samuel Roberts, and even Pastor Ješina, 'Pfarrer in Golden Oels,' is one of the chief offenders. See p. 105 of his *Románi Čib*, where he gives *lačilo* and

A few Continental words which appear to be obtained from Pott are *archich* 'lead' (Pott, ii. 58), *bikkus* 'bullet' (Pott, ii. 397), *kétovos* 'brush' (Pott, ii. 99). There is some reason to think that none of these ever formed part of Anglo-Romany. Armenian *archich* would not seem to have pushed its way north of Bohemia, ousted by the Greek loan-word *moliv* or *molivos*, which still holds its place in the Rumanian, Polish, German, Scandinavian, and English dialects. It is open to grave doubt whether the German Gypsy word *bikkus*, 'kugel,' was in use at all when the English Gypsies settled here towards the end of the fifteenth century; they certainly did not coin their word *yogéngri* for 'fire-arm' until after their arrival in this country. *Kétovos*, 'brush,' occurs only in the Bohemian dialect, and seems to be a fairly modern and merely local loan-word.

The philological part of this monograph was undertaken, Professor Prince tells us, 'very largely as a labor of piety' to provide the 'etymological English-Romany vocabulary' desired by Leland. It is a little difficult to understand precisely what Leland meant by this. The true words in Anglo-Romany, with the exception of a few German, French, or English borrowings, are the common property of the European dialects, *i.e.* words of Indian or Iranian origin fortified by Greek and Slavic loan-words. Words other than these are generally fabrications of mystified Gypsies, at the suggestion of exigent *Romano Rais*. Most Gypsy *Stammwörter* have long ago been referred to their sources by Pott and Miklosich. It is only in a comparatively small number of cases that we come upon a word of doubtful origin, or a derivation in which the accuracy of these scholars can be impugned. Generally we can track a word through the several dialects till we finally run it to earth in its purest and most archaic form in the Romany recorded by Paspatis, or pursuing it further with the aid of the phonetic correspondences worked out by Ascoli and Miklosich, connect it with its Indian cognates. There is a security in this method which, would they deign to follow it, would save even learned theorists from bad mistakes.¹ Professor Prince, however, disdains stepping-stones, and jumps at a bound from American Gypsy to Sanskrit or Hindustani. His *jélliko* 'apron,' which, as I pointed out, is a corrupt form of a word that would seem to be better heard as *járdóxa*, according to the Professor 'clearly = Skr. *jālikā* "net, chain-armour, veil, woollen cloth." He equates '*güger* "growl" with H. *gurrā-nā*,' and '*shokker* "cry out, call," with H. *jaikar karna* "raise a hubbub."

Again, Leland had a pet theory which he expounds on pp. 98, 99, 110, and 115 of his *English Gypsies* as to the manifold derivations of Romani words. 'A Gipsy,' he says, 'calls a pedlar a *packer* or *pack-mush*,' and he asks 'how much of

vingro as the Bohemian-Gypsy equivalents of 'falsch.' This is as bad as Professor Prince's resuscitation of *koráskaruk*, and may be traced back to the anonymous author of the *Beytrag zur Rotwellischen Grammatik, oder Wörter-Buch von der Zigeuner-Sprache* (1755), who rendered 'falsch' *Latshila Wingro*—*latshila wingro* being actually *latche-lavengro*, 'the man of fair words' [but poor performance]. The same type of mistake as 'Harris's' *vail gora* 'fair in colour' is found on p. 111, where the verb *kostinav* is translated 'kosten (Speise)'! Again on p. 59 *langs* 'auf' is given among the prepositions, though Eng. Gyp. *langs* is certainly only 'along' + -us, and has been appropriated from Leland together with the pastor's 'Románe Paramisi,' Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11, which have been taken from *The English Gypsies* without acknowledgment, and converted by Ješina into the Bohemian dialect.

¹ For instance, Grierson's theory that Eng. Gyp. nouns in -*meskro*, -*mengro* 'correspond to what in Bihâri grammar are called "long forms"' falls to the ground when once it is seen that the -*m*- is merely a contraction of -*bn*- (for -*ben*, the suffix of the abstract noun). See his article on 'The Genitive in Gypsy,' reprinted from *The Indian Antiquary*, J.G.L.S., Old Series, i. 97-99.

this . . . is due to the English word pack or packer, and how much to *paikār*, meaning in Hindustani a pedlar?' In the etymology of cant there may be something to be said for this theory. For instance the Shelta word *rīrk* 'comb' (back-slang for Irish *ciar*) has been turned by English grinders into 'rake' from a fancied resemblance to the English word. Similarly *livina* 'beer' has passed into cant as *livener*, and is now commonly pronounced *lie-vener*, as if an abbreviation of Eng. 'enlivener.'¹ But I question whether this principle ever obtained in Romany, where the tendency, on the contrary, has always been to reject a word because it resembles English. Thus many English Gypsies deny the genuineness of *jomba* 'frog,' because of its likeness to English 'jumper.' However this may be, Professor Prince has certainly galloped his theory to death. '*Kóngree*, "church," is a mixture of Gk. *κυριακή*, and Eng. "congregation." '*Pong-dishler*, "handkerchief" = *pong*, Eng. "pouch, pocket" + *dishler*, a mixture of "dishclout" and *diklo*.' '*Hóvalo*, "stocking," prob. from Eng. "hose," with Rommany ending.' '*Sīg o' me zee*, "anxious." Not "quick of heart," but probably Eng. "sick of heart," possibly influenced from an early *zik* from H. (Ar.) *zīq*, "depression." '*Wardo*, "wagon, carriage," = C. *verda*; prob. = P. *gardūn*, "wheel, chariot." The *w* and *v* in Eng. Rom. and C. respectively were probably caused by *wagon*, and Germ. *wagen*; Sl. *vóz*, "wagon." '*Päller*, "follow" ; probably from Eng. "follow," suggested by *pal*.' '*Wadras*, "bed, couch," = Eng. *mattres* ? '*Kommer*, "care for" ; prob. = Germ. *kummer*. C. Scotch, *kimmer*.' '*Fáshono*, "false," = Eng. "false," and "fashionable," derogatorily.' '*Pōchi*, "pocket," influenced by English, "pouch."

No wonder Professor Prince calls Romany a jargon! Leland in one of his stories has *kris* 'mustard,' probably, as Groome conjectured, a *quid pro quo* from the conjunction 'mustard and cress.' Of course, *kris* 'mustard' occurs also in the American dialect, and Professor Prince asks, 'Can this be P[ersian] *karīs* "cheese" misapplied.'

The derivations assigned by Professor Prince show how often he has taken his words from Leland without in the least understanding them. On *bolléngro* 'Christian,' he comments 'I believe this means "one who has hair," as distinct from the shaven Mohammedan = *Neböllengro*, see *bāl* "hair".' Now the word *boláva*, Continental Gypsy for 'I dip,' is used figuratively in the sense of 'I christen,' and, though now obsolete here, must have been familiar at one time to English Gypsies since it survives in the phrase *bolimásko divus* 'Christmas,' *lit.* 'Christening day.' With some indistinct remembrance of this or of the variations played upon it by Borrow, such as *bollamengreskenes* 'in the manner of a Christian,' Leland, in one of his last stories (L. iii. 326), invented the word *nebollongri* 'un-Christians.' Now it would appear that *nebollengro* and *bollengro* are words in everyday use in the American dialect of Romany.

Leland (L. iii. 320) uses *chollo-tem* for 'universe.' *Chollo-tem* is, of course, *chollo* 'whole' + *tem* 'country,' but according to Professor Prince the derivation is uncertain. Leland in two instances (L. i. 243, 244) uses '*su' drée* the *panni*' [*lit.* 'lie in the water'] for 'swim'—elsewhere he has *sōv* in its original sense = 'to sleep.' Both are, of course, the same word. But Professor Prince, here as elsewhere slavishly clinging to Leland's spelling, treats them as separate words of different derivation; '*sōv*, "sleep" = H. *so-nā*, "sleep," while '*sūv*

¹ The difficulty of explaining correctly the origin of any cant or slang word is immensely increased by this constant tendency to change. Not long ago I read in a daily paper that an actress at Douglas in a street altercation with a policeman addressed him as 'ginger.' Why 'ginger'? Not, as some might suppose, because he had red hair, but because 'ginger' is short for 'ginger-pop,' and 'ginger-pop' is rhyming slang for 'slop,' and 'slop' is short for 'eslop,' and 'eslop' is back-slang for 'police.'

"swim" = H. *ḍub-nā*, "drown, be immersed." "To swim" is not, I should add, the most usual meaning of *sōv* or *sūv* among English Gypsies, and it could only lead to grave misapprehension were one to refer to a strong swimmer as a *bāro sūver*; and on the strength of this false etymology he notes, in a table of phonetic changes, which is enough to make Miklosich turn in his grave, that Romani *s* = Hindi *ḍ*.

Incidentally Professor Prince's etymologies betray a naïve innocence of the structure of the language which he has studied on and off for years and years. *Bābali*, if there were such a word, would be the adjective, not the feminine of *babus*. Gorjo Professor Prince surmises '= *garjo*, "villager," [-*jo* apparently must be a new and hitherto unheard suffix] — *kanéngro*, is it Germ. *Kaninchen*, "rabbit"? or from *kan* "ear"? — *kosher*, 'to lick,' 'probably from Yiddish *kōsher*'¹ — *dūveléste*, '= *dūvel*, "God" + *leske*, Dat. "to him"'² — *kéttenus*, "together" = C. *jeketane*. Contains *yek*, "one" + another dubious element'³ — *rínkeno*, 'pretty,' 'I cannot place this'⁴ — *stardo*, 'imprisoned,' 'Can it be H. *asthir*, "at rest, quiet"?'⁵ — *kérri*, "home" (adv.) from *kair*, "house." Perhaps corruption of old Dat. *keréske*, "to the house."'⁶ — It would be easy to multiply these examples indefinitely, but *cui bono*? Professor Prince's derivations are little likely to lead astray the student of Romany who has Pott and Miklosich at his elbow. They may amuse, but they can scarcely mislead.

It is otherwise with the vocabulary which Professor Prince has offered to us as the contents of the American dialect, and as the collection of so long a period, that it might be supposed to carry with it the assurance of accuracy and authority. One rubs one's eyes as one realises that he has offered us nothing but a list of words compiled from Leland's publications, among them words which do not and cannot exist, words which may be traced to Leland's mistakes, or words which in songs and literary compositions he obviously invented for the nonce or nonsense. As regards our knowledge of the American dialect, Professor Prince's labours leave us precisely where we were before, and no conclusions of any sort can be drawn from his paper. We may guess that American Romany more closely resembles Southern than Northern English Gypsy, but no one can feel sure that had Professor Prince taken Bath Smart and Crofton instead of Leland as his guide the converse would not have appeared to be the case. It would be interesting to know that American Gypsies can count up to ten, but the fact that numerals for seven, eight, and nine are found in Professor Prince merely sets us hunting through Leland to see from what particular song or story they may have been taken. It would be highly important to know that words like *archich* within comparatively recent times formed part of the Anglo-Romany stock and still survive in America, but with *kováskaruk* and 'Harris' before us it seems more probable that they have been conveyed from Pott.

It is to be hoped that some day Anglo-American Romany will be reaped and garnered by a student content to collect patiently and to record faithfully the actual forms and words heard in the spoken tongue. Then for the first time we shall learn something of the American dialect. In the meantime it may be desirable to clear away what might prove a stumbling-block in the path of the genuine inquirer.

¹ For true etymology, see Pott, ii. 156; Mik. vii. 80.

² Prep. of *duvel*.

³ The 'doubtful element' in *ketanē* is, of course, *tané*, loc. of *tan*, the term. in *-us* [= *es*] is formed by false analogy to adverbs in *-es*.

⁴ *Raiken*, *rínken*, *ranken* = *rai* or *rāni* + suff. *-keno*.

⁵ P. part. of *staráva* 'I seize,' whence *stariben*.

⁶ Loc. of *kér*.

ENVOY

written in the New Jersey Romany.

PRINCE ! *tûte serbers the kil-málliko !*
Akǵ muk jánwars gûrings, gûgerings, kair ;
Bender the bárya, tûte's lunterdo
 And the *kováskaruk-shok's teero* (rare).

JOHN SAMPSON.

Coloniile române din Bosnia, studiu etnografic și antropogeografic,
 de TEODOR FILIPESCU, cu 20 ilustrațiuni și o harta etnografică.
 Edițiunea Academiei Române, București, 1906.

¹ Im J. 1906 gab die rumaenische Akademie der Wissenschaften das Buch des Herrn Theodor Filipescu über die rumaenischen Ansiedlungen in Bosnien heraus, dessen zweiter Teil (S. 199-293) von den karavlachischen Ansiedlungen (*Coloniile Caravlahilor*) dieses Landes handelt.²

Dieser zweite Teil gliedert sich in drei Abteilungen mit folgendem Inhalt:

I. URSPRUNG, WANDERUNGEN UND ETHNISCHE MERKMALE DER KARAVLACHEN (S. 199-247).—Hier behauptet Filipescu, es gäbe in Bosnien ausser den Makedorumaenen (Zinzaren), von denen er im ersten Teile seines Buches spricht, noch eine rumaenische Bevölkerung, die man dort *Karavlasi* (Karavlachen) heisse und die auch in Slavonien vertreten wäre und zwar daselbst unter dem Namen *Koritari*. Ganz entgegen der bereits gefestigten Ansicht,³ dass die Karavlachen und Koritari *rumaenische Zigeuner* sind, betrachtet es Filipescu als seine unabweisliche Pflicht, die Behauptung durchzuführen, das wären keine Zigeuner, vielmehr Rumaenen, die aus Rumaenien eingewandert. Diese These ver-

¹ Nach der Handschrift des Verfassers verdeutscht von Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss in Wien.

² Dieser zweite Teil erschien auch serbisch unter dem Titel: *Karavlaška naselja u Bosni* (Karavlachische Ansiedlungen in Bosnien), in der *Zeitschrift des Landmuseums in Bosnien u. dem Herzogtum*, 1907, Hft. 1-3.

³ *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild. Bosnien und Hercegovina.* Neuntes Heft, Lfrg. 353. *Physische Beschaffenheit der einheimischen Bevölkerung*, von Leopold Glück, S. 286-289. F. Hefele (*Vienac*, Agram 1890, S. 46). *Bosanski Horvat* (*Glas Hercegovca*, 1891, Nr. 4). A. Ka: *Bosnische Karavlachen* (*Bosnische Post*, Sarajevo, 1895, Nr. 9 u. 10). Dr. L. Glück, *Zur physischen Anthropologie der Zigeuner in Bosnien und Hercegovina* (*Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus B. u. H.*, 1897, Hft. 5 u. S.A.). M. Gj. Mutić (*Sarajevski list*, 1904, Nr. 11).

nicht er hartnäckig auf Grund von deren eigenen Aussage, sie wären Rumaenen und weil sie sich selber so benennen, mit Hinweis darauf, dass sie rumaenisch reden, in einigen Gebieten gleich wie Rumaenen wirtschaften, denselben Aberglauben und dieselben Gebräuche, Berufarten und Kleidung gleich den Rumaenen in einigen Bezirken Rumaeniens haben.

Trotzalledem und allen Anstrengungen des Herrn Filipescu, verbleiben die Karavlashen für jeden Kenner der Verhältnisse und des Volkthums nur—Zigeuner. Die Aussagen der Zigeuner über ihren Ursprung sind nicht bloß wertlos, sondern geradezu irreführend. Hat man doch allzulange Zeit geglaubt, die Zigeuner stammten aus Ägypten, und da und dort benannte man sie auch nach diesem Lande, einfach darum, weil sie man sich an ihre eigenen Aussagen hielt. Auf Grund ihrer eigenen Aussage hat man sie in Frankreich Bohemiens genannt u.s.w. Die rumaenischen Zigeuner heisst man auch in Serbien Rumaenen (*Rom'ni*, *Románi*), und zwar sogar auch mitten unter Rumaenen in rumaenischen Dorfschaften, indess wissen sie es auch selber, dass sie Zigeuner sind und in der Umgegend hält man sie auch nicht für etwas anderes. Ueberdies sprechen auch die Weissen Zigeuner in Bosnien nur serbisch und doch sind sie keine Serben. Zigeuner amalgamiren sich sehr bald und leicht an alles fremde und es ist möglich, dass sie in manchen Bezirken als Rumaenen leben, dass sie aber Aberglauben, Gebräuche, Berufe und Kleidung gleich gewissen Rumaenen haben, ist gar nicht entscheidend. Eigentümlichkeit der Zigeuner ist, fremdes leicht anzunehmen und als ob es eigenes wäre, zu behaupten. Sind doch fast sämtliche volkgläubischen Anschauungen der Zigeuner anderen Völkern entlehnt.

Nicht anders steht es mit den Gebräuchen. Viele türkische Zigeuner Serbiens übernahmen von den Türken den Erdelere-Festtag und feiern ihn noch heutzutage unter christlichen Serben als ihren Feiertag. In Serbien beobachten wieder viele gleich den Serben das Sippenfest. Manche echt serbische Gebräuche erhielten sich unter den Zigeunern selbst als sich die Serben ihrer begeben hatten, und gäbe es keine Zigeuner, so wären diese Gebräuche in manchen Gegenden schon völlig verschwunden. So sind z. B. nahezu überall *Dodole* bloß Zigeunerinnen, *Lazarice* an manchen Orten wieder nur Zigeunerinnen u.s.w. Eben so verhält es sich mit der Tracht, die, wenn sie einmal bei einem Volke zur Mode geworden, nur allmählig abgelegt wird. Die türkische

Kleidung, die die Zigeuner von den Türken übernahmen, behalten sie noch lange Zeit auch mitten unter serbischer Bevölkerung, insbesondere die Zigeunerinnen; denn Frauen sind in dieser Hinsicht am konservativsten. *Šalvare* (Pluderhöschen) *Nalune* (Holzpantoffeln), die Haarfrisur u.s.w. bewahren die Zigeunerinnen unter den reinen Serben sehr lange, gerade so wie auch in Bosnien nach der Angabe des Herrn Filipescu eben die Karavlachinnen die rumaenische Tracht bewahrt haben. Der gleiche Fall ist auch bei den Berufen. Aber, die bosnischen Karavlachen haben auch ihre eigenen zigeunerischen Berufe, die ebenso den Zigeunern in Serbien eigentümlich sind. Das gleicht sie mit den rumaenischen Zigeunern überhaupt aus: sie sind Bärenreiter, Mulden-, Spindel-, Früchte-mussmacher, Musikanten u.s.w. Alles dies beweist unzweideutig, dass die Karavlachen rumaenische Zigeuner sind.

Das Raisonnement und die Behauptungen Herrn Filipescus über die physischen Eigentümlichkeiten der Karavlachen, sind nicht ernst zu nehmen, lächerlich, und entbehren jeder Beweiskraft: 'Die dunkle Farbe ist im allgemeinen die Farbe der romanischen Rasse' [aber doch nicht auch die dunkle Farbe der Zigeuner] (S. 239). 'Zur Konstatirung des Ursprungs eines Volkes ist auch die Durchführung kraniologischer Studien notwendig' [die übrigens Herr Filipescu nicht vorgenommen hat]. 'Aus den anthropologischen Studien ist's bekannt, dass die Zigeuner einen kleinen Schädel haben, der etwas länglich und ein bischen hoch geraten ist und eine flache, breite Stirne zeigt und überdies sticht die Partie unter den Augen etwas hervor,' die Karavlachen in Bosnien jedoch, 'haben diesen charakteristischen Zigeunerkopf nicht, sondern es herrscht bei ihnen der Typus des rumaenischen Schädels vor' (S. 239-270).

Man darf nicht meinen, er habe dies auf Grund irgend welcher wissenschaftlicher Erhebungen vorgebracht; nein, das sind blos seine Mutmassungen, die er für Tatsachen hinstellt. Daraufhin schlussfolgert aber Filipescu kühnlich: 'Die Karavlachen sind auf diese Weise Nachkommen der Rumaenen und teilweise auch von Zigeunern [besser und glaubwürdiger wäre wohl das Gegenteil davon zu sagen], die aus Rumaenien emigriert sind, jedoch genötigt waren, sich in Banat und in Siebenbürgen mit rumaenischen Zigeunern zu kreuzen. Mit anderen Worten, nur ihre Weiber waren anfangs Zigeunerinnen, und hier der Grund, warum: die rumaenischen Emigranten, von alterher Erzschrifer, die sich in Bosnien ansiedelten, waren bemüssigt, ihre Ehefrauen von rumae-

nischen Zigeunern im Banat und in Siebenbürgen zu nehmen; denn die Rumaenen geben ihre Töchter nicht an Fremdlinge oder ihnen sonst wie unbekannte Leute aus. Wohnt der Jüngling nicht im selben Dorfe, so kann gar keine Rede von einer Eheschliessung mit ihm sein. Den rumaenischen Emigranten blieb daher kein anderer Ausweg, als Zigeunerinnen zu Ehefrauen zu erkiesen und also behauptete sich bei den Karavlashen noch bis auf den heutigen Tag der Brauch des Mädchenkaufs' [!] (S. 240-241). Was nun weiter folgt, ist einfach eine Niederschmetterung der Wissenschaft: 'Auf meinen Wanderungen in karavlashischen Dörfern in Bosnien sah ich Männer von grosser Intelligenz, mit einem Aussehen, das deutlich ihre rumaenische Nationalität bezeugt, aber ich habe auch Weiber gesehen, zumeist Vetteln, die wie Zigeunerinnen aus dem Zelte heraus ausschauten. Die Männer bewahrten die Merkmale ihrer männlichen Vorfahren, die da Rumaenen waren, die Weiber jedoch behielten die Kennzeichen ihrer Mütter und Grossmütter, die Zigeunerinnen gewesen' [!] (S. 241). Wer auch nur das Abc der Anthropologie inne hat, darf dergleichen nicht vorbringen, wären jedoch seine Mittheilungen in der Sache begründet, was ja undenkbar ist, so hätte er eine höchst wichtige wissenschaftliche Entdeckung gemacht.

II. DIE SCHICHTEN UND RICHTUNGEN DER EMIGRATION UND DIE GRÜNDE DER EMIGRIRUNG DER KARAVLASHEN (247-258).—Die karavlashischen Emigrationen entstanden zufolge schlimmer politischer und oekonomischer Lage in der Walachei (*Valáhia*, *Muntenia* oder *Țara Românească*) und der Moldau, nach dem Fall dieser Länder unter türkische Oberhoheit. Damals verkaufte man das Recht geradezu an den Bestbezahlenden. Da in diesen Ländern das Bojarensystem herrschte, befand sich das Bauernvolk in ärgstem Elend. Zeitgenössische Schriftsteller beschreiben mit schrecklichen Farben die Lage der Rumaenen in diesen Ländern und namentlich zur Zeit der Fanariotenepoche (1711-1821). Die Bauern flüchteten aus den Dörfern und siedelten sich in Waldungen oder in Hochgebirgen an, oder verliessen fluchtartig das Land, nur um sich vor der Brutalität der Bojaren und der Mönche zu retten. Ueber all die Ungerechtigkeiten hinaus mussten die Bauern auch noch alle Lasten während dreier Kriege zwischen den Russen und den Türken (1769-1812) ertragen und in dieser Periode fanden die meisten Auswanderungen statt. Ausser den

Rumaenen gab es in der Moldau und Walachei auch Zigeuner, die unverfälschte Sklaven waren, die man wie Sachen verkaufte, und die flüchteten gleichzeitig mit den Rumaenen. Die Emigranten siedelten sich am häufigsten in Transsilvanien und im Banat an, manche giengen auch nach Serbien und Bulgarien, dann nach Bosnien und Slavonien über. Die Territorien, aus denen die grösste Emigration erfolgte, waren Grenzgebiete des heutigen Rumaeniens gegenüber den Grenzen Ungarns, Bulgariens und Serbiens. Neben diesen grossen Emigrationen gab es auch kleinere, wenn da einzelne Familien oder Familienmitglieder ihre Dörfer verliessen und über die Grenze gingen. Solcher Emigrationen hat es seit der Hälfte des xviii. bis zur Hälfte des xix. Jahrhunderts ihrer viele gegeben.—All dies mag ja zutreffen, doch die Bemerkung: 'Die Karavlahen in Bosnien sind die Nachkommen jener alten Erzschrifer und Bauern, die Rumaenien zumeist in kleinen Emigrationen im xviii. und xix. Jahrhundert verlassen haben,' kann nur soweit richtig sein, als die Karavlahen rumaenische Zigeuner sind. Rumaenen emigrierten und verblieben ausserhalb der Moldau und Walachei, aber immer in Grenznähe, wo man sie auch gegenwärtig antrifft, die rumaenischen Zigeuner jedoch, wie dies ja alle Zigeuner pflegen, wanderten gar weit ab weg von den rumaenischen Grenzen und Ansiedlungen bis nach Bosnien und Slavonien, ab und zu nach Südserbien und sogar bis nach Albanien.¹ Die Richtung der bosnischen Karavlahen verlief von Osten nach Westen über Transsilvanien, den Banat, Sirmien, Serbien und Bosnien. Die anderen kamen über Bulgarien und Serbien entlang der Donau und Save.

III. DIE ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN KREUZUNGEN AUF DEM NEUEN TERRITORIUM (Seite 258-268). Die Karavlahen gelangten in ein neues Zentrum, das anders geartete ethnische Kennzeichen als die ihrigen waren aufweist, und obwohl gering an Zahl, so waren sie doch von kräftiger Resistenz und verschmolzen nicht mit dem Serbentum (S. 258). Nun gerade diese Resistenz erscheint als ein klares Zeichen ihres zigeunerischen Ursprungs, denn nur die Zigeuner behaupten sich überall am längsten. Die Karavlahen bewahrten die rumaenische Sprache, ihre Berufzweige, vermengten sich weder mit den Christen noch mit den Moslimen und die slavische Kultur blieb auf sie ohne Einfluss [echte Zigeunerart], ausser dass seit der Okkupation Bosniens der Einfluss der Schule

¹ G. Weigand, *Die Aromunen*.

bemerkbar wird; sie behaupteten rumaenische Gebräuche, nur dass sie unter der Einwirkung der serbischen Kirche das Sippenfest annahmen [!]. Das Weibervolk hat auch die Tracht bewahrt. Gemeinsam mit Serben lebend erlernten sie die serbische Sprache, aber auch die Serben, die in ihrer Nähe lebten, übernahmen auch genug ihrer Worte. Sie hatten einen grossen Einfluss auch auf die nationale Musik in Bosnien.

In der anthropogeographischen Abteilung des II. Teiles (S. 263-293) bespricht er:

1. *Lage und Typus der karavlachischen Ansiedlungen* (S. 263-278).—Auf die Lage der karavlachischen Ansiedlungen hatten grössten Einfluss oekonomische Gründe. Die Karavlachen siedelten sich mit Vorliebe in jenen Gegenden an, wo es Wälder von *ulmus glutinosa* und *acer pseudoplatanus* gab, die ihnen den Stoff für ihre Erzeugnisse aus Holz lieferten. Ihre Ansiedlungen sind auch gegenwärtig noch in Nähe von Wäldern oder in Wäldern selbst, zumeist in Rodungen, wo aber der Wald weit weg ist, so weist das darauf hin, dass der Bestand seit ihrer Ankunft abgeholzt worden. Auch die ethnische Praedisposition war in dieser Hinsicht vom Einfluss; denn die Karavlachen pflegten auch in Rumaenien in Rodungen Ansiedlungen anzulegen.

Der Typus der karavlachischen Ansiedlungen in Bosnien ist meistens zerfahren. Anfangs rodete man den Wald aus und es siedelten sich einzelne Familien an, ihre Mitglieder aber rodeten später sehr weit vom ersten Hause weiter, und noch später baute man zwischen diesen Häusern neue auf, so dass die Ansiedler näher aneinander rückten. Einen solchen Typus erheischte so wohl die aus Rumaenien mitgebrachte ethnische Praedisposition als auch oekonomische Gründe; denn die Karavlachen befassen sich mit Holzschnitzarbeiten. Einem solchen Typus begegnet man auch in den Höhengebieten des Banats, Transsilvaniens, der Bukovina und Rumaeniens.

Die Karavlachen brachten auch den Hausbautypus aus dem alten Territorium mit, denn alle Typen karavlachischer Häuser in Bosnien kehren auch bei den Rumaenen in der Bukovina, in Ungarn und in Rumaenien wieder.

2. *Beschreibung der karavlachischen Kolonien* (S. 278-293).—In Bosnien gibt es 19 karavlachische Dörfer mit 300 Häusern und beiläufig mit 2000 Einwohnern. Die Dörfer sind: Purković im gebirgigen Teile des Bezirkes von Vlasenica mit 12 Häusern und 70 Einwohnern. Das Dorf gründete Dimitrije Purko, der Vater des

noch jetzt lebenden Ilija Mitrović. Dimitrije Purko kam aus Rumaenien im Jahre 1804. Hier errichtete er eine Hütte (burdelj) und von ihm stammt das ganze Dorf vom zerfahrenen Typus ab. Die Einwohner reden perfekt rumaenisch, denn ihrem Ursprung nach sind sie Rumaenien [!] altgläubigen Bekenntnisses. Gerade an den Männern konnte Herr Filipescu konstatiren, dass kein einziger Fall eines Zigeunerschädels vorkomme, während die Weiblichkeit ein gewisses etwas vom Zigeunerischen an sich habe [!]. Sie haben sehr wenig Eigentümlichkeiten der serbischen Kultur angenommen und befassen sich mit Bodenbebauung und Holzschnitzereien. Weitere Dörfer sind: Simić, Knežina, Zadar, Kusonje-Ljeskovica, Kamenica, Lopare, Modran, Batković (die älteste karavlachische Ansiedlung in Bosnien, die von den ersten Emigranten aus Rumaenien ausgieng. Der Name kam wahrscheinlich vom Vornamen Batko), Maoča-Karavlası, Špionica, Nemila, Vozuča, Prača, Ostražnja, Stanari, Pribinjač, Slatina und Sitnjež.¹ Die Bewohner dieser Dörfer sind: Erzeuger von Mulden, Spindeln, Löffeln, u.s.w., Ackerbauer, Bärentreiber, Musikanten und hie und da auch Kleinviehzüchter.

Fassen wir alles zusammen, was Herr Filipescu in diesem zweiten Teile von Wert beibringt, so ersehen wir, dass es die Konstatirung des Vorhandenseins rumaenischer Zigeuner in Bosnien ist, was man aber schon längst auch ohne ihn gewusst hat. Die Annahmen des Herrn Filipescu verführen zu Trugschlüssen, die in der Wissenschaft unzulässig sind. Ferner wäre von Wert die Konstatirung der Ausgangorte dieser Zigeuner (wofern man darauf etwas zu bauen hätte) und der Zeit ihrer Auswanderung, von grösstem Werte aber die genaue Angabe ihrer Dörfer. Hätte sich Herr Filipescu nur auf die zuverlässige Feststellung dessen beschränkt, was er selber gesehen und am Orte erhoben, ohne sich in Deutungen und Auslegungen zu verlieren, so hätte er damit sich und der Forschung weitaus mehr gedient. Alles übrige hat nicht nur nicht die Wissenschaft gefördert, sondern sie vielmehr im Gegenteil beeinträchtigt. TIHOMIR R. GJORGJEVIĆ.

¹ Vergl. *Die Zigeuner im Vlasenicaer Bezirke in Serbien*, S. 146-149, dieses Journals, B. I. 1907.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1.—A WALK TO KEW

‘Common Sense,’ the writer of *A Walk to Kew*, mentioned in David Copsey’s letter on the English Gypsies in 1818 (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 184), was, as Dr. William E. A. Axon kindly points out, Sir Richard Phillips.

2.—THE SHAH’S RUNNERS

My friend Mr. A. T. Sinclair, in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* for January 1908, states, on my authority, that ‘All the Shah’s runners to-day are Gypsies.’ This is a deduction from a statement of mine (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxii., July-December, 1902), to the effect that the Gypsies of Persia were governed by the Shah’s chief runner. As the deduction is not correct, a note on the subject may be of interest. The present *Shāṭirbāshī* or Chief Runner of the Shah is termed the *Bashm-ul-Mulk*, and the post has been in his family since early Safavi times. It is not known whether he is of Gypsy descent: but in Safavi times (Shah Abbas, the famous monarch of that dynasty, was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth), the runners were Gypsies, and were employed as messengers and spies. Some of their women, too, were introduced into the royal harem, and gained much power. Under Nadir Shah, also, the *Shāṭirs* rendered valuable services in a similar capacity.

Gradually, however, other nomads were recruited, especially Kurds, and to-day the runners are almost all Kurds. The Chief Runner, however, retains as his emoluments of office all the revenue collected from the Gypsies, just as the revenue levied on wine and spirits is the perquisite of the Shah’s *Farrashbāshi* or Chief Executioner. The above information has been given me by various Persians, and is, I think, accurate.

P. M. SYKES.

3.—GYPSY ‘CIVILISATION’

Good company seems as corrupting as bad; for, in spite of my natural objection to the interminable parsonical ‘lastly,’ I find myself compelled to add an appendix to my already unpardonably long article on would-be reformers of the Gypsies.

My main object is to call attention to a booklet published by the Missions-Bund für Südosteuropa—*Die Zigeuner und das Evangelium herausgegeben von Reinhold Urban*, Streitgau 1906—which, a rare thing in tracts, is of considerable general interest. Urban devotes himself largely to proving that the dark children are not entirely sons of darkness, and expresses a confident hope that with a little proper—by which he means not Roman Catholic—attention they may be turned into children of light. He brings evidence to prove that they are neither so dirty, lazy and dishonourable, nor such insatiable beggars as they are commonly supposed to be. As to his methods of conversion, it is comforting to find him speaking against the abduction of children; but whether the two rules he lays down for future missionaries, that they should proceed to the work with a heart full of godly love, and a knowledge of the Romany tongue, are sufficient to ensure the success of their attempts is more than doubtful. It is certainly true that the Gypsy is not so black as he is painted. Few people are: ‘the *beng’s kek bavedo* (= *wafedo*), if you treats ‘im well’ as an old *dai*, who looked as if

she ought to know, once told me : but I fear it does not follow that either devil or Gypsy are promising material for conversion. One would have thought that both Urban's conditions were fulfilled in the case of Gypsy Smith's mission to his brethren ; but even he admits it was not much of a success. However, Urban's sanguine hopes are buoyed up by the information that a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society disposed of his entire stock of bibles to a Gypsy tribe in West Prussia ! He infers that the Gypsies are dying for theological instruction. All things are possible, but one would dearly like to hear the Gypsy version of that transaction, and find out what really made them think it expedient to invest so largely in that kind of literature.

The book concludes with translations of the Lord's Prayer in eight Romany dialects, and specimens of translations of Biblical passages. It is also well illustrated, and is altogether a very attractive little pamphlet. The same Society has published the parable of the prodigal son in South Austrian Romany.

Among my sins of omission the most important was the absence of any reference to Pischel's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Deutschen Zigeuner* (Halle a. S., 1894), which is far the fullest and most reliable authority on the Friedrichslohra attempt ; but as most of the additional details are concerned with the foundation and early days of the experiment, and do not affect its issue, it is sufficient to refer those who wish to investigate the point to the book itself. Gjorgjević (*Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, Teil i., Budapest, 1903, p. 8) gives a list of all that has been done for and against the Gypsies in Servia, from which it appears that in 1879 wandering was entirely forbidden, and in 1884 the Gypsies were put nominally on an equal footing with the rest of the inhabitants of Servia. Later (p. 24) he informs us that Bishop Melentije bestirred himself and had no less than 2222 Gypsies baptized in his diocese in 1892-95 ! But one cannot read the rest of his invaluable work without arriving at the conclusion that the greater part of the Servian Gypsies still lead a very healthy pagan life, wandering all the summer, settling in the winter in caves or shepherds' wattled huts, and caring not a jot for Moslem saint or Christian bishop. Their souls still stink, according to the Servian saying,—and their bodies too,—in spite of the waste of baptismal water. Save water, no other refining instrument seems to have been tried, and but few of the children go to school. The rest wander happy in their innocence, with only an occasional rag to hide it. That, however, is not peculiar to Servia. I gather from recent illustrations of Hungarian Gypsies, that in spite of the frequent laws enjoining clothing, the children have not yet sufficiently lost their natural modesty to feel the necessity of any other covering.

In England I find the subject was broached earlier than I imagined. A letter advocating the reform of the Gypsies was sent to the *Public Advertiser* on July 29, 1778, before the publication of Grellmann's work, and the Rev. Sir (?) Richard Black went a-missionising among the Gypsies, and published statistics of the Gypsy population of Europe. When, where, and why, nobody seems to know, but apparently before 1843, as Groome's authority for that statement was a *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn* of that year (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., vol. ii., March 27, 1874, p. 257).

From a letter of the Rev. Alex. M'Millan, late of Yetholm, to Provost A. M'Cormick, kindly lent me by the latter, I find that several Gypsies were caught in the revival movement of forty years ago. Among them was a promising convert and preacher, who was too good to attend communion, and, indeed, held a meeting on Saturday to pray for the parson : but, 'I fear, if he had been left alone at the collection plate, the collection would not have been an average one that day.' The parson who was prayed for attempted without success to keep Gypsy children at home and at school in summer. Possibly those prayers opened his eyes to Gypsy character, if they did nothing else.

I should have noticed a 'proposal to found a school for the maintenance and

education of the children of the Gypsies in a central part of England,' made by the Rev. W. C. Fenton of Mattersey near Bawtry, and mentioned in the *Scottish Christian Herald*, 2nd series, vol. i. suppl. p. 48 (Edinburgh, 1839). There it is stated that 'it is clearly ascertained that the greatest part of these wanderers would cheerfully embrace the opportunity afforded them by such an institution.' Whether it was funds or cheerfulness that were found to be lacking I do not know; but the proposal seems to have fallen through, unless it afterwards developed into the Farnham attempt. Details about the labours of a London City Missionary (*circ.* 1860) among the London Gypsies can, according to *Notes and Queries*, be found in the *City Mission Magazine*, Jan. 1860, and the *Weekly Record*, Feb. 2, 1861; and the same periodical (6th ser., vol. ii., Dec. 4, 1880, p. 444) quotes a letter to the *Daily News*, dated Nov. 5, on a colony of three Gypsy evangelists, who, with their wives and children, had settled on the borders of Wanstead Flats. Their names are not stated, but presumably they were Gypsy Smith's father and his two brothers, who, as I omitted to mention, were also evangelists in a humble way.

Probably Prof. Palmer's paper on 'Gypsy Children at Board Schools' (cf. Besant's *Life of Edward Henry Palmer*, London, 1883, p. 234), if it could be found, would contain interesting information on the subject of Gypsy education.

To Mr. George Black I am indebted for several references to magazine articles, most of which prove to be notices of Hoyland's, Baird's, and Crabb's attempts; but from the title and place of publication of one of them, 'The Caravan Mission to French Gypsies' (A. T. Pierson, in the *Missionary Review*, vol. 18, pp. 574-576, New York, 1905), I infer that I may have been mistaken in supposing the French Mission Wagon to have been strictly educational. A photograph of it will be found in Urban's pamphlet, where the children certainly do not look characteristically Gypsy.

I was mistaken too in stating that the Gypsies of Turkey had settled freely. I learn from Miss Garnett's *Women of Turkey and their Folklore* (London, 1891) that 'Sultan Murad IV. decreed their settlement as agriculturists in the neighbourhood of the Balkans; but though the district between Aydos and Philippopolis is so overrun with them that it has received the name of the Chenguin Balkans, the Gypsies of that district are hardly less nomadic than in other parts of the empire. About 140 families have long been settled in Constantinople and its suburbs, and some 200 families are to be found scattered in small communities of from 6 to 40 families at Adrianople, Rodosto, Epivates, Silivria and other places. But . . . these sedentary families . . . are always in the street, appearing to sleep only in their dwellings. . . . Nor are they much less poor and miserable than their nomadic brethren. For the men, when they do work, follow the same unremunerative callings, and the women lounge about the streets, dressed in the favourite colours of red and yellow . . . begging and telling fortunes.' Like all other accounts this does not offer much encouragement to those who advocate forcible settlement.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

4.—GYPSY MARRIAGE

To the kindness of Mr. William A. Cragg, of Treekingham House, near Folkingham, Lincolnshire, we owe the following extract from the *Lincoln Gazetteer* newspaper of July 29, 1785:—

'Saturday last was married at St. Margaret's Church in Leicester, Phoenix, a youth belonging to Boswell's gang of Gypsies [now huted in Humberstone-field], to Miss Boswell, daughter of Mr. Boswell, King of this fraternity. His Gypsean Majesty attended the ceremony. Miss Charlotte Boswell was bridesmaid, and 10 or 12 of the gang likewise attended. They presented the clergyman who performed the ceremony with half-a-guinea, and to the ringers 15s., with a good dinner and drink in great plenty. We understand that a marriage ceremony

amongst this tribe of people is always celebrated with great merriment, and the feasting lasts for 14 days; indeed it is impossible to conceive a happier set of people than they appeared to be on this occasion. The consummation of the nuptial rights was intended to be in Humberstone-field; where perhaps Phoenix and his enamoured Princess, upon a green sod, with the canopy of heaven their only covering, may taste as much real felicity as those of a higher order in their beds of down with *pillows of thorns*. . . .

'Phoenix' trade is that of a tinker—his wife is a dealer in palmistry. . . .

'We learn that in a few days, at or near Holwell-mouth, by Melton Mowbray, there will be a general meeting of Gypsies from Leicestershire and the neighbouring counties, to celebrate the nuptials of Phoenix with the King's daughter.

'The Gypsies have undoubtedly a form of government amongst themselves, and to their King pay the most implicit obedience; to this submission we may fairly attribute their apparent happiness. They have no false honour amongst them, and they look upon shame as the most grievous punishment in the world.'

It is interesting to notice, as Mr. John Sampson points out, that while, at the beginning, the writer is evidently describing a real Gypsy wedding, yet when he goes on to give an account of Gypsy government and punishment by degradation, which if true would be immensely important, he is quoting almost verbally from Fielding's *Tom Jones*, book xii. chap. 12.

5.—PILSTĚRNA, 'DOVE'

One of the few animal names in Romani, this loan-word was first heard by me in May 1899, on the eve of Newark Fair (Notts), from Frank Ellet, or Elliot, a half-blood Gypsy who married one of the Grays. We were conversing in the open air when a wood-pigeon flew overhead. Said Frank: 'Dova's a *pilstěrna*, and that is one of our old Harriet's words. She's deep Romani; you must go and see her.' Needless to say, I got the old lady's address, and a few days later I sat at the feet of the vivacious nonagenarian widow of Jack Gray, who was then living with her daughter Wikki at Louth on the Lincolnshire wolds. Concerning *pilstěrna*, Harriet declared she had known the word all her life. 'You must know, Rai, there are two ways of sounding it. Some of our people would sound it like this—*pilastěra*, but I say it's *pilstěrna*.'

With reference to the two forms of the word, and their occurrence in Continental Romani dialects, Mr. John Sampson says: 'The word is not in Pott. But it ought to be, for Bischoff's *Deutsch-Zigeunerisches Wörterbuch* (Ilmenau, 1827) was one of his sources, and on p. 87 Bischoff gives "Taube (die), *pinnestěra*." The word occurs again in Liebig's *Die Zigeuner* (1863), where on p. 152 he gives the two forms *pillstěri*, *pinstěri*. In addition to these two German-Gypsy examples, Ješina in his (Bohemian) *Románi Čib*, on p. 90, has "*pilstěrni*, fem. die Taube," and in the German-Gypsy vocabulary, p. 120, has "Taube, die, *pilsteri*, *pilstěrni*, fem. (Ital. Zig.)." This last Italian-Gypsy instance is very close to your own—which I rather prefer, since the suffix *-a* is the correct way of indicating a feminine loan-word.'

The word is not recorded by Jacob Bryant, Harriot, Borrow, Smart and Crofton, nor is it in the vocabulary at the end of Leland, Palmer and Tuckey's *English Gypsy Songs*.

GEORGE HALL.

6.—THE VAN GHOST

Mr. W. A. Dutt writes that his little Gypsy friend Lila West has been telling him about the *mulo-mush* who sometimes taps on the outside of the vans at night, and laughs in a way that 'makes you cold as death.' 'You never see it,' she says, 'though you know it is near you; and if you pay no heed to it, you take no harm. You must never say anything bad about it, or something bad will happen to you.'

7.—DRAB'ING THE BÂLO

Mr. J. Steuart Maclaren sends the following words, learned from an old Gypsy woman in Murcia, Spain, which differ from the ordinary Spanish *Caló* :—

'To drab the bâlo'—*Chivar yâkis al balichô*.

'To cut a stick'—*Paravar un castî*.

'A lie'—*Jôjana*. 'Mulier publica'—*Yumi*.

(The J's have the guttural pronunciation of the Spanish *Jota*.) Some time afterwards near Martos, in the province of Jaen, Mr. Maclaren had the unusual privilege of seeing a drab'd bâlo, and a whole Gypsy family engaged in cutting it up; but, as he writes, he 'did not consider it prudent to ask any questions.'

8.—GYPSIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1851

'A tribe or family of Gipsies has encamped in the woods of Hoboken, on the opposite shore of the North River, from New York. They excite much curiosity, being the first of these wanderers ever seen in America.'—*Family Herald*, vol. ix. p. 335: London, 1851.

GEO. F. BLACK.

9.—A NOTICE OF SPANISH GYPSIES IN 1618

The expulsion of the Moors from Spain between the years 1609 and 1611 appears to have suggested to the Spanish historian Salazar de Mendoza the enforcement of a similar decree against the Gypsies. In his work on the 'Origin of the Dignities of Castile and Leon' he mentions that he had himself prepared a memorial urging the driving of them out of the kingdom, adding that it was over-scrupulous to tolerate such a pernicious and perverse race. His words in the original are as follows :—

'Falta agora, para que España quede limpia, que se haga otro tanto de los Gitanos, que ay para ello muchas y muy vivas, y apreta das razones : yo lo pruevo en un memorial que tengo ordenado a este proposito. Alli se vera, que es muy escrupuloso tolerar gente tan perniciosa, prejudicial, y perversa.'—*Origen de las Dignidades seglares de Castilla y Leon*: Toledo, 1618, fol. 185 recto.

GEO. F. BLACK.

10.—SUPPLEMENTARY ANNALS

The following reference to the Gypsies in England before 1700 occurs in a little twelve-page tract, entitled *The Welch Traveller or The Unfortunate Welchman*, 'by Humphry Crouch. London. Printed for William Whitwood at the sign of the Bell in Duck-Lane near Smithfield. 1671.' [Reprinted in W. C. Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. iv. pp. 321-53.]

The poem—one of a series of satirical pamphlets directed against the Welsh during the seventeenth century—describes the adventures of Taffie, 'a welch Astrologer' on his travels, who, after some hours spent in the stocks for thieving, and a misadventure in a farmhouse, where he tumbles down the chimney from a 'smoak-loft' above, finds himself at break of day without food or shelter. Then fortunately—or unfortunately for him as the sequel shows—'he a barn espied,' and

' . . . had not been there half an hour,
or hardly sate him down,

But Gypsies came, in number four,
who came from Guildford town.

They took poor Taffie for a spright,
and stood upon their guard;

They were prepared with him to fight ;
 which when he saw and heard,
 He cried out hur was a man
 though by misfortune crost.

And all because hur would not work
 but lead an idle life
 And up and down the Country lurk,
 as cause of all her strife.
 Kind friend, quoth they, you shall be one
 of our fraternity ;
 Our secrets to you shall be known,
 and we'll live happily.
 We live, as you do, easily,
 but have our wits about us ;
 We never suffer'd injury,
 nor give them cause to flout us.'

The Gypsies, who, Taffie thinks, 'look like good plain dealing men,' persuade him to 'rob a house . . . of bacon,' and then

' . . . themselves to sleep they lay ;
 no dangers them affright ;
 Most commonly they sleep all day,
 and do their work by night.'

Taffie leads them to the farmhouse he has just left, and is let down the same chimney by a rope with which he is instructed to bind the bacon.

'When this is done, observe us then ;
 we straight then up will hale you,
 And you do think us honest men,
 think not that we will fail you.'

The credulous Welshman does as he is bidden, 'the Gypsies up the bacon hale,' escape with their booty, and 'leave the fool behind' with the good advice to 'make haste and get away.' Poor Taffie, thus left in the lurch, personates the Devil, flees to a church, where he is caught by the sexton with his 'two hundred armed men,' and is finally sentenced to 'four long hours or more' in the pillory, where Crouch takes leave of him.

D. E. YATES.

11.—GIPSY CARAVANS

Does the following extract from *The Times*, 1833, July 11, p. 5, col. 4, approximately date the introduction of the modern Gypsy caravan in England ? 'Gypsies, impelled by the march of intellect, seem resolved no longer to march a-foot, and now travel the country in capacious machines larger than a Paddington omnibus, drawn by two or more horses. A numerous gang of these itinerant thieves located themselves a few nights ago in Stoke Lane, near Taunton, having no less than 17 horses among them (*Devonshire Chronicle*).' If the notice was worth reprinting in *The Times*, it would seem as though the use of these caravans was practically unknown in England at the time.

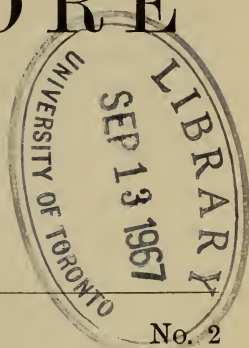
If however the word furniture in the phrase '*It* a cart with furniture, £2, 6s. 8d.' in an inventory of the goods of one Rumwell Durbare, possibly a Gypsy, who settled at Crewe, Cheshire, as a farmer, and died in 1627 (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser. iv., Dec. 10, 1881), bears its ordinary sense, the cart must surely have been a caravan ! But it may only mean the appurtenances, harness, etc., of an ordinary cart.

E. O. WINSTEDT.



JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES



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No. 2

I.—SPANISH GYPSY COSTUME

PROFESSOR KNAPP has very kindly lent his copy of the rare *Historia de los Gitanos*, por J. M. (Barcelona, 1832) in order that the folding frontispiece, lithographed by J. E. Monfort, may be reproduced. 'The plate,' Professor Knapp says, 'represents five Gypsies shearing a mule or *mucho*, with a Catalan *mayoral* or stage driver dressed in a Valencian *manta* (blanket) and head-gear, looking on. The *cachas* (shears), so much cited in *The Zingali* and *The Bible in Spain*, are figured to the life.' With the plate may be compared Borrow's description, from the fifth chapter of the first-named book, of the costume of the Spanish Gitano, 'of which such frequent mention is made in the Spanish laws, and which is prohibited together with the Gypsy language and manner of life? Of whatever it might consist in former days, it is so little to be distinguished from the dress of some classes amongst the Spaniards, that it is almost impossible to describe the difference.' Nevertheless he makes the attempt, adding at the end 'such also is the dress of the *chalan*s, and of the muleteers, except that the latter are in the habit of wearing broad *sombreros* as preservatives from the sun. This dress appears to be rather Andalusian than Gitano; and yet it certainly beseems the Gitano better than the *chalan* or muleteer. He wears it with more easy negligence or jauntiness, by which he may be recognised at some distance, even from behind.'

II.—A GYPSY'S LETTER TO GEORGE BORROW IN 1838

BY WILLIAM IRELAND KNAPP

IN *The Zincali* or *The Gypsies of Spain*, 1841,¹ at the close of the account of the murder of Pindamonas (better *Pintamonos*), by one Pepe Conde, George Borrow adds the following postscript:—

‘Once at Madrid, I received a letter from the sister’s son of Pindamonas, dated from the prison of the Saladero. In this letter the writer, who it appears was in durance for stealing a pair of mules, craved my charitable assistance and advice; and possibly in the hope of securing my favour, forwarded some uncouth lines commemorative of the death of his relation, and commencing thus:—

“The death of Pindamonas fill’d all the world with pain,
At the coffee-house’s portal, by Pepe he was slain.”’

Perhaps the members of the Gypsy Lore Society would be glad to peruse these two documents—for there are two—one in Gitano and the other in Castilian, both written on the same sheet of paper, in the same handwriting. These letters, which were penned seventy years ago, with bad ink, now quite faded and almost illegible, were not given in my *Life of Borrow*, and have never been printed elsewhere. I offer them just as they stand, palæographically exact, commencing with the Gypsy, the Spanish occupying most of the fourth page and running over on to the top of the first page.

PEDRO PEREZ TO GEO. BORROW

[First Page]

‘Mero el Joyo que ducas los endiño p^r sin al ul manus la cho en la olichá de las mesonas el masano lo maro avillaro su chaborre aquel donde se pillela endicaron á su patu me se mucarun mulane, lenicobelan los Camariches, los chibelan en un di clo se los endiñelan á su chaborre por que el julay ya mero brejate en esa veda chibela un me la lo demol acay sinela su plal ca ra aquelela como si no caraquelela

¹ In the editions in two vols., i. p. 246; in those of one vol., from 1846 to 1893, p. 140; in the last of 1901, p. 199.

[Second Page]

á la romi y la rumi penela cara queren á label rumi que anre sino y saro lo endico ya billela label romi que saro lo indico llaraquerela que si andoji ninguno el ague lo le chino [chivo?] aleray del bleje lo araqueran p^r patorro que mestipen lendiñelen al masano que no tenela andoji, y penela el virolo eso si que no asinal q^e si no amolan mi baria amolara mi potestad najando del baretel el masano se chibo en una sargua mientras lamiñarra dure el masano no ameral araquera el virolo no se camera munrrabal erbal

[Third Page]

del muy indaquediquelo el virolo al masano con un Junio en el que lo en el mascaro de la melingrana. Por una olicha al palal sanajao las romia y el baretel y los chine sicobaron astaralao, . . les penela el baretel si me penelas la chachipen te endiñare el mestipen y gone y penelo la romi no camelo bone que camelo memestipen que en la cho del virolo camelaba nicoalme mionol ya guillabela la prajandi delamajari con baviria [or barivia] ducas chibal pal ne enea coy podersechorrolo que lo chalan achibal en el chique en meripen del

[Fourth Page]

virolo on debel no se lo endiñele acaique que en el quel del callardo se rebolcaba en su arate [.]' S^r D^o Jorge no é (he) tenido el honor de conocer á V. pues deseava de conocerle ay (ahí) lleba V. escrita la muerte de pintamonos á un que (aunque) la é escrito con muchismo (sic) dolor p^r (por) ser tio mio, solo suplico á U. encarecidamente que me hallo preso en esta carcel (sic) del Saladero de la Corte de Madrid, sin tener amparo, mas que el de Dios, y estoy en queros (cueros) vivo y muerto de hambre, y no tengo mas amparo que de aquellos bienechores (sic) y corazones benignos como los de V. y le suplico á este desgraciado calo que le mande V. una limosna y una ropa vieja de V. con la dadora de esta

[First Page]

Por que llevo diez años de presidio, y no tengo mas amparo que á V [.]

‘MADRID, 15 de Feb. de 1838.

Dios g^e á V. m^s a^s y mande á su serbidor (sic) q. B S M [.]
Pedro Perez [.]'

‘Mero el Joyo’ (etc.)

The translation of the Spanish portion of this letter I shall give here:—

‘DON JORGE, SIR,—I have not had the honour to make your acquaintance, therefore I was desirous of doing so. I send you herewith an account of the death of Pintamonos, although I wrote it out sorrowfully enough, since he was my uncle. And now the only thing that is left me to do is to entreat you most earnestly (for help), for I am a prisoner in the Saladero Jail of this Royal Town, with no one save God to go to for relief. I am all in rags and dying with hunger, and have no one to apply to but benevolent men and generous hearts like your own. So I beseech you to send this unfortunate *Caló* by the bearer a little charity and some old garments out of your store, for I have now been ten years in prison and have no one to look to for aid but yourself. Madrid, 15 February 1838. God preserve you many years and command your servant who kisses your hand.

PEDRO PEREZ (or PETER PETERS).’

As for the ‘uncouth lines’ of which Borrow speaks, and which I suspect he never read, they will serve as a good lesson even for the somewhat advanced in Gypsy lore. If they are not made out satisfactorily by the next number, I will try a solution for the one following.

III.—TRANSYLVANIAN GYPSIES

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

ON the next four pages appear reproductions of drawings of Transylvanian Gypsies. They need no preface; yet it is only right to express once again the gratitude which all members of the Gypsy Lore Society feel towards Mr. Joseph Pennell for having added so greatly to the attractiveness of their journal, and the regret with which the editor sees the large parcel which he originally sent gradually becoming smaller as one by one blocks are made and the sketches returned to their generous owner.



THE BEAUTY OF A SAVAGE

By JOSEPH PENNELL

(To whom the copyright belongs)



ON THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER, TRANSYLVANIA

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

(To whom the copyright belongs)



AN OLD ONE

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

(To whom the copyright belongs)



A WANDERING MUSICIAN NEAR ROUMANIAN FRONTIER,
TRANSYLVANIA

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

(To whom the copyright belongs)

IV.—THE ENCHANTED MAN

A FOLK-TALE, DICTATED BY A GALLOWAY TINKLER-GYPSY WOMAN
TO PROVOST ANDREW M'CORMICK OF NEWTON STEWART

THERE were two brothers, and they were very handsome and gentlemanly in appearance, but they hadn't got very much money where they lived. One said to the other: 'We'll travel to such and such a castle, and we'll get good money there. You can be gardener, and I'll be coachman.' The other said that he was agreeable to go with him. 'I think it will be better for us to go.' So they packed their things and went off in the morning far further than I'll tell you or you'll tell me. Night came on. They came to a wild forest. One said to the other: 'We are fatigued. The night is good. We shall have a night's rest. They took some afreshments [refreshments] and fell into a slumber, and dreamed that they should come to a castle, get bed and victuals better than they had. One brother woke the other and said:

'We do wrong to wait here. We will go to this castle. It's an inn, but it's like a castle. We shall get rest there far better than we can have here.' They went away far further than I'll tell you or you'll tell me, and came to this inn.

'We'll go in. They'll do nothing to us.' In the brothers go. They look to the right and they look to the left, but see nobody. There is a great big table, tea dishes on it and foods of all kinds, a beautiful fire with a teapot beside it. They made up their minds to help themselves, and sit down and get the best of afreshments. The teapot attends to them. They take their satisfaction. There is a candle and candlestick on the table. Up get this candle and candlestick and walk off the table.

'We'll see where they are going,' said the brothers. So they followed them, and walked into a beautiful bedroom. The candle and candlestick sat down on a table. The brothers looked and saw a beautiful bed folded down.

'We shall have a good night's rest here,' said the brothers. They got into the bed.

If the place was beautiful at night, it was more so in the morning, but still there was no person to be seen. As it had done the night before, the teapot got up and filled all the cups, and still nobody appeared. The brothers take their breakfast, and

then resume their journey. They go far further than I'll tell you or you'll tell me till night comes on again. They come to another castle larger and more beautiful than the last one. They walk round and round, but can find no entrance except by the hall door.

'We'll venture in.' In they go. Everything beautiful—handsome table, beautiful dishes. Everything shining and beautiful.

'We'll have some afreshments. Everything is good, and nobody is here to hinder us.' Up gets the teapot and fills the cups. It's a grand table—knives and forks and grand dishes set for a lot of folk. Still the brothers could see nobody, and every dish was emptying as soon as theirs. There was a candle and candlestick sitting on the table. Up get this candle and candlestick and walk off the table.

'We'll see where you go.' They follow and come into a bedroom. Down sit the candle and candlestick.

'We shall have a night's rest. There's nothing to hinder us.' In the morning when they're going to rise here's a black lady, all black, only her face white. She never spoke until they had good afreshments. 'You were in my sister's house last night. You are in my house to-night. You'll be in another sister's to-morrow night. Tell her that you saw me, and that I spoke to you.'

'We'll do that, madam. And will it be a long distance?'

'Something like a hundred and fifty miles, but you will not be long in going that.'

The young gentlemen continue their journey. They go far further than I'll tell you or you'll tell me, and they push along, for night comes on and they want rest. They come to a third castle, and they go round and round, but the only entrance is by the front door.

'It's only death anyway; we'll venture in.' And if the second place was beautiful, the third was far more beautiful. The table was shining with white covers, six tea dishes and plates, and a great fire and every kind of grand foods. This is extra good. Here comes the teapot, fills out the six tea dishes. Still they could see nobody, and every dish was emptying as soon as theirs.

'This is something queer.' The candle and candlestick as before walk off the table.

'We'll see where you're going.' They follow the candle and candlestick and look and see a beautiful bed. They have a night's rest, and in the morning here comes a black lady, and she is all

black except the face and neck. Yet she never spoke until they got their breakfast.

‘You were in my sister’s house last night, and you are in mine to-night. You must now return home, and on your way you will stop at my sisters’ houses, and the last house you enter you will go no further. You’ll find your work. Turn back this morning. Go back to the second inn this night.’ They turn back, and when they come to the inn they go round again and can find no entrance, only by the front door. Something like a ‘waff’ goes through the house. Everything is beautiful. They have afreshments, and there are bottles of wine sitting all round the table.

‘Maybe that’s left to see what we’ll do. We won’t touch it. We have got good afreshment. We’ll see about getting rest.’ They follow the candle and candlestick as before, and walk into a bedroom. There’s always a ‘waff-waffing,’ but they can see nothing. They go to bed, and have a night’s rest. In the morning a young lady enters, white down to the breast.

‘How did you rest last night? Did anything disturb you?’

‘Nothing but a bad dream.’ They dress and come down to breakfast. The table is more beautiful in the morning than it was the night before.

‘You will be at my sister’s house to-night, and that will be your destination. You can be a gardener, and you can be a coachman, but you have to break the enchantment.’

‘We’ll do that.’ They go on their journey far further than I’ll tell you or you’ll tell me to this other inn. They go round this place, but there’s no entrance except by the front door.

‘We shall venture in.’ What a beautiful table! Everything was beautiful and shining. There is a dreadful ‘waff’ going through the place, but no person is seen. They sit down to take their afreshment, and there is a bottle of wine at each corner of the table, but they don’t touch the wine. When they are satisfied the candle and candlestick again walk off the table, and they follow. The candle and candlestick sit down on a table in a beautiful bedroom. They look and see a fine bed and go to rest. In the morning a young lady appeared, all white together—a most beautiful young lady.

‘How did you rest last night?’

‘Pretty well, my lady.’

‘Did nothing disturb you?’

‘Nothing but a small dream.’

‘I must say you are the noblest young gentlemen ever entered my realm. You shall be gardener, and you coachman. The horse you have to drive is enchanted, and there is only one rod you can use to break the enchantment. You must find that rod. My only brother was struck into this horse. There’s only one place in this garden, one place in this orchard, where you are to snod the trees. You have to root some of them out. There are parts of this garden you are not to touch.’ They agree to be the servants. They look at this and that through the house. Everything is beautiful. The coachman looks at the horse, then he looks at the horse’s manger. He sees a bit of a small rod, white peeled. He looks at it.

‘That’ll be heavy enough to drive a good horse.’ He gets his rod. There are three sisters in each inn—nine altogether. This is their brother that’s enchanted. The coachman gets orders to have the carriage ready to take the sisters for a drive. The nine sisters get into the carriage. ‘What destination?’

‘Such and such a destination, provided man and horse keep good.’

‘My horse shall do good.’ They go about a mile, and he touches the horse with the rod for the first time. The moment he touches the horse he sees the appearance of a man’s shoulder where he struck the horse. He pays no attention. About a mile further on he hits the horse again and a hand appears. He drives on. He hits the horse again for the third time. Another hand and shoulder come. He strikes again. This time the head and neck appear. And the ladies cannot conceive how he got this rod. But he is near the destination. He must hit the horse for every sister that is in the carriage—nine times. He strikes for the fifth time. He has the man almost together now. He has only two legs of the horse. Hits again—but one leg to go: it’s the man that’s pulling the machine now—till he hits the horse eight times and the horse falls down. He says:

‘My ladies, I humbly beg your pardon. There’s something wrong with the horse.’ They were very much put about.

‘Do not excite yourself, coachman. We will get out, and you can assist your horse.’ One of the sisters comes up to the driver, and she drops something into his pocket. Another comes and drops something into his pocket. One after another comes and drops something into the driver’s pocket. He was standing work-

ing and fixing about his horse, and he thought it was imagination. The eldest sister says:

‘Put your hand into your right pocket, pull something out and scatter it over your horse.’ He finds a stalk of corn, and throws it over the horse.

‘Put your hand in your pocket,’ says another sister, ‘and you’ll find something.’ He finds a head of wheat and throws it over the horse. The horse gives a kick and a cry. It is almost a human body now, but he throws and he throws till he throws the nine bits of things. When he throws the last thing on the horse, it jumps up into a man. The enchantment is broken.

V.—SOME OLD GERMAN-GYPSY WORD-LISTS

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT¹

PERHAPS Kluge’s *Rotwelsches Quellenbuch* is a work too familiar to all Gypsy students for them to have thought it worth while to call attention to the phrases and words of German Romani which it contains. Most of them, it is true, were used by the indefatigable Pott; but one at least—the Sulzer Zigeunerliste²—he overlooked; and that one I here reproduce in case it should be unknown to some of our members. The list was printed at Stuttgart in 1787, and contained information about the same band of captive German Gypsies from whom the phrases in *Hannikel*³ were taken. According to Kluge—I have not seen the original book—the Romany phrases occur on page 10 in a section (No. 24), explaining the difference between Romani and Rotwelsch. As they form part of the material derived from the same band, and were only known to Pott at second hand, the Hannikel phrases seemed worth repeating, especially as they are full of difficulties which Pott has not solved. I have therefore copied them from Kluge, in the hope that some Romani scholar more learned than myself may turn his attention to them. To these I have added the list of words collected by De la Croze,⁴ partly from Ludolf and partly ‘Ex ore Cingani cujusdam Captivi Spandavii hominis

¹ I am much indebted to Professor Finck for kindly reading my proofs and making several suggestions and corrections.

² Kluge, *Rotwelsch* i., *Rotwelsches Quellenbuch*, pp. 250-2.

³ Kluge, p. 250. Pott knew *Hannikel* through Diefenbach’s MS. material (*Die Zigeuner*, i. pp. 17, 25).

⁴ The list is published in Jordan’s *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Mr. la Croze* (Amsterdam, 1741, pt. 2, p. 310).

non insulsi' on June 2, 1727, and confirmed from other captive Gypsies at the same time. The work is on Pott's list; but he admits to only knowing it through Adelung's *Mithridates*, which is little better than not knowing it at all. Very few of De la Croze's words appear in Adelung, and practically all which do appear are altered in spelling and form.

The Sulzer list, as given by Kluge, opens with the words *dada* 'father,' *mamma* 'mother,' *brahl* 'brother,' *pehn* 'sister,' *tschor*¹ 'thief,' *t'schordumm* 'to steal,' which require little comment. *Mamma* is not elsewhere recorded in the sense of 'mother' among German Gypsies, *mamin* 'grandmother' being the nearest approach to it. Compare, however, Rumanian Gypsy *măma* (Miklosich, viii. 11). *T'schordumm* is, of course, the first person singular of the Past Tense, not the Infinitive.

Then follow some sentences:—

1. *Gayaratt Tschoss-ander Philicenn pagassadren*, 'To-night we will break into the castle.' Here again there is little the matter except misdivision, *Kaia rat* and *pagass' adren*. *Tschoss* is presumably *jas* (*a*) 'let us go.' With the redundant *ander . . . adren* compare the *Pándadás ándē ō raktés and' ō vúdār* of Sampson's so-called German Gypsies (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 116), and the *váha-menge ani plátsa an* of Gilliat-Smith's Rhenish Gypsies (p. 143).

2. *Melaha Jebagaress durchfebeta*, 'We will take a sheep out of the fold.' The first words should of course be divided *Me laha je bagares*, *je* being the shortened form of *yeck*. *Febeta* I cannot find elsewhere.

3. *Gawamas illatscho*, 'This meat tastes uncommonly nice.' *Kava mas hi latšo*.

4. *Gan Händler gammahanme gern*, 'We are fond of hens.' The first two words are rather mysterious, and it is with diffidence that I suggest that they should be read as *kanhinder*, an Ablative of *kahni*, 'a hen.' The form *kañhi* is given by Ješina (cf. also Miklosich vii. 70); and the Ablative is apparently a literal translation of the German 'von den Hennen,' though the form of the rest of the sentence is altered. The *n* in *gammahan* (= *kamaha*) is no doubt a mistake, as in the next two sentences the form is regular.

5. *Bappian Chahame gern*, 'Geese taste just as good to us.' *Bappian* = *papien*, which Professor Finck tells me is the regular Accusative plural of *papin*; and *chaha me* should be divided.

¹ *Tschor* continually occurs in Kluge's Rotwelsch lists.

6. *Doch hasmen Tulebale dui Schel Livri gammaha ganefeder*, 'Still we prefer fat swine of two hundred pounds.' When the words *has men* and *tule bale* are divided there is nothing noticeable except the Italian *Livri* (cf. Liebig, p. 116)¹ and the form *ganefeder*. The latter is paralleled by the Polish Gypsy *kone fedir*, 'best' (Miklosich, vii. 53). Compare also *kohn o fedidir* (Pott, i. 210). *Feder* is the form given by Puchmayer (Pott, ii. 390); but *fedidir* or *federdr* is usually attributed to German Gypsy.

7. *O Bibolte T'schorna galen gern*, 'The Jews rob the Gypsies very readily.' Here one would expect the plural article *e*.

8. *Naschahamenge Buchliwela*, 'Clear out; the ranger is coming.' The verb is of course first person plural, and should have been translated 'let us clear out.' *Buchli* Liebig translates by 'der Streifzug,' 'an expedition,' adding 'neben *rodini*.' Probably, like the latter, it meant 'search' as well, and was used too in a concrete sense meaning 'a policeman.'

9. *Egalen hi Perdebuschgi*, 'The Gypsies always carry loaded guns.' *E kalen hi perde pushki*, *kalen* being the Objective used with *hi* (cf. Finck, *Lehrbuch*, § 30, c.) or a shortened form of the Dative.

10. *O Biresgra Lanes grovoro aslatscho S'dildinge recht gnisto*, 'The beadle of Salz guards prisoners very well.' Apparently this should read, 'O *pireskro loneskro foro has latscho stildinge, recht mishto*' (?), which would rather seem to mean 'was good, very good, to prisoners.' *Loneskro foro* as a name for Salz may be compared with the similar names collected by Liebig (p. 91). *Gnisto* is presumably a mistake for *mishto*, unless it is rather a misprint for *guisto*, which would be very similar to the *questo* (= *kushto*) of Marsdon's Letter and of Francillon's *Zelda's Fortune*.

11. *Andro Pärmasensediko tem higalenge misto*, 'In the land of Pirmasens the Gypsies have a good time.'

12. *O Meizelen pagias zu Felldorf durchos darabrenn Ebri*, 'Meizelen has broken out of the prison at Felldorf.'

The last two sentences are correct enough except for two misdivisions, *higalenge* for *hi kalenge* and *durchos darabrenn* for *durch o staraben*. The list then concludes with four words—*sastor* 'chisel, *charo* 'cutlass,' *gegernachew leha* 'gimlet,' *dower* 'axe.' The latter is Liebig's *tower*; but what the portentous word before it is I am not sure. Probably it should be split into *ke kerena chev leha*, 'What they [or 'you'] make a hole with it.'

¹ According to Professor Finck Liebig's *librio* is a mistake. The regular singular form is correctly *libra*, as in Italian.

The phrases quoted by Kluge from the chapbook novel *Hannikel* (Tübingen, n. d., p. 120), run as follows:—

1. *Dikeu rala rikerte man tschila tscheski*, 'From youth up no one has kept me to virtue.' If the first words of this sentence mean what the translator says they mean, then they are an insoluble mystery to me. Presumably, however, they are nothing but *diken prala*, 'look you, brothers,' or, perhaps, *dik tu prala*, 'look you, brother,' which the Gypsy omitted to translate, while he expanded the rest of the sentence by the addition of 'von Jugend auf.' Pott (ii. 304) suggests that *dikeu* may be first person singular; but he does not explain how in that case it would fit with the rest of the sentence. *Tschila tscheski* should, of course, be differently divided, *tschi latcheski*.

2. *Dsigio maskaral tschoo rindi, dela raker di man*, 'I fell early into bad company and was led astray.' *Dsigio* may stand for *sigo*; but the ordinary German Gypsy form seems to be *sikk*, and besides there is no verb unless one gets it out of that word. Can it be a mistake for *sig giom*, the *g* and *m* of *giom* having merged in the *g* and *m* of *sig* and *maskaral*? *Tschoorindi* should be connected and translated 'thieves' rather than 'bad company.' *Dela* may require division into *de la* (*te le*, 'and they'), or it may be a plural of (*a*)*dola*. *Raker di* (*rakerde*) Pott (ii. 268) takes as a Past Tense of *rakkerwawa*, in which case it would mean 'they talked me over,' 'persuaded me.' It might, however, possibly stand for *rikerde*.

3. *Weil Guno Haskumo soroloter maskaral malendi jo Hunde gelasakowo honi sigiter Hakajame*, 'Since I was now the strongest and bravest among all my comrades, according to our custom the binding and tormenting people came always to me first.' This sentence is full of difficulties which I cannot properly explain. The beginning is simple enough except for the word *Haskumo*. In that word the *o* is doubtless the article, and belongs to *soroloter* (= *soraledir*); while the beginning of the word is a first person singular of some verb denoting 'to be.' Is it too rash to suggest that it is a variant of *aedom* (or *asdom*)? More probably, as Professor Finck suggests, it stands for *has kon o soroloter*, 'he was who the stronger,' a construction parallel to the *ganefeder* of the Sulzer list according to Pott's explanation of that phrase. *Guno* must, I suppose, stand for *kana*, 'now.' The end of the sentence does not seem to have any particular relation to the German translation. I can only suggest with diffidence that it should be read as follows:—*jov hun de gelas akowo honi (?) sigidir ákaia me*,

and interpreted, 'Therefore of necessity that duty (?) became (*lit.* went) quickly that of me'; but I should be sorry to be called too strictly to account for any of those idle words. *Honi* I cannot trace, and why, if it is masculine as *akowo* would lead one to suppose, *haka ja*—presuming it to be *akaia*, and to refer back to *honi*—should be feminine, I cannot tell.

4. *Weil daperdeman rachagar, dariasga ne dawatschi Dolo-gooweski*, 'Since I was not caught for such a long time, I became by degrees confident.' The whole sentence is wrongly divided; it should read '*Weil taperde man raha gar, darias gar (?) ne dawa tchi dolo koweski*, 'Since they did not catch me for a long while, I (?) did not fear nor did (*lit.* do) I care a straw for that thing.' With *daperde* compare Liebich's *tapperwawa*. Pott (ii. 283) takes it for a Participle, but it must be third person plural Past Tense. *Dariasga* is mysterious. I have taken *darias* as a grammatical blunder for *dariom*, 'I was afraid,' and *ga* for 'gar.' *Dawa tchi* is presumably equivalent to the German *nichts geben auf*, 'to set no store by.'

5. *Guni buta gejom abe diboldasdi, und rikerdomgar ke Sünd daki*, 'With these I practised chiefly on the Jews and counted it no sin.' *Guni buta* I take to be *kana but*, 'now often.' The *e* of *abe* is, of course, the article, the first *d* of *diboldasdi* a misprint for *b*, and *ke Sünd* colloquial German for *keine Sünde*. Is *daki* a remarkable shortened form of *odolake*; or a hybrid compound of *davon* and *lake*?

6. *Weil di schundum lender bud wei di hiena egadschi, ne leneles ke baro Gaweski*, 'Since I often heard from them that they also cheated people.' *Di* in both cases seems to be *te*, used to strengthen the borrowed conjunction, and *wei* German *wie*. *Hiena* is puzzling. Can it be the third person plural of Liebich's *me chniwawa, me chnawa*, 'betrügen,' badly taken down? ¹ The end of the sentence is not translated at all. It seems to mean, 'And they did not take it for a great thing'; presumably with exactly the same meaning as that expression would have in colloquial English.

The grammatical forms preserved are :

(1) NOUNS.

(a) Singular—

Accusative in *-es, bagareess*.

¹ Professor Finck tells me that the regular form would be *chinena*, and suggests that *hiena* may be a misprint for *hinena*, or that the first *n* has been omitted through the close proximity of the second.

Genitive in *-gro* (used as adjective), *lanesgro*.
Biresgra (= *pireskoro*) is a similar form used as a noun. The *a* is noticeable as it approximates to the hypothetical original form of the suffix, *-kara*.

Dative in *-eski*, *latcheski*, *gooweski*, *gaweski*.
Diboldasdi seems to be a Dative Singular used in a Plural sense.

(β) *Plural*—

Nominative in *-e*, *-i*, *tule bale*, *perde bushgi*, *gadschi*.

Accusative in *-en*, *galen*.

Dative in *-enge*, *-inge*, *galenge*, *s'dildinge*.

Dative in *-endi*, *-indi*, *tschoorindi*, *malendi*.

Ablative, *Gan Händer* (?).

(2) PRONOUNS.

me (Nominative Plural), *man* (Accusative Singular), *me* (? Genitive Singular, in *hakaja me*), *men* (Dative Plural, in *hasmen*), *amenge* (in *naschahamenge*).
Leka (Instrumental), *lender* (Ablative Plural). *Dela* (?) and *di* (they), *daki* (from that).

(3) VERBS.

(a) PRESENT—

1st Person Singular: *dawa*.

3rd Person Singular: *i* and *hi* 'it is,' *wela* 'comes.'

3rd Person Plural: *hiena*, *lene*, *gera* (in *geger-nachew*).

1st Person Plural: *chaka*, *gammaha*, *gammahan*, *laha*, *naschahamenge*, *tschoss* (= *jas*) and *pagassa*.

3rd Person Plural: *t'schora*, *kerna*.

(β) IMPERFECT—

1st Person Singular: *t'schordumm*, *schundum*, *gejom*, *rikerdom*.

3rd Person Singular: *has*, *pagias*, *galas*, *darias* (?)

3rd Person Plural: *rikerte*, *rakerdi*, *daperde*.

De la Croze's list, being merely a list of words, contains few grammatical forms. Almost the only complete sentence is the beginning of the Lord's Prayer, *Amarodad tu hal dndroboliben*, which was as far as his informant could get, 'caetera exprimere non potuit.' One or two verbal forms occur in the rest of the list—*de man*, 'da mihi,' *sokercha* (probably for so¹ *keressa*) 'quomodo

¹ *So* is unusual; as it should regularly become *ho* in German Romany.

vales?' *me kom*, 'sum,' *tu hal*, 'tu es,' followed by a mysterious word *butschituhal*,¹ 'sumus.' Then, having acquired his lesson, *me kom*, *tu hal*, De la Croze proceeded to apply it out of season: 'I love' he was told was *me kom avatod* (= *me kamava tut*), and in all seriousness he went on to conjugate the verb *tu hal avatod*, 'amas'! On the other hand, it must have been his informant who was responsible for the excellent equation, 'aegroto,' *ne hom*. But one or two of his mistakes are not so simple. 'Pulcher,' *schourna*, may be explained as a confusion between *schön* and *Scheune*, or even as itself a mistake for *schöne*, and similarly 'fluvius,' *nuschbin*, as a confusion of *Flucht* and *Fluss*; but what is *blotschigin* in 'bonus,' *laschoblotschigin*? And how did he come to take down *strebitz* as the Romani for 'dies' when it is obviously *sterowitza*, 'a ladder'? Or *beri*, 'eine Flinte,' when it looks more like the plural of *bero*, 'a boat'? The rest I have given in the form of a vocabulary, merely translating De la Croze's Latin and German into English, and incorporating the words in the Sulzer sentences. The latter are marked [S], the former [C], and the words from Hannikel [H]. As De la Croze does not acknowledge all the words which he took from Ludolf, I have put [C and Lud.] when a word is found in both lists in the same form.

VOCABULARY.

a, <i>je</i> [C], <i>un</i> [C].	beautiful (?), <i>schourna</i> [C].
air, <i>balwahl</i> , Lud. <i>prabal</i> [C]. With Ludolf's form compare Italian Gypsy <i>bravál</i> (Miklosich, vii. 16) and Bischoff's <i>prawul</i> .	beer, <i>lowina</i> [C].
among, <i>maskaral</i> [H].	better, <i>ganefeder</i> [S].
and, <i>de</i> (?) [H].	bread, <i>maro</i> , Lud. <i>manro</i> [C].
apple, <i>pabusi</i> , Lud. <i>pawug</i> [C]. Ludolf really has <i>pawuy</i> . The s in <i>pabusi</i> is strange. Is it really two words, <i>pabu si</i> , 'it is an apple'? Though one would expect <i>hi</i> not <i>si</i> .	castle, <i>philicenn</i> [S], <i>filicin</i> [C].
arm, <i>mussi</i> [C and Lud.].	cat, <i>gisterna</i> [C]. Pott (ii. 247) quotes the same form from Alter and suggests that <i>gi</i> = <i>je</i> (<i>jeck</i>).
away, <i>evri</i> [S].	catch, <i>daperde</i> (3rd. pers. pl. past.) [H].
battle, <i>kugriben</i> [C].	cheat, <i>hiena</i> (3rd. pers. pl. pres.) [H].
be, <i>i</i> , <i>hi</i> , 'it is' [S], <i>haskum</i> , 'I was' [H].	child, <i>tschabo</i> [C].
beard, <i>tschoor</i> [C].	chisel, <i>sastor</i> [S].
	come, <i>wela</i> (3rd pers. sing. pres.) [S].
	comrade, <i>malendi</i> (dat. pl.) [H].
	countryman (<i>je</i>) <i>gadjou</i> [C]. ²
	cow, <i>gurmi</i> , Lud. <i>curcumni</i> [C]. <i>Gurmi</i> is probably a misprint or mistake for <i>gurni</i> .

¹ The beginning looks like *but si*, 'there is much'; but how it fits the end, I know not.

² I take the liberty of bracketing *je* in this and other cases when De la Croze prefixes it to a word. In one case, *Je tschaci* 'hat,' he separates it, adding '*Je est articulus*.'

- day (?) *streibitza* [C].
 dog, *joukel*, Lud. *tzuckel* [C]. Ludolf, however, spells it *tzukel*.
 drink (verb), *pi* [C].
 duty (?), *honi* [H].
 ear, *can* [C and Lud.].
 early, *dsigio* (?) [H].
 earth, *pû*, Lud. *ep hu* [C].
 eat, *kha* [C], *chaha* (1st pl. pres.) [S].
 eye, *yaka* [C]. Ludolf prints *jaka*.
 fat, *tule* (acc. pl.) [S].
 father, *dada* [S], *dadé* [C], *dad* [C], Lud. *dade*.
 fear (verb), *darias*, 'I feared' (?) [H].
 finger, *gusto* [C and Lud.].
 fire, *Vag* [C], a misprint for *Yag*, which Ludolf has correctly.
 foot, *piro* Lud., *piero* [C].
 full, *perde* (acc. pl.) [S].
 gaoler, *biessgra* [S].
 garment, *kola* [C].
 get, *rikerdom* (1st pers. sing. past.) [H] cf. keep.
 give, *de* (imperative) [C], *dawa* (1st pers. sing.) [H].
 go, *gejom* (1st. pers. sing.), *galas* (3rd pers. sing.) [H].
 goat (fem.), (*je*)*schingingri* [C]. Cf. Liebhich, *schingengëro*, 'das Hornvieh.'
 goat (masc.), *bok* [C]. Presumably German *Bock*.
 god, *dewe* [C].
 gold, *sonkai* [C].
 good, *latscho* [S], *lascoblotschigin* [C], *latscheski* (dat. sing.) [H].
 goose, *bappian* [S], *papin* [C and Lud.].
 grass, *char*, Lud. *wira* [C]. For *wira* cf. Pott, ii. 79.
 great, *baro* [H].
 gun, *bushgi* (pl.) [S], *beri* [C].
 Gypsy, *calou* [C], *galen*, *galenge* (dative pl.) [S].
 Gypsy language, *romanischib* [C].
 hair, *bal* [C and Lud.].
 hand, *wast* [C and Lud.].
 hat, *stadi* [C], *je tschaci* [C].
 hear, *schundum* (1st pers. sing. past.) [H].
 heart, *si* [C. and Lud.].
 heaven, *boliben* [C].
 hen, *kachni* [C. and Lud.], *gan Händer* (?) [S].
 hole, *chew* [S, in *gegernachew leha*].
 horse, *graë*, Lud. *grae* [C].
 house, *ker* [C and Lud.].
 in, *andro* [S and C].
 into, *ander* . . . *adren* [S].
 Jew, *bibolto* [S], *diboldasdi* (dat.) [H].
 keep, *rikerte* (3rd pers. pl. past.) [H], cf. get.
 king, *bareder* [C]. Compare *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 9, *Bâro-dâr*, 'chief,' and Borrow's *Zincali*, *barader*, 'justice of peace,' 'a person of authority'; also the use of the comparative in *o bari-dir tschatschopâskëro*, 'der Hauptmann' (Liebhich, *Die Zigeuner*, p. 43), *barîdir krahl*, 'König' (Pott, i. 211).
 knife, (*je*)*tschuri* [C].
 land, *tem* [S].
 like (verb), *gammahan* (1st pers. pl. pres.) [S], *komava* (1st pers. sing.) [C], *halava* (!) (2nd sing.) [C].
 long (of time), *raha* [H].
 man (homo), *manusch*, 'Mensch' [C], Ludolf 'Homo (Mensch),' *manusch*.
 man (vir), *Rom Hans* [C]. Apparently De la Croze took it to be one compound word, as it is followed by 'mulier,' *Rom ni*.
 meat, *mas* [S].
 moon, *schôn*, *vel illune* [C], from Ludolf who, however, prints *chon*, not *schôn*. *Il lune* is, of course, Italian.
 money, *lowe* [C].
 mother, *mamma* [S], *daju* [C and Lud.].
 mouth, *muy* [C and Lud.].
 necessarily, *hunde* [H].
 night, *ratt* [S], *rat* [C].
 noble, *jarekonov* [C]. (? = *je rai hoïno*.)
 nor, *ne* [H].
 nose, *nack* [C and Lud.].
 not, *gar* [H].
 nothing, *tschi* [H].
 now, *guno*, *guni* [H].
 often, *bud* [H], *buta* [H].
 on (?), *ab* [H].
 our, *amaro* [C].
 pear, *prohl* [C and Lud.].
 people, *gadschi* [C].
 persuade (?), *rakerdi* (3rd pers. pl. past.) [H].
 pig, *balo*, Lud. *palo* [C], *bale* (pl.) [S].
 policeman, *buchli* [S].
 pound, *livri* (pl.) [S].
 prison, *sdarabrenn* [S], *stariben* [C], with the note 'Pronunciatio Cinganorum in Gallia: nam Dialectis nonnihil inter se differunt.'
 prisoner, *s'dildinge* (dat. pl.) [S].

queen, *barederin* [C]: cf. 'king.'
 river, *nuschbin* [C]. (?=nash(i)ben
 'flight.')

rope, *dower* [S].

run, *naschahamenge* ('let us run') [S].

salt-town, *lonesgro voro* [S].

sheep, *bagaress* (acc. sing.) [S], *bacro*
 [C]. Ludolf spells it *bakro*.

shirt, *gade*, Lud. *kadé* [C].

shoe, *tirack*, Lud. *dirach* [C].

silver, *rup* [C].

sister, *pehn* [S].

soldier, *karmascrum* [C]. The ending
 makes it look rather as though
kuromaskro rom had been telescoped;
 but the vocabulary collected at Wald-
 heim in 1726 has a parallel form
gurmastkrom (cf. Mikl., vii. 88).

star, *tzerheni* [C and Lud.]. Cf. Hun-
 garian Gypsy *čerheňi* (Mikl., vii. 31).

steal, *t'schordom* (1st pers. sing. past),
t'schora (3rd pers. pl. pres.) [S].

stockings, *teluni*, Lud. *deluni* [C].

strongest, *soroleter* [H].

sun, *ocam* [C]. Ludwig more correctly
o cam.

sword, *(je)charo* [C].

take, *leha* (1st pers. pl. pres.) [S], *lene*
 (3rd pers. pl.) [H].

talk, *tenner à kriben* [C]. The end is
 obviously *rákriben*; the beginning is
 not so certain. Probably *pen ye*
 (= *yeck*) *rákriben*.

that, *dolo* [H].

thief, *tschor* [S], *tschoorindi* (dat.) [H].

thing, *gaweski*, *gooweski* (dat. sing.) [H].

this, that, *gaya* [S], *hakaja* [H].

tongue ('lingua'), *tscheeb* [C].

tongue ('lingua,' 'dialectus'), *rakriben*,
 [C].

town, *voro* [S], *foro* [C].

tree, *ruck* [C].

village (*je*)*gag* [C]. This is probably
 the original authority for the form
jegag, for which Pott (ii. 48) gives
 several references. He is undoubtedly
 right in interpreting it as a mistake
 for *je gav*.

water, *pani* [C and Lud.].

wine, *möll* [C].

well (adverb), *gnisto* [S], *misto* [S].

woman, *rom ni* [C].

youth (?) *dikeu rala* 'von Jugend auf
 [H].

Finally, I copy De la Croze's list of numerals, which extends to unusually high numbers.

- 1, *jeek*.
- 2, *doui*.
- 3, *trin*.
- 4, *staar*.
- 5, *pansch*.
- 6, *schow*.
- 7, *efta*. Probably a misprint for
efta, though it is repeated in
the *eftawerdesch*, 70, of Grell-
mann (1st ed.). Bischoff also
has *eftawardesch* 'siebzehn,' and
Borrow *esterdi*, for 70. But
Grellmann corrected his mistake
in his second edition.
- 8, *ogto*.
- 9, *eigna*.
- 10, *deesch*.
- 11, *deeschujeek*.
- 12, *deeschudui*.

- 20, *beesch*.
- 21, *beeschujeek*.
- 30, *trianda*.
- 40, *staerbael deesch*. *Bael* seems an
unexampled form of *vár* or *ver*;
but compare Grellmann's *star-*
waldesch.
- 50, *panschverdeesch*.
- 60, *schooverdeesch*.
- 70, *eftaverdeesch*.
- 80, *ogtoverdeesch*.
- 90, *aignaverdeesch*.
- 100, *scheel*.
- 200, *deischeel*.
- 1000, *mille, tausend*.
- 2000, *bischeel*.
- 3000, *triandescheel*.
- 4000, *stardescheel*.

The last three differ considerably from the only forms given by Pott (i. 223-4), *dwiwer deschwerschel*, 2000, *trivven deschwerschel*, 3000, and *schtarwel deschwerschel*, 4000; all of which are taken from Zippel.

VI.—POVERTY AND A SONG

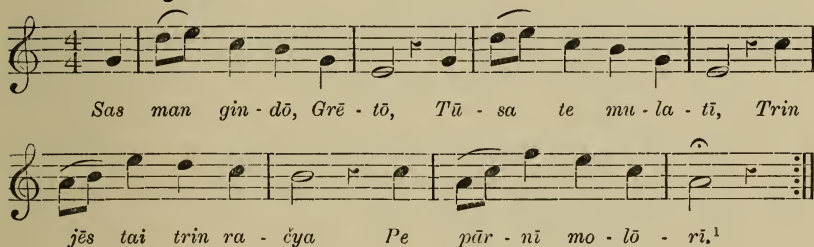
ON July 31, 1906, after a tiresome pursuit in slow trains and country cabs, we reached Penwortham Bridge on the outskirts of Preston, and found the 'German' Gypsies pitching their camp behind a tavern. Our reception was enthusiastic and, accompanied by a mob of picturesque ruffians, we invaded the bar parlour. More Gypsies joined the crowd from time to time and curious *gájos* strolled in to stare. Soon the hubbub in the overcrowded little room became intolerable. Connected conversation was out of the question, and any attempt to make notes vain—everybody shouted at once and the amazed landlord was at his wit's end. So we fled into the country, Sampson choosing Láiji Váiroχ as his companion, while I walked on ahead with the younger Yāni. At no great distance he and I found a little inn, and sat down to await the others. Yāni was conspicuously well-fed, and wore new clothes of excellent quality. Yet his first remark was to inform me, in a voice which trembled with persuasive pathos, that he was dying of hunger. I bought a pie, but he expressed no gratitude, and when the others arrived I was studiously misunderstanding his almost irresistible appeal for money. Then the subjects of starvation and poverty were dropped, we set to work to write down a tale and a song, and before we separated, the famished pauper had suggested a theatre-party at which he proposed to pay all expenses.

But we went to no theatre that night. Sampson stayed to sleep in the camp and I had the honour of a Romany bodyguard during my walk to the station. We halted for the farewell glass at a public-house where a smoking concert was in full swing, and it was easy to see that we were unwelcome guests. Regardless of singer, of audience, and of my expostulations the Gypsies talked, as usual, at the top of their voices; and after many cries of 'order, gentlemen, please,' and a storm of fruitless hissing, a corporal and a private soldier undertook the duty of silencing the disturbers. I tried to convince them that my friends understood no English, but my friends belied me. With winning smiles and faultless pronunciation they offered, as reply to every protest, the one utterly irrelevant sentence they had learned—'I wouldn't leave my little wooden hut for you'! The concert stopped. The audience grew angry, the soldiers furious, coats were thrown off, hostilities began, and there seemed every prospect

of a 'rough house.' But the brawl ceased as suddenly as it began. To the horror of everybody my escort, standing back to back in the middle of the room, drew revolvers, and in the indescribable confusion which followed, I was glad to escape with the Gypsies before a shot was fired.

It was an adventurous day, and as a singularly inappropriate souvenir there remains the following sad little lament, for the words of which I am indebted to Sampson, and its mournful if not dreary tune. But with regard to the latter it is my duty to confess, that when I wrote it down I knew nothing of the special scale and intervals smaller than a semitone which continental Gypsies are said to use, and was not even alive to the possibility of hearing, except in church, a modal melody. The air may thus be a mere outline of which the actual intervals have been unconsciously 'edited.' Such as it is, however, I print it; perhaps some more competent recorder may meet our Gypsy friends elsewhere in Europe and correct the notes.

Doloroso. ♩ = 60.



*Sas man gindō,² Grētō,
Tūsa te mulatī,
Trin jēs tai trin račya
Pe pārñi molōrī;
Či kostal lil³ mai but
Valbār ek-šelénžī (bis)
Aía! aía! aíaaa!*

*Kādē sī te našas
Sār le šošoiōra
Šantzónjē,⁴ le būréjē,⁵
Le bārē droménjē (bis)
Le bārē baryénjē
Ta l' bārē vešénjē
Aía! aía! aíaaa!*

¹ I had a thought, Gretō,
(To be) with thee at the wine,
Three days and three nights
At the white light wine;
'Twould not cost (us) more
Than a bill for a hundred (marks).

So we must run away
Like the little hares
To the burrows, to the brushwood,
To the high roads,
To the parks,
And to the great woods.

² Cp. Mik. v. 23, *gəndu* 'Gedanke,' fr. Rum. *gəndă*.

³ Cp. Eng. Gyp. *panj lil* ('£5 note').

⁴ *Santzónjē*] fr. Germ. *Schanze*.

⁵ Cp. Mik. v. 13, *bur sb.* pl. 'Unkraut,' fr. Rum. *buruén*,

VII.—DER ZIGEUNER IM SPRICHWORT RUSSISCHER JUDEN

By FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS

IN dem nur in beschränkter Anzahl von Exemplaren erschienenen Prachtwerke: *Jüdische Sprichwörter und Redensarten gesammelt und erklärt von Ignaz Bernstein*, Warschau, 1908, stehen auf S. 221 f. folgende vier Sprichwörter, die ich in eckigen Klammern gleich ins Schriftdeutsche übertrage:

1. *As men schpeit dem zigeiner (oder: der hür) in punim, sugt er (oder: si) es regent.* [Speit man dem Zigeuner (oder der Hure) ins Gesicht, so sagt er (oder sie), es regnet.]

So unverschämt sind sie beide.

2. *Ejn zigeiner ganwet nit beim andern.* [Ein Zigeuner stiehlt nicht beim anderen.]

3. *Dem zigeiner künt noch zehn (oder: a rescht) araus.* [Dem Zigeuner kommen noch zehn (oder ein Rest) heraus.]

Die Zigeuner halten sich für Abkömmlinge der alten Aegypter. Wenn also ein Zigeuner mit einem Juden in Streit gerät, so wirft ersterer dem letzteren vor, er sei zu früh aus Aegypten gezogen und schulde ihm noch ein Restchen der Fronarbeit. In Russland sagen die Zigeuner, es komme ihnen von den Juden *tri dni panšëini*, d. h. drei Tage Frondienst.

4. *Wü der zigeiner schteht ein, dort rihrt er nit.* [Wo der Zigeuner Herberge findet, dort stiehlt er nicht.]

Auf Seite 98:

5. *Die ejgene sün macht leinwand weiss ün den zigeiner schwarz.* [Dieselbe Sonne, u.s.w.]

Dieselbe Sonne übt auf den einen eine gute, auf den anderen eine schlechte Wirkung aus.

Auf S. 167:

6. *Es is di maasse fün'm jüden mit dem zigeiner.* [Es ist die Geschichte von dem Juden mit dem Zigeuner.]

Bezieht sich auf eine Anekdote, die da erzählt, wie ein Jude und ein Zigeuner sich gegenseitig betrügen wollten.

[Die Anekdote allgemein in Europa bekannt. Der Zigeuner verkauft dem Juden ein Pferd. Ein Dritter macht den Käufer aufmerksam, das Pferd wäre auf ein Auge blind. Der Jude tröstet ihn, es habe nichts zu bedeuten, weil er ja dem Zigeuner falsches

Geld gegeben. Als dann der Fremde den Zigeuner verspottet, der Jude hätte ihn betrogen, bemerkt der Zigeuner gleichmütig, das Pferd wäre ohnehin gestohlen und die Verfolger kämen bald daher, um den Juden als den Dieb zu ergreifen.]

VIII.—AFFAIRS OF EGYPT, 1907

By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

PREFACE

MANY events relating to Gypsies which would otherwise have been chronicled here have been already dealt with in the pages of our *Journal*, and notably in the number for April 1908 of volume i. in Mr. Gallichan's article 'The State *versus* the Gypsy,' and in the *résumé* of Gypsy peccadilloes which figures as No. 43 amongst the Notes and Queries (p. 391) and which was compiled by our Hon. Secretary, whose huge folio volume full of newspaper cuttings for the year 1907 is the foundation of the following epitome. A smaller collection by Mr. M'Cormick has also been drawn upon. To facilitate reference an attempt has been made at classification, and it should be observed that the object in view is not to gibbet any unfortunate offender, but to represent facts bearing on the present manners, customs, and state of the race. The English newspapers during the year contained many notices, with illustrations, of Lady Arthur Grosvenor, as 'Syeira Lee, hawker,' and her caravan, also notices of the Caravan Club, but these are not *tatchi Romany kovas*, and have been excluded.

SECTION I.—THE UNITED KINGDOM

On January 16, 1907, the *Galloway Star* mentioned the death of Henty Smith, aged 97, 'Queen of those Gypsies who for a quarter of a century made their home on the "Black Patch" near Handsworth.' The clans of Smith and Clayton formed the tribe and sold clothes-pegs, baskets, and tin goods. Henty had ruled since her husband, Esau, died ten years ago (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 369).

Esau dressed in knee-breeches, velvet coat with immense pearl buttons, and a double-breasted waistcoat. His funeral was attended by Gypsies from all parts of the country. A year ago the tribe was forcibly removed from the Black Patch, but Henty was allowed to remain, and she died in her caravan. She was buried in her husband's grave, and about two hundred of her children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren attended the funeral, as well as many Gypsies from long distances. Her clothes were buried with her, but she directed that her caravan and other effects should be burned 'to prevent any dispute in her family.'

On March 10, 1907, the *New York Herald* recorded that Henty Sertenius Smith, aged 98, Queen of the Gypsies, had died recently 'at Battersea, London,' and was 'waked for forty-eight hours.' She was well-known on Epsom Downs, 'where she told fortunes in a richly decorated tent,' but, on August 24, 1907, the *Yorkshire Post* alleged that she died near Birmingham, and that there was a funeral bonfire of her effects (*vide post*, August 24).

The *Daily News*, on April 11, 1907, reported that the Parish Council of Egginton, near Derby, had petitioned Parliament for legislation against 'the gypsy nuisance,' and had suggested a tax of £10 per annum on each van, and that the children should be compelled to go to school.

During the year there were many newspaper reports of agitation, in various towns and villages, for bylaws to regulate the sanitary arrangements at the more permanent camps, and to prevent camping on commons and vacant land.

The *Daily News* on April 13, 1907, mentioned that Dr. R. Farrar had been directed by the Government to inquire into the regulation of hop-pickers, including the Gypsies, whom he computed at about 10,000 (or one-tenth of the whole), including 'half' pickers, that is children. 'Most of the van-dwellers are Romanies or half-breeds. Many still speak Romany. Their tents are weather-proof, and they do not suffer from exposure.'

On April 1, 1907, *Young Scotland* (No. 28, vol. iii. pp. 86-9) contained an article by Thomas Crichton of Gaudry, Fifeshire, on the tinkers (Gypsies) and tramps (hawkers) who camped in the wood near Gaudry. Of the Gypsies he said, 'They are civil, law-abiding, industrious.' The article was illustrated by a photographic view of a group of twelve very swarthy and apparently well-to-do Gypsies, outside their cave-dwelling at Granada. A donkey was included in the group; one of the men had a guitar, and one of the women was in a dancing posture.

On April 19, 1907, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that 'the Waterloo van-dweller, A. H. Boswell, refused to move his van from waste land,' as ordered by the Limehurst District Council. The *Manchester Courier* on May 17, 1907, gave the name as Arthur Boswell. See report concerning Arthur Boswell at Ashton-under-Lyne, *post*, p. 129.

On May 12, 1907, the *Referee* gave 'Forélla, a Gypsy Love-Song,' by Fenella Lovell, who 'has written some charming gypsy songs, both in Romany and English.'

On May 17, 1907, the *Surrey Mirror* reported that a Gypsy named Henry Cooper had been summoned for lighting a fire within sixteen feet of the centre of the highway at Burstow, and Cooper had written with 'postal orders for 7s. 6d.,' and said, 'if there was anything more to pay, he would send it on!' He was fined 10s., including costs.

The *Daily Chronicle* of May 17, 1907, reported that Mrs. Pennell, niece of the late C. G. Leland, had given his Romany collections to the British Museum, but that they were reserved for twenty-five years from the public use, and contained a Romany vocabulary and a book entitled *Romany Wit and Wisdom*.

On June 9, 1907, *Lloyd's Newspaper* gave a photographic view of 'Derby Day Gypsies on the Downs.'

On June 8, 1907, the *Surrey Times* stated that, on May 26, a census was taken of persons living in vans and tents in Surrey, the return being men 294, women 256, boys under 5, 121, girls 129; boys 5 to 14 years old 150, girls 140; persons 14 to 21, 141; total 1231.

New Forest alleged Gypsy village.—On June 3, 1907, the *Morning Leader* (see also *Christchurch Times*, June 15, 1907, and *Northern Echo*, Darlington, July 10) had an article on this subject with photographic views of Thorny Hill church, 'a gypsy flower-seller' and 'a typical gypsy cottage.' Thorny Hill is near Bransgore, on the outskirts of the New Forest, and 'for many years past' the population has been principally Gypsies, 'now about 100' [not 700, as stated in *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 331]. Marriages between them and the rustics are not uncommon. Caravans are seldom seen. The Gypsies live in thatched cottages. In springtime a family or two get 'on the move,' and return when summer is over. All have adopted English names, Scott and Pateman being the favourites. They are very clannish, and quite commonly three generations live together in the same cottage. The elder women cling to the Romany headdress; earrings are *de rigueur* for both sexes. The women go to Bournemouth on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays to sell flowers [the wild ox-eye daisy was a great favourite with them some ten years ago]. The men drive them in pony-carts to Christchurch, eight miles distant, and

thence they go by train to Bournemouth: the double journey costs sixpence, and they often invest £2 in flowers. They keep cows and 'requisition' the Forest ponies.

On June 12, in the *Morning Leader*, W. G. Reed, a resident near Thorney Hill, challenged the foregoing account, stating that 'just three men wear earrings; strawberry-growing, brickmaking, and farming are the chief industries; there are only three families of Scotts and three of Patemans, but there are ten distinct families of Broomfields, who are positively not of Gipsy origin.' On June 7 the *Hampshire Post* reported that Robert Pateman and his brother Sydney, Gypsies, encamped at Sarisbury near Southampton, were fined for using bad language on the highway.

On June 14, 1907, *T.P.'s Weekly* contained an account of 'A Tramp Poet,' namely Roger Quin, whose grandfather was a travelling tinker from Ireland, who married the aunt of Esther Faa-Blyth, Queen of the Yetholm Gypsies. Roger's father was also a travelling tinker till he 'settled in Dumfries in the early forties,' and Roger was born there prior to 1857. He was educated at Dumfries Academy and Glasgow University, and 'held several good appointments,' but 'could never settle in any place longer than a few months.' He had lived a roving life for many years, sleeping under haystacks or anywhere else, earning coppers by playing the flute; not a teetotaller, but very temperate. A poem, in twelve stanzas, called 'The Borderland,' written by him in pencil, was quoted. The *Glasgow Herald*, on Nov. 21, 1907, contained a letter in Romany, asking Quin to communicate with 'Jinnymengro.'

On July 3, 1907, the *Cambria Daily Leader* stated that George Smith, a notable Gypsy, and his daughter were at Swansea. Queen Victoria visited his camp in 1878, when his niece was acting as their Queen and wore a dress which cost £18. The visit is recorded in Queen Victoria's *More Leaves from my Journal*. In 1891 George Smith represented the Gypsies in opposing the 'Moveable Dwellings Bill,' which was defeated. He had a letter from Mr. Justin M'Carthy, M.P., thanking him, and saying he had tried to become acquainted with the Romany language. The *Pembroke Free Press* of October 18, 1907, reported that George Smith, aged seventy-five, King of the Gypsies, had visited Pembroke for the Michaelmas Fair, and his daughter Ada was a palmist. He and his family were part of the attractions at the Liverpool Exhibition, when Prince Victor of Hohenlohe and the Mayor of Liverpool visited them. In 1891, at the Grand Masonic Bazaar in the Edinburgh Waverley Market, two of his daughters, in recognition of their help, received St. Andrew's Crosses. Smith had given his family a good education, and considered that every Gypsy should, however short his stay in a place, be compelled to send his children to school. He had lost his wife and four sons, and was at one time a horse-dealer. His visit to Llanelly Fair was reported in the *Llanelly Guardian* on October 3.

On July 6, 1907, the *Hampshire Observer* reported the burial of a young Gypsy named Patience Pike, who had died in hospital of pneumonia. The camp was on Chesford Head. About forty Gypsies, with crape round their arms, marched from the hospital to the cemetery, where an old Gypsy woman, distracted with grief, kissed the coffin. The Gypsies afterwards, 'according to their custom,' marched back to the hospital, and then dispersed.

On July 9, 1907, the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* reported that the Stockport magistrates had granted a separation order to the wife of Noah Boswell, who had deserted her.

On July 20, 1907, the *Coatbridge Leader* gave an account of the annual entertainment, given at Glasgow by Mr. Joseph Wright, to the Showmen's Children, including 'the dark-haired olive-complexioned Gypsies of the Boswell and Lovell tribes.' A portrait of Mr. Wright accompanied the article, and the *Scots Pictorial* of July 20, 1907, gave a photographic view of booths and caravans with children

'Preparing for Joseph Wright's tea-party,' from a painting by R. Gemmell Hutchinson, A.R.A.

On August 7, 1907, the *Daily Dispatch* reported that lightning had struck an inn at St. Helens, but had hurt no one. A Gypsy who was in the inn was terrified, and threw himself on his knees, and prayed aloud.

On August 2 and 3, 1907, the *Daily Mirror* had articles, by Bart Kennedy, in praise of the Gypsies. They 'are honest, intelligent, and healthy; coy, charitable, kind-hearted; noble, clear-eyed, and ragged; harmless and delightful. They wish but to wander.'

On August 11, 1907, the *Sunday Chronicle* had two photographic views, showing two *cheis* at a *wardo-wooda*, and Alma Boswell and his sister, children of Gypsy Sarah of Blackpool, at a *tan*, to illustrate an article headed 'The True-born Gypsy Folk; will the ancient Romany people disappear?' by Arthur Melton.

On September 25, 1907, the *Liverpool Daily Post* reported that Alma Boswell, junior, of Blackpool, had been bound over to keep the peace for six months, for threats to his stepmother and father; and on December 24, 1907, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that Alma Boswell, junior, had been sent to prison by the Blackpool magistrates for stealing a goose and 22 lbs. of potatoes, presumably for his Christmas dinner. On July 8, 1907, the *Lancashire Post* reported a charge of assault brought by Daisy Boswell against Mabel Robinson and Eva Franklin, all three being Gypsies living in tents at Blackpool.

On July 19, 1907, the *Manchester Daily Dispatch* reported that at Chester some parents (name not given), who were charged with neglecting their children, were alleged to have sold one of them to some Gypsies.

Superstitions.—On August 19, 1907, in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, John James Pescod of Low Fell wrote about Gypsy superstitions, quoting from Groome's *Gypsy Tents*, pp. 12-13.

On August 24, 1907, the *Yorkshire Post* contained an article headed 'Funeral Sacrifice in Yorkshire, 2000 years ago and to-day,' *à propos* of the death of a Gypsy King near Hunmanby. 'At the dawn of the day after his funeral the King's caravan was brought down to the seashore, all his personal belongings were placed inside, and the whole set on fire. The tribe stood by in silence watching till nothing was left, save a little charred wood, pieces of twisted iron, and a pile of ashes, soon to be dispersed by the rising tide.' 'A few months ago there was a funeral bonfire of the effects of Queen Henty Smith, who died near Birmingham, [ante, p. 121, and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 369]. 'In each case the inquirers were informed that the belongings were destroyed to save bickering amongst the relatives' [cf. *op. cit.* i. 358]. 'A fight is the last thing a true gypsy ever wishes to shirk; as a matter of fact, the Romany laws as to inheritance are so strict and so clear as to render disputes improbable.' 'The Brown Children adopt the only method they can devise of sending the deceased's most cherished possessions after him.' 'A female gypsy once confessed to a clergyman's wife, quite naively, that she had been received into the Church seven times, and that the good people, who prepared her for that event, had never failed to give her at least a new dress!' [A Scottish newspaper, in 1907, told how a tinker woman, in Forfarshire, took her child to the minister to be baptized, and afterwards told him, 'We aye think that they thrive better after it.' During the ceremony she indulged in frequent Amens.] 'Even divorce, the most characteristic of all Romany [according to Mr. Simson] ceremonies, is seldom now conducted in the old picturesque way, when the Brown People collected to listen to the Romany [*sic*!] High Priest, who, with a great Ram's horn hung about his neck, assisted at the sacrifice of a horse, over the body of which husband and wife joined hands for the last time, before turning away in opposite directions.'

On August 30, 1907, Bertram Smith, in the *Daily News*, described a visit to an old Gypsy woman, who had lived all her life, and brought up her family, in a

caravan. She said : ' I never could feel at 'ome in an 'ouse, but am always restless like after the first few minutes, and like to get near the winder. Rooms is so big and lonely. I never feels as if I was gettin' warmed through in an 'ouse, and on stormy nights mother never looks to be snug in bed, till the van begins to rock a bit.'

On August 30, 1907, the *Bedford Times* had articles on 'Bedfordshire Gypsies'; 'The Gypsies of 1830'; and 'Through Fire and Water.' The second item told how in 1877 David Townsend of Kettering wrote in rhymed verse an account of the Gypsies of Northamptonshire about 1830, when as a boy he saw Gypsy men fiddling at village feasts, and their women playing tambourines from door to door, for ale, plum-pudding, or money. 'They lived in tents made of two rows of rods meeting at the top, with blankets laid over them. Hedgehogs roasted on a skewer with their bristles on, and stewed hares, were favourite dishes. They were all musicians, but none of them could read music. At feasts the men wore large silver buckles on their shoes and clean white stockings, with breeches buttoned at the knee, a broad red garter round the calf, and sometimes a red vest with silver buttons, and a long black coat of velveteen. The young women dressed in white, with a ribbon round the waist, and lace and jewels on their bosom. When on the move they carried their possessions in a pair of flat-lidded panniers on donkeys, with a child sitting on each pannier. Another donkey carried the tent and bedding. They sat cross-legged on the ground. At fairs they played with a horizontal wheel and marble [roulette], and a "lucky bag" of badgers' skins with the hair on, or sold horses or osier baskets, clothes-pegs, skewers, corks, or wooden spoons, or told fortunes. Yet they had a private speech, but never would to me one word disclose.' In the third item it was told how a schoolmaster, arrayed in cap and gown, greeted an old Gypsy woman, hawking baskets at his gate, with '*Kushto divvus, dya*'; to which she replied, 'Pretty Gypsy you ! to go dressed that monkey fashion !'

In the *Daily Dispatch* of September 5, 1907, Cicely Fox Smith described the methods of Gypsy horse-dealers at Turton Fair, near Bolton, in Lancashire. It was reminiscent of a similar description by Borrow.

The *Eastern Daily Press* of Norwich, on September 9, 1907, described how 'Free Lance' [J. Hooper] came across two young Gypsies on Yarmouth Sands, one very dark, the other fair, with two extraordinarily swarthy girls in their teens. The dark man's wife was a genuine Petulengro, but her husband was 'posh,' and when she was asked if her tribe would '*jaw tasaulor to drab the bawlor*,' she modestly replied that they had not now the good chance. 'Nearly always you come upon the Egyptians unawares. *Kek Koskipen si to jal roddring* after *Romany Chals*.'

The *Leeds Mercury* of September 19, 1907, narrated that twenty years ago a Holbeck woman, in desperate poverty, gave her fortnight-old baby girl to some travelling Gypsies, and a few weeks ago suggested to her second daughter, aged fourteen, that she should join some travelling show people. 'At Holbeck feast last week the two sisters met,' and the elder went in search of her mother, and found her in a public-house in a state of having 'had enough,' so she returned to the caravan, where she was joined by her sister.

The *Lincoln Echo* of September 19 told how eight female excursionists visited the Gypsy camp at Blackpool, and offered threepence each to have their fortunes told, and when their grand offer was indignantly refused, went back to the fair to ride on the roundabouts.

T. P.'s Weekly for September 20, 1907, contained 'Some Borrow memories by one who knew him.' 'He converted one Gypsy to evangelistic Christianity, and the convert delivered the weirdest sort of addresses in a local conventicle, but when Borrow died the convert fell from grace.' 'While Borrow was staying with Dr. Gordon Hake at Coombe End, Wimbledon Common, some Gypsies encamped,

and Borrow induced his host to let them take water from his well, but they also helped themselves to other things. Hake represented this to Borrow, who eloquently resented the aspersion on his friends, and left the house in high dudgeon.'

The *Daily Graphic* of September 25, 1907, gave a photographic view of a camp-fire concert at a Gypsy hopping-camp in Kent.

The *Morning Leader* of October 1, 1907, contained an article by Harwood Brierley, headed 'Romany Rye,' chiefly about the Kirk Yetholm Gypsies, Queen Esther and King Charles Faa Blyth, with some remarks about Sylvester Boswell and King Charles Boswell, who was buried at Rossington. 'It was in the once romantic valley of Todmorden in Yorkshire, that Isopel Berners, the tall heroine in Borrow's *Lavengro*, met "Blazing Bosvile," the big Gypsy tinker.' Extracts from the same article appeared in the *Greenock Telegraph* on November 16, 1907.

The *Southend Standard*, October 3, 1907, reported the death and funeral of Henrietta Buckley, aged sixty-eight, wife of Sant Buckley, head of the Gypsy colony at Eastwood. She had over twenty children, and her grandchildren ran into three figures; she was also a great-grandmother. At the camp a disused tramcar does duty as a place of worship. Nearly one hundred attended the funeral.

The *Rhondda Leader* (Wales) on October 12, 1907, told how Sarah Price, a Gypsy, told a servant's fortune at Pen-y-graig, and persuaded her to hand over four shillings, and a handkerchief in which to tie them up, and to be kept till Saturday or Monday, 'to see whether my words will come true or not.'

The *Cornishman*, on September 7, 1907, contained a report of a charge made by John Slack, horse-dealer and hawker, against Maria Griffiths or Boswell, with whom he had lived and travelled for eighteen years. Slack said he was not a Gypsy. Abraham Boswell, Maria's brother, gave evidence. The charge was dismissed. On October 30 the *Cornish Telegraph* reported that Slack had sued Griffiths for £300 deposited in the Looe branch of Barclay's Bank, and about £100 deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank, also a horse, waggon, harness, etc., worth £60, and for another horse, cart, harness, etc., worth £40, all of which he had sworn in an affidavit were his; but when the case came on for trial, a letter written by him admitting that the affidavit was untrue was read, and the case was decided in favour of Griffiths.

The *Idler* magazine for October 1907 (vol. xxxii. No. 61, pp. 14-23) contained an article on 'Gypsy Life, by A. W. Jarvis and R. Turtle, illustrated by old prints in the British Museum' (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 192). The illustrations were (1) 'A Spanish Gypsy' woman carrying a child [by J. Phillip?]; (2) 'The Fortune-Teller,' engraved by C. Turner, after W. Owen, showing an old Gypsy woman in a large cloak, wearing a mob-cap tied on with a handkerchief under her chin; (3) 'The Fortune-Teller, or casting the coffee grounds,' from an original painting in Vauxhall Gardens, showing three ladies at tea *al fresco*, with a Gypsy woman holding and pointing into a cup, and wearing a long loose gown and shawl, and a soft hood; (4) 'The Gypsies' Tent,' engraved by G. Grozer, after Morland, showing a camp with a low-arched tent with a man in it asleep, and two donkeys, two men and two women and four children outside, a wooden tripod is being fixed over some branches, which will form the fire—some large baskets lying about probably were the panniers which were carried by the donkeys; (5) 'Gipsy Musicians of Spain,' by Knolle, after J. Phillip; a swarthy young woman seated, playing the guitar and singing, with another standing behind her playing a tambourine and singing; (6) 'The Little Gipse' [by Morland?], a child standing in the foreground, the right hand pointing to the palm of her left hand, in the background is a kettle on a tripod over a fire, and surrounded by a man and two women; (7) 'Marian,' a middle-aged Gypsy woman sitting by a fire, over which hangs a large can suspended on a cross-bar,

which is supported by crossed stakes at each end; she is reading the palm of a young woman, while two other women, by a stile, look on. The letterpress gives a *réchauffé* account of the Gypsies, but nothing is said about the illustrations.

The *Lincoln Echo* of October 30, 1907, contained an account of a paper on 'Gypsies in Fact and Fiction,' by the Rev. G. Hall, rector of Ruckland, near Louth, 'whose intimate knowledge of and personal acquaintance with the Romany people eminently qualify him to deal with the subject.' The article was eulogistic, and told how 'an artist one day visited some Gypsies in Scotland, and to his surprise they told him his name and address, although he had only landed a week from Australia. He paid them a second visit, and offered five shillings if the Gypsy would tell him how she knew. She replied: "Well, my gentleman, you went out of the tent with one of the boys to look round the camp, and you left your umbrella behind, and my daughter can read. Then you came back to have your fortune told."'

The *Glasgow News* on November 5, 1907, and the *Scotsman* on November 6, reported the trial at Glasgow of Andrew Brown, a young tinker, for the murder of Andrew Wilson, a pedlar. The crime was committed in August, on the shore of Loch Linnhe, near Fort-William, Argyllshire. The two men, with Katie Stewart, a pedlar, were travelling with a family named MacMillan, and the two men quarrelled out of jealousy for Katie, who had cohabited with the prisoner for nearly two years, but had previously been the mistress of Wilson, who was her cousin. The verdict was culpable homicide, and Brown was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

The *East Sussex Gazette* on November 14 reported that at Alresford several Gypsies had hoodwinked public-house keepers into buying Turkish carpets, etc., on the strength of giving large orders for spirits, cigars, etc. (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 366: *et vide post*, p. 128).

The *Globe* on November 19, 1907, contained an article headed 'In a Romani Tent,' telling of a visit to a grey-haired horse-dealer and his sixty-year-old wife and their four children, one of whom was a thirty-year-old son named Rube. The father said: 'Ever since my father died I have got my living honestly by buying and selling horses. I have sold carriage horses to gentle-folk. I have brought up three sons and two daughters, and not one of them has ever been in any trouble. I have heard my father say that when he was a boy, as many as fifty true-bred Romanies sometimes camped together on a heath or common, and when Fenella Lee married a Boswell over a hundred Gypsies danced to the wedding fiddling. Now I often travel about for months without seeing a Gypsy who is not of my family.' His wife added: 'Years ago a Gypsy man here and a Gypsy woman there married a house-dweller or one of the show folk, and now travellers have Gypsy names, but are no more Romanis than "Black Jake," who called himself the Gypsy King, and spoke London thieves' patter and called it Romanis, and once when I spoke Romanis to him he thought it was Welsh. One shooting-gallery girl cast eyes at my Rube, but I read her hand for her, and told her she would marry a rich gentleman, and now she looks another way if Rube comes along.' Rube thereupon got up 'to look after the gries.'

The *Car* on November 20, 1907, contained an article headed 'A Run [in an automobile] to Kirk Yetholm,' with two views of the village from photographs. 'Old Will Faa, claiming descent from John Faa who was protected by James v., was King at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His son William succeeded him after disposing of the "Earl of Hell," who opposed him. William kept the Queen here and was a fine sportsman. He died childless in October 1847, aged ninety-six, and his nephew Charlie Blythe, son of his sister Etty, was made King. Charlie died in 1861, aged eighty-three, and his son David wished his sister, Nell Blackbeard, to succeed, but an elder sister, Esther Faa Blythe, was crowned. She habitually wore a purple hood and a scarlet state robe when on missions. She died July 12, 1883,

and two thousand persons attended her funeral. She was succeeded by her son and grandson, the latter being crowned in 1898, and died childless three years ago, and his widow is now in Kelso poorhouse. A hundred years ago there were a hundred Gypsies at Yetholm [in 1816, 109; in 1835, 100; in 1847, 80; in 1875, about 50; in 1884, 45], but barely a score now reside there. We overtook several gaily painted caravans thither bound.'

The Scotch newspapers in 1907 reported the death of (seldom sober) Robert Rutherford at Kelso, aged sixty-eight. He was second son of 'Queen Esther' of Kirk Yetholm. His younger brother was living at Wark, a Border village. His elder brother, King Charles Faa Blythe, died in 1902 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 366).

The *Liverpool Echo* on November 21, 1907, reported the death of Ernest Taylor, aged sixty-four, a native of Chester, and member of a well-known Gypsy family. He was a scissors-grinder, and for four months had travelled with the van of Mr. and Mrs. Rabi Lock, hawkers, sleeping in a little tent alongside the caravan. He had a bad cough, and was found dead one morning in his tent [*cf.* July 19].

The Honorary Secretary's analysis of 'Gypsy misdeeds' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 391) included charges against Ernest Taylor at Chester on October 5 for being drunk when in charge of his four-years-old child; Albert and Harry Taylor, aged ten and eight, for begging at Brentford in May 1907; James and Reuben Taylor for begging at Llandudno in August; and Rose Taylor for larceny by a trick at Portsmouth in November [*vide ante*, November 14]. This Rose Taylor and Florence Gaskin had married 'travelling Gipsies,' and called at a public-house, where they said they were going to have a big christening of twins at Buckland, where they were staying, and would probably give the landlord an order for £17 worth of beer, spirits, cigarettes, etc., stating the particulars. They 'showed a handful of sovereigns,' and persuaded the landlady (so she alleged) to lend them £2 on the strength of the order that would come, but as soon as they got the £2 one threw a hair rug on the floor, and said, 'That's all you'll get for your money.' The woman, however, stated on oath that the landlady bought one of their rugs for £3, 5s. and paid £2 on account; and the charge was dismissed [*cf.* Nov. 14].

On November 30, 1907, the *Hampshire Observer* reported that James and Benjamin Gaskin, father and son, travelling Gypsies, were charged with assault. Six or seven Gypsy men and women had gone to an inn, and after a time quarrelled amongst themselves, and assaulted the landlord, who tried to turn them out of the house. James Gaskin said he was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

On November 30, 1907, the *Oldham Chronicle* reported that thirteen caravans, mostly Gypsy waggons, were camped near St. Mary's Church, in the centre of the town, and it was alleged that their refuse lay in heaps all round and created a nuisance.

The *Western Daily Mercury* on December 4, 1907, reported that Mr. Moore had let a piece of land at West End, Redruth, to a number of Gypsies, whose 'men, women and children were huddled up in tents, without sanitary accommodation except an open field, and they hung out dirty rags on lines.'

Public Opinion on December 6, 1907, had an article on the 'Distribution of Gypsies in Europe.' They preponderate in the Danube region; their numbers have been greatly reduced in North-western Europe by severe enactments; in England and Wales they are still by no means infrequent; in Scotland the pure Gypsy is almost extinct; 'in Ireland there is even less sign of a Gypsy than in Scotland.'

The *Saturday Review* for December 7 and 14, 1907, contained articles by Theodore Watts-Dunton, on 'Gypsies (reviewing this Society's Journal) and Gypsying.'

The *South Wales Daily News* on December 16, 1907, reported an inquest on Sarah Lee, a Gypsy widow, aged eighty, who lived in a tent at Pencoitre, Cadoxton, near Barry Dock, and sold clothes-pegs, and died suddenly. Her daughter, Matilda Head, gave evidence.

The *Christian Herald* on December 19, 1907, narrated that an old Gypsy named Lizzie was 'converted,' and gave up her old and highly cherished pipe, saying she would never smoke again; and at Southend another old Gypsy, Emily Buckley, who was a great drunkard, fighter, and smoker, was also 'converted,' but her husband said, 'I would rather have her as she was before, because now she makes the Lord the boss of the show.' Ultimately the husband also was 'converted' [cf. Oct. 3].

In the summer of 1907 it was reported that at Ashted near Epsom, Surrey, two Gypsy men, who chased with knives some children, carried off two of them, but were overtaken and thrashed.

A Manchester newspaper gave a portrait of Arthur Boswell, who for thirty-seven years lived in two vans at Ashton-under-Lyne, paid rates and taxes, and 'had quite a nice garden,' but he was ordered to remove into a house or quit the district. He wrote appealing to the King, whom he addressed as 'Dear Sir' (see Report about A. H. Boswell on April 19, *ante*, p. 122).

C. B. Fry's Magazine gave a photographic view of seven or eight Gypsy vans in their winter quarters, between the railways at Clapham Junction, where they paid a small weekly rent. Some of the Gypsies sold flowers or vegetables, some made clothes pegs, and sold them at a shilling a dozen. They had sold their horses, and would have to buy others in the spring, for about £15 each, at Camden Town cattle market.

A Scotch newspaper recorded that when Adam Smith, the author of *The Wealth of Nations*, was three years old his mother took him to visit his grandfather, who lived on the banks of the Eden, and for three days Adam was lost. He was found in a wood, where a Gypsy or tinker woman dropped him, and took to her heels when the searchers made their appearance.

The London correspondent of the *New York Sun* wrote an account of the original of Borrow's Jasper Petulengro (see *Lavengro*), whom Dr. Knapp stated Borrow's original manuscript named Ambrose Smith. 'A short time ago I was near Oulton in the tent of two Petulengros; the man was "Jasper's" nephew, a handsome, white-haired, grey-eyed horse-dealer, and his wife belonged to another branch of Jasper's family, and both knew Borrow. Ambrose was a horse-dealer, and often visited Norwich Castle Hill, Mousehold Heath, and Oulton, where he camped on Borrow's land. According to *Lavengro* he married Pekomovna Herne, but his nephew believed that Ambrose's wife was a Scotch Gypsy. Ambrose had four children, and some of them went to America, where the nephew believed their mother died. Ambrose lived to a good old age, and died in Lancashire. He generally pitched his tent on Battersea Fields, never once slept in a house, nor did he ever own a van, such as are now made for Romanies at Harleston in Norfolk, and Soham in Cambridgeshire. He was content with a two-wheeled hooded cart, and the customary "beehive" tent.'

Under the heading of 'A Gipsy Sibyl,' a newspaper narrated how a Gypsy once made her way into an officers' messroom, and told a young officer that he would be rapidly promoted, make a brilliant marriage, and have a son whom he would never see, and would die from a gunshot wound before he was forty. Two months later the officer received double promotion on the field for gallant conduct, some years later he married an heiress, and just before his child was born obtained leave to go home, but his postchaise broke down, and during the delay he joined a shooting party, and received an accidental shot in his back and died.

The *Glasgow Herald*, in April 1907, had an article by D. S. C. on 'Gipsies in Scotland, a disappearing race,' in which was described how the closing of old commons and restrictions on camping out, and the harrying, by police and education officers, had decreased the number. Formerly the Gypsies were at nearly every fair, and in summer their caravans were seen on moors and common land; they lived by barter, taking advantage of ignorance in bargaining, but 'your real

gypsy is never a thief.' D. S. C. had formerly met many of the tribes of Faa, Blyth, Rutherford, Baillie, Norris, Boswell, Gordon, Caird, Young, Lovell, Lee, Douglas, Marshall, Smith, Shaw, and Yorkston. 'Many are doing well as pedlars, showmen, and horse dealers; some are in positions of responsibility and honour.' Some historical particulars were given, ending with 'there's a *Kushti soraben* at the *kunsus* of a *duro drom*.'

The *Glasgow Herald*, under the title 'The Tinker's Life,' described the tinkers of Perthshire, which is 'more perhaps than any other county beloved by the tinker fraternity; at convenient distances are strips of no-man's land, for example, fir woods for shelter from storms, large moorlands for poaching. The principal families are the Whites, Reids, M'Callums, and Townleys. Granny Reid died at a great age by a mountain stream near Loch Freuchie, and her husband, though well over eighty, clung to his old habits. There was once a movement for the regeneration of the tinkers in Perthshire, but the efforts bore little fruit; children were sent to industrial schools, but they rejoined their parents or sometimes joined the militia for a short period, and then reverted to their old ways. 'They used to call at a farm, and hand in a pan for a little water, and then begged "a wee oatmeal," and finally to give it "a simmer o' a boil," so securing their breakfast porridge.'

Another Scottish newspaper described 'The Gipsy of To-day; the Wanderers in Forfarshire and Perthshire.' At Drouley Wood, Forfarshire, there were two encampments of tinkers called M'Larens. In a tent of sacking over bent sticks two families sheltered; they comprised four adults and half a dozen children. In another was old Hughie M'Laren, with white curly beard and brown face. He hailed from Argyllshire, but had forgotten his Gaelic, as his wife came from Moray and Nairn. She died of pneumonia, and was supposed to have been a minister's runaway daughter, but this she denied. Hughie lived with his son or by himself, and was seldom far from Sidlaw side. He was a piper. Two photographic views of tinker pipers were given; in one the piper was squatting at the tent door, with a group of several tinklers, men, women, and children by him; and in the other the young tinkler was standing in the road and playing his pipes. Some of the younger men worked occasionally in a quarry, but begging was the mainstay of the tribe. A farmer's wife spoke of them as 'oor ain tinks,' and the local policeman said 'they're no bad folk, the tinks. When there's drink they hae a bit shindy amang themselves. They dinna steal. We dinna lat them bide ower lang in ae place, but we canna be hard on oor ain tinks. If it was the German Gypsies we would sort them.' 'In religion the tinker is a pure pagan. A boy of the tribe, when in Forfarshire Hospital, was told by the nurse to pray to God to be made well, and he replied, "God! fa's he?"; he also asked her, "Do you tak aff your claithes every night?"'

Irish Gypsies.

As very little is known about Irish Gypsies (see *Public Opinion*, ante, p. 128), the following items are grouped together. Dr. Douglas Hyde, the eminent Erse scholar, states that so far he has not met with an Irish tinker who knows 'Shelta.'

On April 25, 1907, the *Alfreton Journal*, Derbyshire, recorded that a woman, named Margaret Oliver, was charged with stealing a pony and cart, and said, 'I am only an Irish Gypsy, and have never slept in a house in my life; I tell fortunes.'

On May 23, 1907, the *Pall Mall Gazette* had an article on 'Irish Gypsies' by Nora Tynan O'Mahony. 'In the old days of our life in the country the "tinkers" were amongst our most frequent visitors. A disused dry quarry, with cave-like formations, on the edge of my father's land, made a sheltered bivouacking spot for these free roving companies of dark-skinned men and yellow-haired women and babies, who rode on their flat carts or barebacked jennets and ponies. Our house

lay on an upland, stretching from the feet of the Dublin mountains. The tinkers came every other week, sometimes over the mountains from Wicklow or Bray, sometimes from Naas or Carlow, or places infinitely further distant. Asked whence they came, they would reply, "We're comin' from a place called Mayo down there in the west," or "We're goin' to a town called Drokeda (Drogheda) twenty-wan miles below Dublin." They told tales of the troubled times, and the doings of their grandfathers at the battle of Oulart Hollow or Vinegar Hill. A couple of them were visibly embarrassed when, on the occasion of one of their *shanachies*, they were asked into our dining-room, and made to drink Bass's ale, which the Irish tinker regards as a temperance beverage. Cash or Cooney was the name most common amongst them. One named Cash was sprung from a line of famous Irish pipers, and a relative of his, old John Cash, was a prize-winner for playing the Irish pipes at the Dublin Feis Ceoil [musical meeting] six or seven years ago. At this time our tribe were prosperous, because the Government were buying many hundreds of mules and donkeys for the war in South Africa. Each company of tinkers had a small army of them "on the way to Road-aisy" (Rhodesia). One might often see in the village shop some old woman of the tribe (the women were usually the purse-bearers) take from her bosom a purse full of gold, or a roll of notes.

'The tinkers are very good to their children and women-folk. The children had curly red locks, bleached to a flaxen tint, and were perfectly happy, on a wet or snowy winter's night, round a Gypsy fire, in the shelter of a heeled-up cart.

'Lawlessness and dishonesty were attributed to them, but our tinkers never did me or mine a wrong worthy of the name. They had easygoing notions as to "a taste of grass" for their animals. Repeated inroads on his crops, and more than usual pugnacity of the tinkers, once angered my father into putting a lock and chain on the gate of the quarry, but they generally got the best of him.

'Sometimes I have seen half a tribe devoutly bring up the rear of the long religious processions in the grounds of the village church, during May and on festival days in summer.

'Our tinkers compared favourably with another company of tinkers whom I once saw sweep into a Cork village, and terrorise the women-folk into buying their tinware.

'Another tribe of Gypsies visited our countryside one hard winter, a good many years ago. They lived in tents, and were about thirty; only three were men. The tribe had come from Bosnia, and the country people said they were polygamists, and "rale Turks." They had dancing bears, which the men led about. Heavy snow kept them there for many weeks, and the farmhouses about saw more of them than their owners wished. The women folk, brown and comely, begged for "a sup of milk," or "a little bit of bacon for the babies."

For an account of Roger Quin, grandson of an Irish travelling tinker, *vide ante*, p. 123, June 14, 1907.

The *Malvern Advertiser*, on October 12, 1907, reported a charge of drunkenness against John O'Shea, 'Gipsy,' at Malvern Links, Worcestershire.

The *Daily Dispatch* of November 26, 1907, reported that James O'Neill, a travelling Gypsy, had been stabbed by Albert Sykes, a grinder, at Bacup, Lancashire.

The *Manchester Guardian* of October 28, 1907, had an article by Edward Curtis headed 'The People of Kerry; Iberians and Tinkers at Killorglin,' describing how two lovers of Ireland climbed seven miles of hill from Glengariff and rushed down into Kerry, and three days after rode into Killorglin by twilight. 'Once a year here the Puck Fair takes place; a goat of the mountains is its presiding genius, and it is older than Christianity. West Munster sends its last ballad-singers and last fiddlers. Some two hundred houses on a hillside, with an avalanche of stones to form a main street and rubbish heap, there you get Killor-

glin. Ninety per cent. of the people there were of the dark violet-eyed small Iberian race. That evening we saw the tinkers, all big and red-haired. No one knows whence they come; they speak no Irish among a Gaelic population; they are bad Catholics, or none; their language is filthy to an extent rare in Ireland; they rob and fight, and get drunk without cessation. An old Munster song says "They're a cursed race the tinkers." The worst clan of them in Kerry is the Coffeys, who are the source of half the faction fights in the county. Half way down the lane was quite a drove of donkeys, some twenty in number. Four or five women, with hair of a curious red shade, standing apart and talking in jarring, unlovely, un-Irish voices; these were the women folk and flocks and herds of a male tinker who was now drinking in the town. By and bye he came reeling from the square; wiry, gaunt, and with the same peculiar red hair. His language was vile, blended with a general invitation to battle, but the fair pace at which he got along, with the fact that he passed his women without a sign, led one to suspect that he was only pretending to be very drunk in order to get out of an exasperated town. So he vanished, shouting, 'I'm Coffey, and I'm ready to fight the whole lot of ye.' His wife, aunts, and mother took up his quarrel, to cover his retreat, and shrieked from the middle of the lane, cursing the little town with aimless fury. The tinker's old mother shouted out a scurrilous taunt of the "Black Famine" of sixty years ago—

"A town without fun or cheer,
It's often they go without dinner there."

A half-drunken countryman murmured "aisy, darlin'," and then suddenly yelled "Away, ye foul-mouthed pagans." It was time for the tinkers to be gone, and they came down the road, their donkeys trudging before them. The tinker's wife half-turned as she walked, brandishing her right arm, and shrieked with mock enthusiasm "Up Cahir-civeen, Up Killarney, Up Kenmare, Up Tralee—down Killorglin." The Iberian population at the doors gave a loud yell of laughter as the tinker's women vanished into the dark, and at the next cross-roads doubtless they found the tinker waiting for them with blows and curses.'

On April 20, 1907, the *Galloway Gazette* reported the death of Michael Sheridan, 'the Tramp's Doctor,' of the Galloway district, a little, bent, and crippled old man, whose specific for lumbago was: 'an ounce o' cayenne pepper, an ounce o' ground ginger, and a gill of essence o' turpentine, mix them all together, rub it into the byack once and it will be better, twice and it'll be gone, and if ye rub it in a third time shure it'll niver trouble ye in this wurrl'd agin.' He was buried in Penninghame cemetery, and no relatives of his were known. His Irish origin was evident from his returning thanks to a benefactor with 'God bless ye, yer 'anner, and may ye nivver know what it is to want.'

Invasions.

As the subject of Gypsy migrations is of special interest, the following items are grouped together.

On May 15, 1907, the *Star* reported that a band of Gypsies (foreigners probably) had settled on land at Tilbury Docks, near London, and that the girls, 'very scantily clad,' turned somersaults near the main road.

Servian Gypsy Invasion.—On June 7, 1907, the *Daily Mail* reported that three men and three women, Servian Gypsies, had arrived at Fresh Wharf, London Bridge, the day previous, and had landed two caravans, one drawn by a donkey and the other by a pony. They were dressed in picturesque Servian Costumes, and had a bear with them. They passed down Borough High Street.

On June 17 the *Daily Graphic* gave a photographic view of them at Cobham, in Surrey, when they numbered four men and three women, had two performing bears, a horse, and a white donkey. They were said to be making for Folkestone.

They were escorted by policemen on bicycles. The *Daily Express* on June 18 also gave the same photograph of the party. The *Surrey Advertiser* on June 22 said they reached Cobham *viâ* Leatherhead, and left by the Byfleet Road. On July 6 the *Hythe Advertiser* reported their arrival at Folkestone: 'the party was made up of several men, women, and children, and they had with them two vans, several ponies, and two bears. They came from Seabrook, and were escorted by the police to Dover Hill, on their way to Dover.' On July 12, the *Dover Times* gave a full report. On one cart was inscribed 'Gustevan Teodorovicks, Nomp-teue [Dompteur?] Animaux Ambulant.' They went back to Folkestone, and thence crossed to Boulogne by a cargo-boat. 'Some time ago considerable trouble was caused in and near Dover by a company of Servian Gypsies, presumably the same.'

Invasion by Macedonian Gypsies.—The *St. James's Gazette*, sometime in the summer of 1907, reported that some Macedonian Gypsies were travelling about the home counties, as the German Gypsies did in 1906.¹ A few years ago [1896, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 370] a band from Corfu landed and went to Liverpool, but as they could not proceed to America they split up, and roamed all over England. In 1906 some foreign Gypsies were taken before the magistrates at Chatham, and at a moment's notice deposited one hundred pounds in gold as bail.

German Gypsy Invasion.—On June 15, 1907, the *Bucks Express* reported that the police had escorted a party of German Gypsies from Pottersbury along the Watling Street to Towcester, through Dunscore, Fosters Booth, and Weedon on their way to Daventry. They had two bears.

Servian Gypsy Invasion.—The *Yorkshire Post*, on November 15, 1907, reported that the Hull Immigration Board had refused, on appeal, to allow a band of Servian Gypsies from Libau to land from the Danish Steamer *Georgios I.*; they numbered fifteen, and formed three families belonging to Odessa, and wished to buy horses and a caravan, and to travel about the country. They had £162, 10s., and said that when they had bought what was wanted they intended to send the balance to Russia, to enable ten other families, numbering 150, to come to England. They admitted that the money was not their own, but was given to them to secure a landing. (They asked to be allowed to go to France, but were returned to Libau, *Eastern Morning News*, November 15.)

For mention of Bosnian Gypsies in Ireland, *vide ante*, p. 131.

SECTION II.—ABROAD.

France.

Le Matin (Paris), on March 4, 1907, had a long article, inveighing against 'Un péril errant, Bohémiens et Romanichels; la terreur des campagnes,' with a reproduction of one of Callot's plates, showing Gypsies on march with horses and carts. The article mentioned a visit of Romanichels in 1893 to Beauvais, Lille, and Amiens, when it was alleged that they brought typhus with them; that more than a thousand were in the suburbs of Paris; also that in February 1907 a fresh troop of Bohémien horse-dealers came from Étampes to Choisy-le-Roi, under Adam Kore Giorgan, who had a son Ianesche Giorgan, and nephews Kore Sadoche, Friedrich Kore, Yanko Micaël, Daki Miloche. The women included Paraskina, Maryka Parodi, Vorutchana, Schanapitchu, Emarka, as well as Saskia 'la belle,' who was to marry Ianesche. On the wedding day Adam's band had a conflict with that of

¹ They were sent by the police from Essex into Hertfordshire, then back to Essex, thence to Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk. They attacked their persecutors, the police, with sticks and brooms, and the police retaliated with their truncheons.

Yaya Witchkiness, and Yaya and his wife were stabbed. Next day Adam and his tribe had fled, and those who had bought horses from him found they had died, because they had been made to swallow live eels! The 1893 band alleged that for thirty years they had roamed through France. The article concluded with a report of the arrest of thirty-seven members of José Garcia's tribe, for horse-stealing round about Paris, and that the police at Châlons-sur-Marne were driving to the frontier a band of fifty, which had come from Luxembourg.

On May 28, 1907, the *Pall Mall Gazette* stated, on the authority of *Le Matin*, that small-pox had broken out at Ivry-sur-Seine, near Paris, and that it had been brought to the town by some Gypsies.

On June 6, 1907, the *Globe*, in 'Paris Notes,' reported that near La Tremblade, Charente Inférieure, some Romanichels had been arrested, and nearly sixty of them were examined anthropometrically, and thirty-two were detained as dangerous criminals with previous convictions. The chief was Jean Capello, who received the proceeds of their operations and took the lion's share himself (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 354).

On June 8 the *Globe* contained an 'American Tourist's' account of this gang. They passed through Brittany, committing thefts, etc. At Christmas the 'Gypsies' were suspected of stealing £1160. Early in January they camped between Poitiers and Niort, and robbed an old peasant woman of £400, and gave a banquet at the village inn, whence their patriarch 'Lepère' presided, and a ball and illuminations followed. There were sixty men and women, including Germans, Belgians, Swiss, Italians, and French, and they had close relations with other bands of Gypsies in various parts of France. They were joined by a Gypsy from Dunkirk, who was 'wanted' for a theft of £40,000; and one of their gang was sent to Dunkirk in his place. Two days later another came from Flanders to collect subscriptions for a tombstone to the memory of Anny, widow of a former patriarch, who died in her caravan at Bruay-sur-l'Escaut. Lepère collected £20, and handed it to the messenger. Later at Niort Lepère died, and was buried in the cemetery there, and £48 was paid for his monument. By his will his fortune of about £4000, half of which he carried in a leather sack, was divided amongst members of various caravans in the North of France. When arrested at La Tremblade the greater number of the Gypsies had sums varying from £20 to £40 on them (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 354).

On August 12, 1907, the *Morning Advertiser* reported that twenty-seven Gypsies had been tried at Rochefort, for swindling, by persuading country folk to hand to them 'for nine days a certain number of pieces of money, in order to avert the evil eye' of some neighbour, who was supposed to be a witch.

On August 30, 1907, a Copenhagen correspondent, in the *Daily Mail*, told how in Paris Mrs. Levin, who was murdered and dismembered by the Gouls at Monte Carlo, went with three Danish friends to see a Gypsy fortune-teller, who said only one of the four would live the year out, and that Mrs. Levin would be murdered. The listeners laughed, but the prophecy came true. One of them, Mr. Heming Just, caught fever in Hong Kong and died in March, another, Mr. Menck of Copenhagen, died a few months later, and Mrs. Levin was murdered.

The *South Wales Echo* of September 9, 1907, told how Monsieur Arthur, a Gascon, saw on Boulevard Ney, Paris, a pretty Gypsy girl standing in front of her caravan, and was invited by her into the caravan. The girl's husband staggered in, and frightened the gay Gascon away, and he then found that his pocket-book, with 150 francs in it, was missing.

Le Journal Officiel (Paris), on 30th October, contained a full report of the discussion in the Chambre des Députés on the police measures requisite to assure security in the country and to terminate the incursions of bands of Romanichels, who infested the land (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series April, 1908).

Monsieur Fernand David stated that a Paris *juge d'instruction* told him of

bands, which were installed (cantonnées) on the road de la Révolte, at Levallois. On July 3, 1907, a band of thirty-five appeared on the Franco-Swiss frontier at Moëlle-sulaz, where they were detained by the French and Swiss police for three weeks, before being allowed to re-enter France. They had come from Paris, and comprised three families of seven adults and twenty-seven children. They were going to join the rest of their tribe, comprising sixty vans, at the great fair at Colmar in Germany. They had divided into small parties to pass the German police without attracting attention. From Paris they went to Dijon, where they were driven back into the Ain, whence the préfet drove them into Haute Savoie, and they then made their way across Switzerland to reach Germany. The three families were those of Henri Rodenheimer, Mathias and Goby Reinhardt. On July 1, four of them went to the German Consul at Geneva, and obtained a permit from him to cross Switzerland by Lausanne, Berne, and Bâle. The Swiss police objected that the permit did not mention the horses and carts! In the end the party passed through France by Ain, Jura, Doubs, and Belfort, but at Altkirch the German police refused to let them enter Germany, and they were still there.

On July 10, 1906, a band of thirty crossed the Little St. Bernard Pass (cf. a similar occurrence in July 1907, on the Great St. Bernard Pass, *post*) and went towards Bourg St. Maurice, where the French police barred their passage, and drove them back into Italy, but on the night of the 11th July they recrossed the frontier, and the Italian police opposed their return. They were bandied about from Moutiers to Albertville, and back again, then into Haute Savoie, whence they were driven into Savoy, where the authorities put them on an automobile and drove them to the frontier at the Little St. Bernard, where they arrived on 30th July and were hidden in an old ruined chapel, and given food, tobacco, and money, to keep them quiet, and by night were led by experienced guides over the mountains into Italy. Sometime afterwards they succeeded in entering France from the Swiss Canton Valais.

In Western France there were Hungarian and German Gypsies, and in Northern France Spanish Gypsies. The Gypsies travelled south in winter, and north in summer.

Monsieur Adigard spoke in favour of more complete and efficacious measures against the Romanichels, whom he defined as 'without profession, without nationality, and consequently, without domicile, who come no one quite knows where from, viz. from countries more or less remote and mysterious, as Bohemia, Bulgaria, Roumania, the centre and south-east of Europe. What these people come from so far to do in our land, under protest of carrying on I do not know what professions, such as tinkering (*rérameur*), basket-making (*vannier*), or horse-dealing, every one knows, and *that is why they ought to interest no one.*' Monsieur Adigard stated that in August 1906, at Falaise (Normandy), after the very important fair of Guibray, a very host of nomads invaded the town, and it took the whole garrison an entire day to clear them out and to disperse the columns of vans to the four quarters of the land. One column comprised forty-two waggons. The most important section went south, towards Orne.

In June 1907 at Eu, in Seine Inférieure, a company of infantry was required to clear the place of the nomads. He also quoted, from the *Liberté* of June 28, 1907, an account of a visit of 196 waggons, sheltering about 1000 nomads, to Neubourg Fair in Eure. They were guilty of all sorts of misdeeds. Some police disguised as horse-dealers raided their camp, whereupon a party of six vans set off along the Bourg-theroulde road, pursued by the police on bicycles, but the nomads threatened to use their revolvers, and so they escaped. Eighty-five were however arrested.

The *Daily Mirror*, on November 1, 1907, reported that a tribe of 100 Gypsies had arrived at Nancy, where the chief went to the mayor to make the declaration required from all foreigners, and produced £3600 in gold, £400 in bank notes,

and bank receipts for a considerable sum. He offered to deposit £1000, as guarantee for the tribe's good behaviour, if they were allowed to pursue their calling of hawkers. They were mostly natives of Galicia, and were on their way to Germany and Hungary. The *Standard*, on the same day, stated that they were returning from Paris, and had travelled to Nancy by railway, and were housed in a disused convent, with a picket of infantry to guard them. They were tinkers, but refused to take a kettle to mend without depositing twice its value with the owner, and the owners stuck to the deposit in many instances! The chief carried his gold sewn up in ends of cloth.

Le Petit Bleu (Brussels), on November 2, 1907, stated that a Gypsy tribe owned a vault in the cemetery of Vieux Bourg de Commentry in France, where six of the tribe were buried, and for ten years past, on each All Saints day, the tribe, under Jacob their chief, visited the grave.

The *Daily News*, on November 5, 1907, stated that a Gypsy in the Lille District had offered the police 10,000 francs for leave to stay there, and a Gypsy woman, by exposing her half-naked children, had accumulated a purse full of gold. The paragraph concluded with a short account of the Gypsy pilgrimages to Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer in the Camargue, (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 92-5 and 391).

The *Morning Leader*, on December 11, 1907, reported from Paris that, for the past two months, a caravan of Gypsies had been halted on the Belgian frontier, at Mont St. Martin, where the French police prevented them from entering France. The town authorities were supplying them with food, and the Gypsies were quite happy!

The Tribune of December 12, 1907, reported from Paris that a party of Gypsies, travelling from Pace to Rennes, shot and clubbed to death the drivers of a mule cart, which blocked their way.

The *Morning Advertiser*, on December 20, 1907, reported from Paris that Monsieur Jean Cruppi, Vice-President of the Chamber, was hoping to induce the Chamber to discuss his report, made eight years ago, on the suppression of vagabondage and mendicity, which report he believed would 'speedily solve the Gypsy problem.'

Switzerland.

On May 3, 1907, a correspondent from Geneva wrote, to one of the English newspapers, that the Austrian authorities were dispersing numerous bands of Gypsies in the Vorarlberg, and as they refused to return home the majority were sent across the German and Swiss frontiers, or their fares were paid to distant ports and countries. Train loads passed through Basle daily, on their way to France, Britain, and America, in a starving and miserable condition, and a large percentage were diseased. Ophthalmia was common amongst them, and at Basle a woman and child were found to have smallpox. They were flying from Bohemia, where they firmly believed a revolution and civil war would take place in a few months.

On July 17, 1907, the *Liverpool Post*, and on July 27 the *Preston Herald*, reported that twenty-two Gypsies, men, women, and children, were being befriended by the monks on the Grand St. Bernard Pass, where they were kept, at a height of 8100 feet, by the Swiss gendarmes, who would not allow them to cross the boundary from Italy into Switzerland, and by Italian gendarmes who would not permit them to return to Italy. See *ante*, *Le Journal Officiel*, October 30, 1907, for an account of a similar occurrence a year earlier on the Little St. Bernard Pass.

Germany.

The Caian, Magazine of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (vol. xvi. No. 3, pp. 192-201), for Easter term 1907, contained an article on 'Gypsies' by Bernard Gilliat-Smith (see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 192). 'Gypsies and Hindi declensions have no real genitive case, both decline their adjectives only when

used as nouns. These modern forms came slowly into existence throughout the eleventh century when the old synthetical structure of the Sanscrit was broken up, but not quite lost, therefore it is extremely unlikely that the Gypsies left India before the tenth century. Mr. Gilliat-Smith briefly traced their history, and then described their present condition, as found by him, in Central Europe and particularly in Germany [Rhine Province]. Romanes 'may be still considered pure in Greece, Turkey, Roumania, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, but in Germany is breaking up.' 'Whether a noun be masculine or feminine it can only take the accusative form when it denotes a living object, and so closely is this rule adhered to, that the abstract noun *ternepen* (youth), when used to denote a child, assumes the accusative form *ternepas*.' In Germany they rarely remain more than two days at one camp, which is generally near a wood and two cross roads, for strategic reasons. A tribe rarely consists of more than five families, generally two or three. The women are up by daybreak, to provide breakfast, of bread and butter, and coffee. The elderly women remain to attend to the fires, the younger ones set off to the village. The men smoke, and then go to towns, with violins, guitars, and zithers, or to exchange bad for good horses. The women never get drunk. The boys catch trout. Towards seven o'clock all return for supper. Soup is in a cauldron, and one large wooden spoon serves them all, each taking not more than five successive dips, but the spoon goes round five or six times; then follow snails or a hedgehog, fowl, pork chops or boiled beef, with potatoes from any field available. Their revels cease at midnight; most sleep under small oblong low black tents, in preference to their vans. By next morning the peasants, who may have missed saucepans, spades, pails, chickens, turkeys, etc., find the Gypsies have fled.

Austria-Hungary.

On March 24, 1907, the *News of the World* gave a portrait of Countess Vilma Festetics, who had married Rudi (Rudolph) Nyary, a Gypsy violinist of Oedenburg. She was twenty-five when she eloped with him, and her father, Count Paul Festetics of Hungary, thereupon disinherited her. He had previously, in view of another marriage, given her a house worth £10,000, and this she presented to Nyary, but her father revoked his gift. In April 1908, Nyary and his wife were receiving about £3000 a year, for appearing together at the Café Splendid in Berlin. Rudolph's brother Josef married Kathy, one of Countess Vilma's school-fellows (and the divorced wife of a Munich professor), and another brother eloped to America with a German baroness (*Midland Evening News*, May 5, 1907; *Cork Constitution*, May 11, 1907; *New York American*, April 3, 1907).

On April 25, 1907, *Pearson's Weekly* stated that early in 1907 a story, entitled 'A Romany Lass,' appeared in that newspaper, and had resulted in a letter from 'an Austrian nobleman' relating how, in 1867, when in Vienna, he saw a Bohemian policeman roughly treating 'two Gypsies of the Slovak tribe, who travel about as tinkers.' The policeman and his prisoners could not understand each other, so the nobleman acted as interpreter. Two ladies had given the men a florin each, and luckily they happened to repass, and on being appealed to explained that they were Hungarians, and had given the money of their own free will. One was the Princess P. de M., wife of an Ambassador, and the other Countess K. M., wife of a State Minister. The Minister ultimately secured the release of the Gypsies. Two years later at Teplitz, in Bohemia, 700 miles from Vienna, the younger Gypsy found the friendly nobleman, and presented him with a big pig, which was only a sucking pig when, 18 months before, by his father's order, he started on his long journey in quest of their benefactor.

On July 22, 1907, the *Liverpool Express*, on July 26, the *Daily Telegraph*, and on July 30, *Neues Pester Journal*, reported that near Puszta Dános, near Buda Pesth, in Hungary, at a lonely inn, the innkeeper named Szarvar, his wife

and grown-up daughter, as well as a milkman, had been murdered, all the furniture broken, and the place plundered, and attempts made to set it on fire. A Gypsy band of twenty-six persons, including Kolompár-Balog, Martin Surányi, and old Frau Németh, which had left [passed] the place with some good horses was suspected, but investigations showed that it was really some neighbours, who knew that Szarvar had withdrawn a large sum from the savings bank. Szarvar shot the leader, whose companions buried the body in the neighbouring forest.

On July 24, 1907, the *Montreal Star* reported from Buda Pesth that the question of controlling the Gypsies was being forced on the government, owing to 'a long list of murders and other outrages committed recently by nomad gypsy bands at Pusztas and elsewhere in Hungary.' The depredations of these 50,000 wanderers terrorised the country districts.

The *Liverpool Daily Courier* of September 18, 1907, reported that on August 29, at Hotel Trynten, Eschleu near Marienbad, Arnold Spiegler, otherwise Rousey, a Gypsy violinist, played before King Edward VII., and was to play at a concert at New Brighton, near Liverpool.

Servia, etc.

Peaceful Personalities and Warriors Bold, by Fred. Villiers, London, 1907, 8vo, pp. 6-9, describes a visit to Gypsies near Belgrade in 1876, and at p. 8 has a plate showing 'Gypsies of the Balkan Peninsula.'

The *Berliner Tage-blatt*, Abend-ausgabe, on March 21, 1907, had a criticism by Felix Lorenz, of *Zigeuner-humor*, by F. S. Krauss, Vienna.

On August 22, 1907, *The Nation* (New York) noticed Dr. F. S. Krauss's *Zigeuner-humor*, in vols. vii. and viii. of *Der Volksmund*, containing 250 stories collected from Serbo-croatian Gypsies.

On May 12, 1907, *Lloyd's Newspaper* reported that at the Balkan States Exhibition, at Earl's Court, London, Stana Z. Zodorowich, a Gypsy, had given birth to a daughter, the father being a dancer named Zivoin.

On June 1, 1907, *The Outlook* had an article on the 'Passing of the Gipsy,' which was mainly historical, but recorded that 'in Transylvania and Hungary are the truest lyric poets among the Gypsies. One poetess only has left two hundred and fifty Gypsy poems in writing, the Servian wandering Gypsy Gina Ranjicić, who died in 1891.' Mention was also made of amulets and charms. 'In Tuscany the deceived maiden lights a candle at midnight, and pricks it with a needle several [three ?] times, saying :—

"Thrice the candle's broke by me,
Thrice thy heart shall broken be!"

If the faithless lover marries another, the forsaken one mixes broken crabshell in his food or drink, or hides one of her hairs in a bird's nest, to make the marriage unhappy.

Norway.

The *Daily Telegraph* of September 20, 1907, reported that a few months ago a little girl named Gudrun suddenly disappeared from Christiania, and a playfellow said a party of Gypsies had carried her off, and Singsaa, the second-sighted and sixth-sensed boy declared that the child was with the Gypsies at Nordre Gueddalen. [The girl's body was afterwards found, and the theory of her having been kidnapped by Gypsies, or any one else, was exploded.]

Spain.

La Ilustración Artística (No. 1212, pp. 187-8) contained an article by J. Gestoso y Pérez, entitled 'Gitanos y Gitanas' (male and female Gypsies), illustrated by drawings, by Azpiazu, of Gypsies at a horse fair, and telling fortunes. The article supports the statement (vol. i. p. 371) that in Spain it is 'good form' among the 'smart set' to be friendly with Gypsies. 'If you wish to study Gypsies,

turn your steps to the Triana suburb of Seville, and in the Cava portion enter without fear any of the yards, or dirty winding narrow passages, which eight or ten years ago no one would have ventured into if well dressed without having to stand a storm of vulgarities, or indecencies, or jokes, or may be a handful of mud or a well-aimed stone, forcing one to retreat, amid loud roars of laughter. Now Gypsies are in demand for the Cafés chantants, and fast saloons, where they are well paid. Now you can visit them, and watch their dexterity in forging nails and rude objects in iron, while the *churumbelyos*, or children, devour crusts, or wallow in the ashes of the furnaces. In front of one of the doors you may see a young fellow in shirt sleeves, green striped trousers, and scarlet waist-scarf, wielding enormous scissors, and clipping a donkey most skilfully, and if it is wished he will clip any design on its flanks, and finish off with a panel on its back, in which he clips the words, "Viva mi amo" (long life to my master). Old women, girls and boys are squatting round him, watching him at his work, or mending their ragged clothes, or making big and little baskets of osiers to sell in the town, where they loudly call "To whom do I sell a basket?" The Gypsies also frequent the Rio or River quarter for horse-dealing, where they exercise most ingenious arts of deception.' The article gave some samples of the peculiar way in which the gypsies pronounce Spanish, turning *l* into *r*, *b* into *g*, and *v* into *s*; omitting the medial and final *r* of verbs, and the *d* in past participles, etc. The phrases quoted are those of wheedling horse-dealers, and still more wheedling fortune-tellers. The latter make a cross on the palm of the hand with the money given to them, and begin 'Be it in God's name that thy fate may be pleasant (palante). Thou wilt be loved, and not hated. Wherever thou goest they will gladly give thee a seat, for thy presence deserves it,' etc. etc., but if any one gives niggardly, then 'there is a flow of biting sarcasm and sparkling satire, for the Gypsies are always gifted with quick minds, and power of exaggeration, and aptness of expression.' They love flowers, and cover their heads and bodices with them. They love equally well to deck themselves with a single pink, or a bunch of wild ox-eye daisies.

The *Christian Herald*, on May 16, 1907, contained a rough sketch of Spanish Gypsies playing and dancing. 'They are found in Spain in large numbers, especially in the southern provinces. They have many customs and traditions, so much like those of the Israelites that some scholars (*sic*) have supposed they are a remnant of the lost tribes.'

See also 'Granada Gypsies,' *ante*, section i. (*Young Scotland*, April 1, 1907).

U. S. A.

On January 21, 1907, the *New York World* related that 'in the village of Gypsies at West Farms in the Bronx' (New York), Pooley Mace, brother of Jem Mace, the English prizefighter,¹ had his tent, and had come to America thirty years or more previously, and about a year ago the tribe was at Denver, Colorado, when Melbourne Mace, Pooley's son, 'aged about twenty-eight, well educated, dark, tall, and athletic,' rescued Ida Hathaway, daughter of a rich rancher there, from an unmanageable horse, and eloped with her a month later. She was now about to 'be initiated into the tribe, with the rites handed down from the days when the first gypsies invaded England,' and at the close of the ceremony she was to be presented with a horse, 'to own as long as she wants to.' Twin granddaughters of Pooley Mace were to 'act as flower-girls at the initiation.' Their portraits, with that of Mrs. Melbourne Mace, adorned the tale.

On February 11, 1907, the *New York World* related that at Guttenburg, New

¹ On June 16, 1907, the *Woking Observer* reported that on the evidence of Lord Farrer, a Gypsy named Henry Sayers [related to Tom Sayers, the pugilist?] was fined for lighting a fire on White Down, Abinger, within fifty feet of the highway.

Jersey, the Gypsies 'met in conclave to decide whether forty families should be allowed to leave the gypsy nation in America, and establish a new tribe of their own.' There were sixty-one families living in the old horse-stalls of the Guttenburg race track, and in tents. The trouble began on November 23, 1906, when 'all the Bulgarian, Russian, Greek, Brazilian, and Mexican Gypsies in the United States met in Blue Island, Illinois, to elect a national chief. Zlatchio Dimitri, of Guttenburg, was elected chief of the 641 families represented,' and each family was to pay him two and a half dollars yearly, and he was to fight their legal battles and help them when in trouble. Joe Adamowitz (or Adams), of Memphis, Tennessee, organised a schism, comprising forty-one families; and he and his brother Nicholas, with Milan Monavitz, of Memphis, accused Dimitri of extorting over seventy gold Louis Napoleons from Nicholas. The case was to be tried by the Court for Hudson County, Dimitri being admitted to bail in 4000 dollars, which 'his tribe produced in English gold coin.' Meanwhile his son Frank ruled the tribe. Portraits of Frank, and of other members of the tribe, were given. [These foreigners had evidently passed through France and England].

On March 5, 1907, the *New York* (German) *Herald* gave portraits of Reo Slatcho Dimitri, and three female fortune-tellers, 'bunt-gekleidete' (gorgeously clad); and stated that he was committed for trial at the Quarter Sessions. [He was acquitted.]

The Oriental Rug Home Monthly for May 1907 (No. 5, vol. ii., A. H. Keoleian Co., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.) narrated a visit [in the U.S.A. ?] to a band of Gypsies, 'camping near our village,' who were making sieves and baskets, which they traded for bread, flour, or barley. 'Being almost evening, the Gypsies were having a great time with their tom-tom drums, and were engaged in acrobatic acts.' One told fortunes, another made and sold small fancy baskets at a penny (*sic*) apiece. A Gypsy girl, twelve years old, was dancing.

On May 25, 1907, the *Boston Daily Morning Herald* reported that Isabel Lovell and Mary Baker, two Gypsy women, had been sent to jail for reading palms in the Bronx, near New York.

On July 27, 1907, an American newspaper reported that, at Chester (U.S.A.), several Gypsy women from a camp near that city had been arrested. The men of the tribe dealt in horses.

On August 2, 1907, the *New York Times* reported that nineteen Gypsies who had camped near Spartanburg, under the leadership of Steve John, had been arrested for 'flim-flamming' people out of money. The entire camp, with waggons and mules, were taken to police headquarters, but only four women, who were fortune-tellers, were held for trial. Theodore, son of Steve John, some months previously had been charged with the abduction of the girl whom he had married.

On August 15, 1907, the *New York Press* stated that a boy named Walter Cutler had been kidnapped by Gypsies four years ago, when he was six years old, from his home at South Bend, Indiana, but when the tribe was camped at Roby, Indiana, a few days previously, he had escaped to his grandmother, who lived at South Chicago.

The Nation (New York) for October 12, 1907, contained an article on 'The Tent Folk,' in which, after noticing the opinion of Dr. Hans Gross, of Prague, on gypsy criminology, it was stated that this 'dark-haired and dusky race have a belief that red or golden hair is lucky; and here and there, at one time and another, they may have carried off a child of this complexion, but the evidence is very weak.'

The *Montreal Witness*, on December 3, 1907, reported from New York that Queen Dora Parse and Princess Belle Marti had seceded from the leadership of Queen Bess Stanley, where the three tribes were camping at Westchester. Prince John Kruse, of the Kruse-Parse tribe, had fallen in love with Princess Ethel Stanley, and they all met to celebrate the engagement, but when Queen Dora led

the party to her tent, where the money and jewels intended for the dowry were kept with 'the marriage jewels and chain,' she found everything had disappeared. She accused the Stanley tribe of the robbery, and Stanley and eight of his tribe were arrested, and remanded on bail in 10,000 dollars each, whereupon 'a score or more of Stanley's followers rushed to the clerk's desk and threw a shower of gold ornaments before him, and left in tears when told that was not the kind of security which could be accepted.'

New Zealand.

The *Bruce Herald*, N.Z., on January 14, 1907, recorded the arrival at Milton, N.Z., of some Romanies, who camped on vacant land near the railway section, 'unsanitary and unlovely ; a positive excrescence on civilisation ; working on the credulity of a number they seem to acquire much money ; for consummate cheek in forcing her way into private houses the Gypsy fortune-teller is hard to beat ; they are an unsavoury class, undesirable as immigrants ; a few hoodlums were not too particular in the remarks they made to the women of the party, and the language of one of the "ladies" in reply was more vigorous than polite. They left this morning for Lawrence.' As Gypsies were rare visitors, the newspaper added a dictionary definition of 'Gypsy,' and some historical information, followed by an article, headed 'Zilla, or a Romany Romance,' describing how prior poetic ideas about the Gypsies were dispelled by a visit to the camp at Milton, where, 'amongst old kerosene tins, battered jam-pots, pensioned billy-cans, dead marines, and other disjecta membra of civilisation, there was a hulking male, his sordid and ragged partner, a growing lout, and a small atom of humanity, presumably of the frailer sex. The man was prodding the ground with a tent-pole, and the mother was slinging pieces of old spouting at the lout, the baby was investigating the jam tins. The mother's tones were angry. A native coming by said, "Them's Gypsies !"' The article ended, 'My heart is broken ; I have no more to live for now.'

IX.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 6. DŪI XÂRĪ T'Ā PoŠ XÂRA

I took down this story several years ago from Matthew Wood at Tal-y-llyn. And now, fitly enough, after a week's tramp in Borrow's footsteps, picking up his *patrin* in this spot and that, I read the proofs to Matthew himself in a *bita vlija* on the other side of Merioneth, where I have made a temporary *lodiben*. This must be the village 'beginning with Llan' which Borrow reached at about one o'clock on the 6th of September 1854, and where he 'refreshed himself for an hour or two in an old-fashioned inn' before proceeding to his headquarters at Llangollen. And the old-fashioned inn must surely be the Cross Foxes, with its white-washed front, and two forlorn mounting blocks planted at either corner of the house.

All the immediate neighbourhood is hallowed ground to the pious Borrovian, with *p'urē kirčūmī* for pilgrim stations, wherein to pledge the master in hard old ale. From the hill before us, across the Vale of Edeyrnion, stone circle gazes at stone circle, and beneath the *p'urē bārē bāra*, as Matthew calls them, the Roman Road known as Ffordd Gam Elen, the Crooked Way of Elen, runs over the noble peak of Bronwen ('Arthur's Table') to the Pistyll Rhaiadr, which Borrow reached from Llanrhaiadr, after visiting the home of Owen Glyndwr at Sycharth, and the

tomb of Huw Morris at Llansilin Church. The tutelary goddess of the cataract is Miss Evans, a younger sister of the 'handsome girl of about thirteen' who showed Borrow the path to the waterfall. The earliest visitors' book remaining at Tan-y-Pistyll begins in 1856, so that we have lost the still earlier one from which Borrow read and translated on the spot a 'stirring and grand' *englyn* on the Rhaiadr.

Five miles from us, nestled under Pen-y-pigyn, is the cosy little town of Corwen; on the other side of the Dee the old camping-place where Raleigh, Meyer, and I made a three days' halt on our Gypsy tour through Wales, descending in the evenings by the *koštenĩ p'ũrj* to Borrow's inn, the Owen Glyndwr, where he 'stopped for about an hour refreshing himself and occasionally glancing into a newspaper in which was an excellent article on the case of poor Lieutenant P.' Since then Matthew and I have made *Korvėna* one of our favourite meeting-places, and not a few of my notebooks have been filled in the Crown, the Harp, or the Feathers—a cluster of inns which, as Raleigh remarked, supply every requisite for the angelic life. Through here Borrow travelled on his way to Cerrig-y-druidion, stopping to contemplate the deep narrow glen beneath Pont-y-glyn, and instituting an invidious comparison between the English poet-laureate and the Nightingale of Ceiriog—'Cut on the top surface of the wall, which was of slate and therefore easily impressible by the knife, were several names, . . . amongst which I observed in remarkably bold letters that of T. . . . 'Eager for immortality, Mr. T.,' said I; 'but you are no H.M., no Huw Morris.'

The inn at Cerrig, where Borrow stopped to refresh himself, 'was called the Lion—whether the white, black, red, or green Lion I do not know, though I am certain that it was a lion of some colour or other.' As a matter of fact it was the white variety, and the present hostess is the granddaughter-in-law of the 'stout, comely, elderly lady dressed in silks and satins, with a cambric coif on her head,' who was then 'the mistress of the establishment.' In the 'very handsome drawing-room,' which no longer communicates with Borrow's 'sleeping apartment, are a portrait of the 'good-looking merry girl of twenty' and a daguerreotype of Dr. Geffery Jones, the 'precise-looking gentleman' with whom Borrow discussed Owen Pugh's translation of *Paradise Lost*.

At the White Lion, Bala, where Borrow met 'the Wolverhampton gent' of his dreams, revelled in the famous ale brewed by Tom Jenkins of the 'grizzly hair and dark freckled countenance,' and dilated on the noble breakfasts set before him, his name is still a household word and any Borrovian is received with open arms.

No one seems to remember anything of Lavengro at the Grapes Inn, Tan-y-bwlch, where he called for brandy and water to 'restore the vigour he had lost in the hot, stony wilderness' into which the short cut from Beddgelert had led him. But at Ffestiniog there is still in the Pengwern Arms Hotel a portrait of 'old Martha' [Martha Owen], who, we are told, was the landlady 'when Georgie Borrow came along,' 'the queer-looking old woman antiquated in her dress and rather blunt in her manner.' And it was in the 'dreary parlour' of the same 'large old-fashioned house, standing near the Church,' that Borrow glanced over the three volumes of Scott's *Cavalier* [*Woodstock*] and thought it a 'tiresome, trashy publication.' Hereabouts, too, he bickered with and insulted, *more suo*, the old Welshman because he could not show him the chair of Rhys Goch, which really lies in the next county.

Apart from Borrovian associations, our village would seem to be a fortunate one for the *Romano Rai*. En route for Corwen Fair, with their *grais* and *vardos*, *manušnis* and *tiknos*, *jukels* and *móilas*, we had here a week or two ago, encamped on the village common, under the trees by the banks of the Ceidiog, a motley band of Lockes and Lees. Zachariah Locke, or Jack Boswell as he now calls himself, 'because of some trouble he got into,' is a magnificent specimen of manhood and a fighting man of great renown, and yet it is thirty-seven years since he took part in the famous trip to Norway, of which the heroine Esmeralda has so often told me

wonderful stories. William Lee is the brother of Oliver, John, and Morjiana, the *Kerikanî* and Romani tutor of the scholar gypsy Captain Garnett, and now the spouse of burly Bendigo—all old friends of mine. It was in William Lee's company, fourteen years ago at Bala, that I first met the harpist Edward Wood, and began my studies of the Welsh dialect. Another of the Lees—Deborah—with her *gâjo* husband and merry half-breed children, is camped in a green lane at Hendre, half a mile away. One little donkey carries all their earthly possessions, and they seem the most entirely contented people whom I can remember to have met. Yet another sister is married to Matthew's son Manfri, a householder at Bala. This *Purum* breed are the progeny of old Henry, an English Gypsy who settled in Wales and wedded Taw's sister Alice Wood, a great-granddaughter of Abram, the founder of the race. The dialect of the Lees differs in some respects from that of the Woods, and is probably a compromise between the speech of the English Gypsy father and Welsh Gypsy mother. The verb is regularly inflected, but they have abandoned most of the case-endings of the noun and lost many of the idiomatic turns of speech used by the pure-bred Welsh *kâlê*.

Besides the loyal Matthew, who travels *pardal i mûri* to visit me some three times a week, I meet here with other members of the ubiquitous *teulu Abram*. Returning from Llyn Mynyllod, the mountain tarn with the floating island, a little wasted away perhaps since Pennant described it, I find two swarthy fiddlers playing in the rain outside the Dudley Arms—apparently for the sole delectation of the landlord, who stares stonily at them from the porch, an impassive and outwardly unmoved auditor.

'I hailed the birds in Gypsy speech ;
The birds in Gypsy speech replied.'

They are Adolphus and Cornelius Wood bound for the Llangollen Eisteddfod, the one playing second fiddle on the genuine instrument, the other—a really fine performer—evoking harmony from a substitute rudely fashioned out of a Cadbury's chocolate box. Both speak the perfect Romani of their race with the fluency and command of men speaking—what it actually is—their mother tongue. They leave early next morning, joined, as I learn, by one of the Lovells, another of the later English-Welsh Gypsies.

But perhaps my best Romani *trouvaille*, except for some rare words and beautiful expressions heard from Matthew, are two little cups, which until a day or two ago adorned the china cupboard of Mother Morris of the Cross Foxes Inn. They were presented years ago, as a token of gratitude, by 'yr hen Alabáina' to the hostess's grandmother, Mrs. Maggie Jones of Pant-y-llyn, a farmhouse where the Woods met ever with a friendly welcome when travelling with their panniered *móilas* from *grânza* to *grânza*. Such was their wont in Wales in the old days. It was that gentle soul Edward Wood who, in what may be perhaps the only native attempt at Romani poesy, expressed the feelings of an old Gypsy woman arriving at a country place, where she had looked forward to the usual food and shelter, on finding the house deserted and half ruined and the friendly farm-people departed heaven knows whither.

Kai sî romanî grânza ?
Kai sî p'us tâ k'as ?
Kai sî kamlî raklî
*Te delas man balovás ?*¹

Peace, Edward, to thy ashes ! *Te bošavés, p'ala, aré mî develésko k'êr !*

¹ 'Where is the Gypsy barn ?
Where are the straw and hay ?
Where is the friendly girl
That used to give me bacon ?'

DŪI XÂRĪ T'Ā POŠ XÂRA¹

*O*DÓI sas trin þalá. Ō trin janas 'prē ō drom te dikén bŭtŭákŭ. Rat 'vŭás top lendŭ. Junénas kek kái te jan te len lodiben. Ratŭ sas, tŭ janas opré þurō drom aról ō veš.

Diké bita dud tŭ 'vilé ke bita kēréstŭ. Bokálé sas-lé tŭ kŭiné. Ō xudár sas pŭrō. Díké mesálŭ tŭ xobén sas opré mesálŭ. Ō² xočō þuredér þal, "Já tŭ aré." "Na java mē kek aré. Já tŭya aré." "Ná mē, fēth."³ "Tumé dŭt⁴ šen dinilé," xočō Jak.

T'aré gŭás ō Jak tŭ beštás 'alé kŭ mesálŭ tŭ xoŭás peskō pērr þardō. T'ō vavér dŭi dikénas top lestŭ. Trašénas te jan ar'ō kēr. Gilé ō vavér dŭi aré tŭ bešté talé tŭ xolé.

Ak'ŭ bita þurŭ 'vela. T'ā xoč'ŭ bita þurŭ, "Dikóm mē kek mŭrš akái bŭt bēršēþŭ.⁵ Kái⁶ 'vŭán tumé 'katár?" "Bŭtŭákŭ r'ódása 'mē." "L'atáva mē bŭtŭi tuméþŭ kalikó." Gilé aré ō vodrŭ.

'Prē 'čilé ar'ŭ 'sarla tŭ 'dóŭ sas bŭrŭ þŭrŭ opré ō yog, tŭ mŭza,⁷ tŭ t'ud : odová sas ō xobén sō xolé.

TWO PENCE HALF PENNY

There were three brothers. The three were on the road looking for work. Night came upon them. They knew not where to go to find a lodging. It was night, and they were travelling on an old road through the wood.

They saw a glimmering light and they came to a cottage. They were tired and hungry. The door stood open. They saw a table and supper ready on it. "Go in," quoth the eldest brother. "No, I won't go in. Go in thyself!" "Not I, in faith!" "Ye are fools, the pair of you," quoth Jack.

And Jack went in and sat down at the table and ate his bellyful. The other two looked at him, they were afraid to enter the house. They went in at length and sat down and ate.

Lo! a little old woman came. "It is many years since I have seen a man here," quoth she. "Whither have ye come this way?" "We seek work." "I will find work for you to-morrow." They went to bed.

They got up in the morning, and on the fire was a great pot of porridge and milk : that was what they ate.

¹ Every Welsh Gypsy child of the right stock knows why this story is called "Twopence Halfpenny"; but, for the benefit of those whose education has been neglected, I might quote Matthew's opening words of explanation that this tale was about a "bita mŭrš tŭ na ses-lō báredér ná dŭi xârŭ tŭ poš xâra."

² Ō] = "and." Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 151, note 4.

³ fēth] Eng. "faith."

⁴ Tumé dŭt] more idiomatically, tumáro dŭt, lit. "your two." Cp. Pott, i. 228, etc.

⁵ bēršēþŭ]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 316, note 1.

⁶ Kái] lit. "where." The Welsh Gypsies do not seem to have preserved the ablative form *katâr* from *kái*, corresponding to their *akatâr* from *akái*.

⁷ mŭza] "porridge," "flummery." Cp. Germ. *Mus*, "pap."

Ak'ī purī pēnelā ī puredēr pālēsķī te jal aré grānza te lel ō kolā, te jal kī ō veš te perr'l ō veš talé. Anjerēla ī čoxa. Akē-kov te kela ī būti.

Odōi 'vīās bita pūrō tā pučtās lestē kon¹ pēndē lesķī te perr'l² ō veš. Tā šiš kek dikēlas akāva bita mūršēs, oǵā bita sas-lō. Dikās talóp'sķē³ pīrē. Dikās les aré ō kās. Dīās les ō pūrō, tā kūrdās les postē račēlas, tā 'dōi muktās les.

Ak'ī raklī 'vela 'kanā xobenésa. Gīās ī raklī ķerē tā pūkavél ī vavēr dūi pālégī te 'ven te rigerén les ķerē. Andilē les ķerē tā čidē les aré ō vodros.

Ar' ī 'sarla ak'ō vavēr pāl jala k'ō veš. P'endās ō puredēr pāl lesķī te bita mūrš sas-lō te kūrdās les. T'ō vavēr pāl sanīās top lestī. G'as pesķī 'kanā talé k'ō vešā. Anjerēla ī čoxa te perr'l ō vešā.

Akē čumónī, tā pučtās lestē kon⁴ pūkadás les te perr'l ō ruká. Ak'ō dikēla 'kanā; šiš dikēlas čī. Bārō čēros sas-lō manķē dikās les. Dikās les aré ō kās tala. "Jā tukī!" xoč'ov. Ō bita gājō kūrdās les kotoréndī.

Bitā raklī 'v'as talé kī yov xobenésa. Xoiās yov, tā bitā raklī g'as ķerē tā pēndās ī dūi pālégī te 'ven talé te rigerén les ķerē. Gilē ō dūi pālā talé tā andilē les ķerē. Sanīās ō Jak top lendī, "Java mē talé kalikó mō korkeró."

Now the old woman told the eldest brother to get the tools from the barn, and go to the wood and fell the trees. He took off his coat. There he was doing the work.

Then came a little old mannikin and asked him who had told him to cut down the wood. And he could not see this little old mannikin—he was so small. He looked beneath his feet. He saw him in the grass. The old mannikin struck him, and beat him till he bled, and left him there.

Now the serving-wench came with his dinner. She went back and told the other two brothers to come and fetch him home. They brought him home and put him to bed.

In the morning the second brother went to the wood. The eldest brother told him it was a little man that had beaten him. The second brother laughed him to scorn. He set off now down to the woods. He took off his coat to hew the woods down.

Lo! something was asking who told him to cut down the trees. Now he looked about; he could see nothing. It was a long while before he espied him. Then he saw him in the grass. "Begone," quoth he. The little man knocked him to bits.

The little girl came with his dinner. He ate, and the little girl went back and told the two brothers to come down and carry him home. They went down and brought him home. Jack laughed at them. "To-morrow I will go down myself."

¹ *kon*] here plural. Cp. below, note 4.

² *perr'l*] less correctly, for *perravél*. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 267, note 3.

³ *talóp'sķē*] = *tála pėsķē*, accent of rapid speech. Cp. p. 148, note 3.

⁴ *kon*] here singular. Cp. above, note 1.

Ar'i 'sarla g'as talé k'ō veš. Ak'ō perr'la veš. Sundás čumónī. Dikás talóp'skē pīré. Dikás ō bita mūrš aré ō kās. Dīás les ō Jak ī pīrésa. "Fededér te 'čes konyó,"¹ xoč'ō bita mūrš. Dīás les ō bita puró. Talé g'as ō Jak, tã bita purō poš mårdás les.

T'ã 'dóī sas ō Jak: sovėlas talé kana 'vīás ī raklī xobenėsa. K'eré g'as ī raklī. P'ukadás ī dūī p'alėnī te 'ven te rigerén les keré. Gilé ō dūī p'alá kī yov. "Ná," xoč'ō Jak, "mukén man akái, tã jan tumėnī." Gilé peņī dūī p'alá keré.

Ō Jak vartinas² les, tã g'as ō bita puró talál bārē bārėstī. 'Prē 'čas ō Jak 'kaná, tã keré g'as, tã pėndás ī dūī p'alėnī te jan aré stanya te len ō graiá avrī, stár lendė.³ Līlé ō bāró šeló, tã gilé talé ō trin ī grensa, tã čidė ō bāró šeló pārd'l ō bār. Čidė ō graiá te tårdén les opré, tã diké wella⁴ odóī.

"Já tū talé," xoč'ō yekī. "Ná mē," xoč'ō vavér, "na java mē kek!" "Java mē talé," xoč'ō Jak. "P'andén⁵ okóva šeló tã mukén man talé, tã kana šunėsa man te p'ená te tårdés man opré, tårdē⁶ man opré, tã kana pėnava mē te mukés man talé, muk man talé."

In the morning he went down to the wood. He was hewing down the wood. He heard something. He looked beneath his feet. He saw the little man in the grass. Jack gave him a kick. "Thou hadst better be quiet," quoth the little man. The little man struck him. Down fell Jack and the little old man half killed him.

And Jack was lying there when the girl came with his dinner. Back she went. She told the two brothers to come and fetch him home. The two went down to him. "No," quoth Jack. "Leave me here, and go your way." They went away home.

Jack watched him and the little old man crept under a big stone. Jack got up now and went home and told his two brothers to go to the stable and bring the horses out,—four of them. They took a stout rope, and the three went down with the horses and put the rope over the stone. They set the horses to pull it up, and they found a well there.

"Go down!" quoth one. "Not I," quoth the other. "I'll not go down." "I'll go down," quoth Jack. "Fasten yonder rope and let me down; and when you hear me say 'Pull me up,' pull me up; and when I tell you to let me down, let me down."

¹ *konyó*]. See *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 27, note 9.

² *vartinas*]. See *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 317, note 2.

³ *lendė*] abl., corresponding to Lat. partitive genitive.

⁴ *wella*] Eng. "well."

⁵ *P'andén . . . talé*]. The speaker, it will be noticed, after the first few words addresses himself to one brother instead of both. If continued as begun the speech would end "*t'ã kana šunėna man te p'ená te tårdén man opré, tårdén man opré; t'ã kana p'enáva mē tē mukén man talé, mukén man talé.*" This change from plural to singular may, of course, be intentional, but on the other hand it is more probable that Matthew, like Jack himself when descending the well, merely *bišterdás pes ō lav*. Cp. later *Tårdén man opré* (plur.) with *Muk man talé* (sing.).

⁶ *tárdė*] all verb-stems in *-d* and *-t* form the imperative sing. in *-dē* or *-tē*, with accent on the stem syllable.

Ok'ō dūī pālā pandilē les, tā mukdē les talē. Talē g'as bita bita; ō bita pūrō kūrđās les. "Tārdén man opré!"

Ak'ō jala pāpalē talē. Bišterđās pes ō lav. "Muk man talē!"
'Vīds arē raikanē teméstī, tā dikās ō bita pūrō. Rakerđās lesa ō pūrō. "Kana¹ tū 'vīān arē 'kava tem, pēnāva mē čumónī tukī 'kanā. Trin filišinā l'atésa tū. Arē ō 'lananō yelē jivēla ō bārō mūrš dūī šerēnsa." Tā xoč'ō bita pūrō. "Tū mus kūr's² les: lē pūrī čurī. 'Vava mē 'dóī tusa." "Trašāva mē lestē!" "Jā tū anlē tā mā trašē.³ Odóī 'vava mē tusa."

Ak'ō Jak kī filišin 'kanā. Kūrđās ō gudār. Būtīakerī 'vela kī yov, tā pučtās kái sas ō rái. "Arē ō kēr ši-lō, wontasés tū te dikés les?" "Aua," xoč'ō Jak, "wontsá mē te kūrā man⁴ lesa." "Mār'la tut!" "Jā tū, tā pēn leskī te 'vel avrī." G'as ī raklī tā pēndās leskī te 'vel avrī.

"Wontsésa čumónī te xos?" "Ná," xoč'ō Jak, "av avrī, kūrāva mē tusa." "Av akái tā lē tī čurī." 'Yas ō Jak pūrī čikalī čurī. "Soskī lesa 'doīā pūrī čikalī čurī? Lē vūžī yelē." "Ná mē! kela 'káīā maņj."

Avrī gilē ō dūī 'lan ō gudār. Talē g'as yelē šērō. "Muk man te jivā, Jak. Dava tut sār mīrō lōvó!" "Ná!" Dīds

The two brothers fastened him and let him down. He went down a very little way; the little old man beat him. "Pull me up!"

Now he was going down again. He forgot the word: "Let me down." He came into a fair country and saw the little old man. The old man talked with him. "Since thou art come into this land, I will tell thee something. Thou wilt find three castles. In the first one lives the giant with two heads." And quoth the little old man: "Thou must fight with him. Choose the old sword. I will be there with thee." "I shall be afraid of him." "Go on and fear not. I will be there with thee."

Now Jack came to the castle. He knocked at the door. A serving-maid came to him and he asked where the master was. "He is in the house, dost thou wish to see him?" "Yes," quoth Jack; "I want to fight with him." "He will kill thee." "Go, bid him come out." The girl went and bade him come out.

"Dost want something to eat?" "No," quoth Jack. "Come out. I will fight with thee." "Come here and get thy sword!" Jack chose the rusty old sword. "Why dost thou choose that rusty old sword? Take a clean one!" "Not I! This one will do for me."

The two went out before the door. Off went one head. "Let me live, Jack!

¹ *Kana*] = "since," lit. "when."

² *Kūr's* = *kūrés*.

³ *trāšē*. A few verb-stems in -š take unaccented -ē in the imperative sing. as an alternative to the simple stem form.

⁴ *kūrā man*. Cp. p. 148, *te kūr's tut mansa*. These interesting reflexive forms may perhaps mark a distinction in Welsh Romani between "to beat" and "to fight." Cp. French *battre* and *se battre*.

ō vavér šērō. *Mārdās les. T'ā 'kǎia sas ī χárén̄ī filiśín, ojǎ kǎr'nas*¹ lǎ.

Ak'ō Jak 'kanǎ jala kī vavér rūpanī filiśín. Bārō mūrš odói, trin šerénsa. L'as ō Jak ī čikalī čurī, tā dǎs ō Jak dūī šērē talē. "Mā mār man, Jak. Muk man jidó. Dava tut mē ī filiśínákē klizíná." "Ná mē!" χoč'ō *Jak, tā talē g'as ō vavér šērō.*

Ak'ō Jak jala kī vavér sunakaiéskī filiśín. T'ō bārō mūrš odói, tā sas les stár šērē. "Akái 'vesa tū te kūr's tut mansa?" "Aua," χoč'ō *Jak. K'ārdās les te lel peskī čurī, tā 'yas pūrī čikalī čurī. T'ā 'vrī gilē. Dǎs ō Jak trin šērē talē, "Mā mār man, Jak. Dava tut mī klizíná. "Ná mē!"* χoč'ō *Jak, tā talē g'as ō vavér šērō.*

*Lesk'rō*² *sas sár ī filiśíná, tā ō lōvō, tā sas raikanī rán̄ī 'rē ī trin filiśíná. Ak'ō Jak jalóp'skī*³ *'kanǎ, t'ī rán̄ī lesa. Jala pǎlē ke vavér rūpanī filiśín 'kanǎ, tā 'yas odóia rán̄ī. Ak'ō jala kī vavér χárén̄ī filiśín 'kanǎ, tā 'yas odóia rán̄ī. T'ā gilē ō stár tā 'vilē k'ō fan 'dói kái 'vǎs ō Jak talē.*

Ō bita pūrō ses odói tā 'čelas leskī. Bičadās ō Jak ī trin rán̄ā opré, tā ō dūī pǎlá sas opré. Ak'ō pūrō wontasélas mas. G'as ō Jak pǎlē kī filiśín tā keradās mas leskī.

G'as ō pūrō opré bita bita. Ak'ō 'čela ō pūrō. Wontsélas mas. Dǎs les mas. Gǎs pǎpalé 'prē bita. 'Čas: wontsélas mas. Dǎs les ō Jak mas. Jala bita pǎpalé opré. "Dē man bita mas." Sas

I will give thee all my money?" "No." He struck at the other head. He slew him. And this was the copper castle,—so men called it.

Now Jack went to the next castle, the silver one. A giant with three heads was there. Jack took the rusty sword and struck off two heads. "Do not kill me, Jack. Spare my life. I will give thee the keys of the castle." "Not I," quoth Jack, and off went the last head.

Now Jack went to the other castle, the golden one. And a giant was there who had four heads. "Dost come here to fight with me?" "Yes," quoth Jack. He called him to get his sword, and he chose the rusty old sword. And they went out. Jack struck off three heads. "Do not kill me, Jack. I will give thee my keys." "Not I," quoth Jack, and off went the last head.

All the castles were his and all the money, and there was a beautiful lady in every castle. Jack set off now and the lady went with him. He went back to the silver castle and fetched that lady. Then he went to the copper castle and got that lady. And the four went on and came to the place where Jack had come down.

The little old man was there waiting for him. Jack sent the three ladies up, and the two brothers were at the top. Now the old man wanted meat. Jack went back to the castle and cooked meat for him.

The old man went up a very little way. Then he stopped. He wanted meat. Jack gave him some meat. He went up a little way again. He stopped. He

¹ *k'ār'nas*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 316, note 3.

² *Lesk'rō*]. Note *lesk'rō* for *leskō*, when used not attributively but predicatively.

³ *jalóp'skī*]. Cp. p. 145, note 3, and *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 260, note 3.

ī Jakés kek. Sas les bita bita mankē jalas avrī. Junélas kek sō te kel. G'as aré počī tā tārđās peskī čurī avrī, tā čindās bita mas leskē heréstē, tā dīās les ī pūrėskī. Opré g'as ō Jak.

Ō dūī pālā tā dūī rānīā gilé peņī, tā mukdē ī uglimen¹ Jakėskī. T'ō puredēr pāl 'yas ī raikanī rānī. T'ō vavēr pāl 'yas ī vavēr rānī, tā mukdē ī uglimen ī Jakėskī.

P'učtās ō Jak kái gilé. P'endās akáia rānī kái gilé, tā g'as peskī sig sig pala lendī. Tildās len pošē kaņerī. Janas te romerén. Dikās ī rānī pālē te dikēl ō Jakés. "Miri sī 'doiā," xoč'ō Jak.

'Yas lā Jak tā romerdās lā. Mukdās ī vavēr rānī ī puredēr pālėskī te romerēl. 'Dói sas ō vavēr pāl 'kanā, tā 'yas ī uglimen rānī. Ak'ō trin pālā tā trin rānīā.

Wontsēna te jan talé 'kanā kī filišinā. Ō Jak rakerdās ī pūrėsa te rigerēl len talé. "Rigeráva mē tumén talé: mus te des man xobén sār 'vava talé." "Áua," xoč'ō Jak, "dava tut dosta xobén." "Lava tumén talé." Rigerdās len sār talé.

G'as ō pūrō ī Jakėsa. Čidās ō Jak yek pāl tā yek rānī 'rē ī xárėņī filišin. Čidās ō vavēr pāl aré rūpanī filišin. T'ō Jak g'as kī sunakaiėskī filišin. T'ā Jak rigerdās ō bita pūrō sār peskē divesā.

Okē mē kedóm.

wanted meat. Jack gave him some. He went a little way further up. "Give me a little meat," Jack had none. He had only a very small piece when he set out. He knew not what to do for him. He felt in his pocket and pulled his knife out, and cut a little flesh from his leg and gave it to the old man. Jack got to the top.

The two brothers had gone away with two of the ladies, and had left the ugly one for Jack. The eldest brother had taken the beautiful lady, and the second brother the other lady, and they had left the ugly one for Jack.

Jack asked where they had gone. The lady told him where they had gone, and he made haste after them. He caught up to them by the church. They were going to be married. The lady looked back at Jack. "That one is mine," quoth he.

Jack took her and married her. He left the other lady for the eldest brother to marry. There was only the second brother now, and he took the ugly lady. There are the three brothers and the three ladies.

They wanted to go down to the castles. Jack spoke to the old man about taking them down. "I will carry you down; thou must give me food as I come down." "Yes," quoth Jack. "I will give thee plenty of food." "I will take you down." And down he carried them all.

The old man went with Jack. Jack put one brother and one lady in the copper castle. He put the other brother in the silver castle. And Jack went to the golden castle. And Jack kept the little old man all his days.

There I have done.

¹ *uglimen*] like *gladimen*, etc., is an example of the not infrequent (but incorrect) use of the suffix *-men*, which properly forms past participles of loan-verbs. See *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 155, note 3.

X.—THE HOUSE OF THE OPEN DOOR

By ALICE E. GILLINGTON

BEYOND the grey Priory church, which has overlooked the twin rivers of the Stour and Avon since the Doomsday book was written and the laws of the Red Forest King enacted, stands a tall white house, possibly of Georgian era, but in all probability much older in the rear part and out-buildings, whose windows open on to the wide water-meadows, the Creek, the Salmon-Run, and beyond all, the heather-capped ironstone headland that juts out into the open sea.

If you should inquire your way to this house—‘Tis the one with the green bushes about’n,’ say the townsfolk, ‘close by Stony Lane.’

True! Without it has the green bushes about it, and the secrets of the woodlands are pictured within its walls. Outside a row of bushes along the railing bars it off from Purewell’s narrow street.

Inside, the glamour of the forest surrounds one, with its scenes of misty dawns and rosy after-glows, golden noondays and dreamful gloamings over green lawns and heather-covered hills, gloomy woods and silver fords; its songs and legends, its past history and present-day romance—these two being merged in one.

For three generations has this house in Purewell been the dwelling-place of the Gypsy’s Friend, each of whom were members, in his or her turn, of the oldest living family in the Priory town. To find the story of the first friendship, one must go back to a dark night over a hundred years ago, when the grandfather of the present generation was summoned in haste to the bedside of a Gypsy woman lying dangerously ill in the depths of the Forest. The Gypsy who had ridden over to fetch him, and who doubtless had good reasons of his own for concealing the way to the camp, having blindfolded the doctor, laid hold of his horse’s bridle and led him through the wild recesses of the woods to the tent where the woman lay. But from that time forward he gained the firm and fast friendship of the Romany folk, after trusting himself fearlessly in their hands in the midst of the lonely Forest in the dark watches of the night.

Secondly, his son, following his father’s profession, followed

also in his footsteps forest-ward—he in his turn becoming known as the Gypsy's Friend.

Lastly, the two daughters, whom at his death he left to live on in this same tall, white, three-storied house, with its thick-hedged, high-walled, old-fashioned garden, its many rooms, spacious entrances, and long passages, its dark oak floors and panelled wainscots, blue willow-patterned china, red damask curtains and oaken settles, became by calling and inheritance the Gypsy's Friend.

Particularly is this title applicable to the Gypsy painter (the elder sister being a flower-painter), who has earned her living by her brush from her childhood up. And she dates her first attraction to the Gypsy race in general from the time when, a young student in Paris, she came across a Romany model in the studio of her master, M. Chapelin, who was descended, according to his own belief and his tribe's tradition, from Ishmael the son of Hagar.

To this day there is hearty welcome in her house for the way-faring stranger and all who take the road. And the name of the Lady Goddards, as our Hampshire Gypsies designate them, is a passport into the hearts of some of the most distrustful, the surliest and wildest, as well as the most charming, of our south country travellers. Moreover, be it said, their name has saved many an unpleasant situation, when the novice to Romany ways and manners has made her *début* on the stage of camp life. For instance, that August afternoon on Sholing Heath, when you fled from an infuriated *dai*, mad with drink and jealousy and hatred of the Gorgio, across the common, and Betsy Page's mother dragged you by the hand into her own caravan.

Or again, that winter's evening when you had to wait till long after nightfall in a strange camp, along with the ancient crone who travels in a dwarfish green caravan and is believed by the other Gypsies to be very wicked, waiting to see Lovinya, who was 'took bad with the Viper's Dance'; and Vanlo Bower's young wife, wonderfully picturesque in her yellow head-kerchief, her rosy coral beads, her striped silk *diklos*, came in to help you, and afterwards led you up the dark road homeward.

For their Lady Goddard has painted all the forest-born Gypsies, their *chavis*, *grais* and *vardos*, and they take delight in the part they played in the making of the picture.

Chuckled the old flower-seller over her basket of 'beowtiful

daffs' or 'bit o' laylock' as she jogged along the road in her short ragged gown, up to her knee-high boots, with a battered hat on her head and a frowsy pipe in her mouth: 'She be one o' we, my dear! The Lady Goddard have a-lived in the Forest along o' we! Take a bunch o' bulrushes, my dear, and help a poor old doomun! She've a-tented along o' we, she have!' *Tatchipen si*, she has lived the Forest life in the tents of the Forest people, and here has portrayed all the everyday incidents of Gypsy life.

So let yourself be led by Gypsy hands, blindfolded though you may chance to be by Gorgio misgivings and prejudices, through the Forest by day and night, and 'you shall see what you shall see.'

First and foremost stands Mary Stanley, the granddaughter of the Gypsy queen, with the dark forest for a background, framed in the very oak that once formed part of the Miraculous Beam in the Priory roof. Then we pass on to 'Halting in the Ling.' It is four o'clock on Magpie Green, one of the many 'lawns which wind in and out of the holly-shelters on Thorney Hill. Holmsley lies away in the distance. The day, with its

' Queenly crimson deep in the heather,
And diamonds of the dew at morn
Flashing their rainbow drops together,'

has already begun for this group of Gypsies who have just unharnessed the horses from their three caravans, which loom red and yellow and tawny brown to the still misty grey. The water has to be fetched for breakfast soon, and the fires lit; you can hear the high-pitched voice of the *chablos*, and the soft voice of the *dai*, hushing the *betichavi* in her arms, her dark face turned to the dawn; you can hear the awakening whispers of the wind in the heath,

' For thee and for me, my child,
Wandering folk and poor,
There are jewels of price on meadow and moor,
When the wind blows wild.'

And now the scene shifts to 'Lighting-up Time: the Candle in the Ground.' Faded is the

' Gold alight in the sky,
And royal red in the heart of the heather' ;

twilight creeps up the bypaths between the brackens, and the



MARY STANLEY (IN THE FOREST)

By AMELIA GODDARD

(By permission of Brigadier-General The Hon. E. M. Stuart Wortley,
C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.V.O.)

nearing shadows of night keep step with a horde of way-spent travellers trudging heavily back to their *tan*. A flood of yellow light pouring forth from one of the tents shows a *juvel*, her brown face aglow in the light of a candle tied to a stick thrust in the ground, which a boy, kneeling dark against its radiance, has just set aflame with a brand from the fire. Its beacon-torch is leading home the lagging feet of that knot of wanderers, dimly discerned through the dusky trees, whose 'wayfaring day is o'er,' to

'The House of the Open Door.' . . .

'And all the night the stars go by,
Waving their silver swords together.'

And the night-hawk whistles softly over the darkened heath, and the bog-withy breath travels to and fro over the swiftly running streams.

Again the scene changes, and one is standing on the open common, amid a troop of *raklos* who are riding up a drove of rough Forest ponies, whilst a buxom *rakli* holds up the sod of grass with which she is 'Strewing the Pateran' for the rest of the tribe, some of whom are already following up the trail behind the oaks and hollies.

There is another story woven in with this picture, of a silver ring worn on the artist's hand and a secret kept for sixteen years. But this you must learn from the painter herself some day.

Once more the scene shifts, and one finds oneself in the 'Holly Shelter' on Thorney Hill, amongst a motley throng of men, women, and children; there is warmth and colour everywhere; autumn glow, fire-glow, and glow of Gypsy faces. The smoke of burning furze-fuel floats through the green forest spaces; you hear the *chavis'* *saviben* and *rōviben*, the *chais'* rapid *rōkerin'* and the *gilyin'* of the *chablos*, as they raise their peculiar sing-song nasal chant, in strict time, as if to a fiddle and tambourine accompaniment, the old Forest ballads, passed orally down from one generation to another: the forest-murder legend of the 'Brake o' Briars,' the forest love-tale of 'The Green Bushes,' and the oft-told tale of 'The Three Gypsies':—

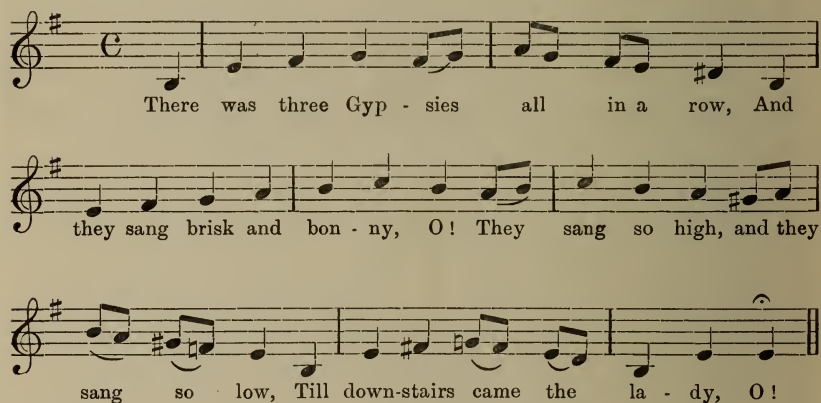
'There was three Gypsies all in a row,
And they sang brisk and bonny, O!
They sang so high and they sang so low
Till downstairs came the lady, O!

They gave to she a nut-a-meg brown,
 And a cake of the very best ginger, O !
 But she gave to they a far better thing,
 For she gave them the ring from her finger, O !

Now there was three gypsies all of a row,
 And they was hangèd all just so ;
 For they was hangèd all of a row
 For stealing the yellow castle's lady, O !'¹

But that was in the old days, before the great colony of Gypsy flower-sellers with their tents had given way to the brick-kilns down in Gypsy Hollow, and the red brick house had made an ugly blot every here and there among the squatters' cobwalls and thatched roofs. Bitterly do some of the older Gypsies regret that they were fools enough to sell the very ground under their feet—at a high value—to the insatiable brick-making and house-building

¹ This ballad, a variant of 'The Gypsy Laddie,' and concerned, as the words 'yellow castle's' (Earl of Cassillis') in the last line indicate, with the elopement of the Countess of Cassillis and Johnny Faa, is more complete than another version collected from English Gypsies by Mr. Sampson (*J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 84-5). The words and melody, as sung at Thorney Hill, Hants, in July 1908, by Thomas Pateman, a middle-aged Gypsy, are as follows :—



There was three Gyp - sies all in a row, And
 they sang brisk and bon - ny, O ! They sang so high, and they
 sang so low, Till down-stairs came the la - dy, O !

There was three Gypsies all in a row,
 And they sang brisk and bonny, O !
 They sang so high, and they sang so low,
 Till downstairs came the lady, O !

They gave to she a nut-a-meg brown,
 And a cake of the very best ginger, O !
 But she gave to them a far better thing,
 For she gave them the ring from her finger, O !

Now she pulled off her silken gown,
 And wrapped the blanket round her, O !
 She was resolved and rakeish too,
 To gang with the draggel-tail Gypsies, O !



IN HOLLY SHELTER

By AMELIA GODDARD

(To whom the copyright belongs)

Gorgio; and they would regain their lost footing if they could. Meantime, the brown roof and the yellow walls of some of these squatters' cottages shelter many a Gypsy family, and the old Forest ballads are still sung, to the carousal of cakes and ale, as they gather round the wide hearth or group themselves against the summer twilight of open door and diamond pane. Still the Seven Firs on Thorney Hill stand as landmarks from the Forest to Wimborne and from Wimborne to Salisbury, and beckon to the ships passing up and down channel. Still the magpies flash from tree to tree above Gypsy Hollow.

Yet 'the tall white house with the green bushes about it,' down Purewell Street, knows the sisters no longer; for the Forest has taken back its own. And to the cottage at Lark's Gate, close to where the Seven Firs keep watch on Thorney Hill, Gypsy-painter and flower-painter, a-wearied with the increasing struggle for existence and the world's rush and unrest, have followed

When her new lord he did return
Enquiring for his lady, O!
One of the servants did say, 'Sir,
She's gone with the draggel-tail Gypsies, O!'

'Come saddle me my milk-white steed,
Come saddle me my pony, O!
That I might ride both day and night
Until I find my lady, O!'

O, he rode high and he rode low,
And he rode over the valley, O!
And who should he see but his own wedded lady
Along with the draggel-tail Gypsies, O!

'Now how could you leave your house and land?
How could you leave your babes also?
Or how could you leave your new-wedded lord
To gang with the draggel-tail Gypsies, O?

'Last night you laid on a good feather-bed,
Along with your tender babes also!
And now to-night in a cold open field,
Along with the draggel-tail Gypsies, O!'

'I will return to my house and land;
I will return to my babes also!
And I will return to my new-wedded lord,
And forsake all the draggel-tail Gypsies, O!'

Now there was three Gypsies all of a row,
And they was hangèd all just so;
And they was hangèd all of a row
For stealing the yellow castle's lady, O!

the *pateran* themselves into the wild, sweet heart of the Forest, to find a halting-place on life's hard journey in the ling, a shelter in the hollies, a light at eventide and a hearty welcome in the hearts of their Gypsy friends. And here the two painters work and wait, till for them, too,

'The wayfaring day is o'er ;
Thou and I, together we lie
In the House of the Open Door ;
But for you and for me . . .
Wandering folk and poor,
There are dreams of delight on meadow and moor,
When the wind blows wild !'

XI.—THREE GERMAN GYPSY MELODIES

By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

1.—*Trin Berš ta Dives Ái*

THIS song was taught me by two twin boys, Bapo and Bi, aged about ten. They both sang, and one of them also played the harp. Some weeks later Mūma revised the words for me. The song is by far the best I have heard from Gypsy lips. It is to be sung slowly and with infinite feeling. The amount of pathos which they put into the words *ná-kova k'rář me gār* was quite indescribable. Their young voices trembled on *ná ad libitum*, hurried over *kova k'rář me*, and returned to the note of *gār* a little more reassured, but still near unto weeping. Altogether a good song, when sung by Bapo and Bi.

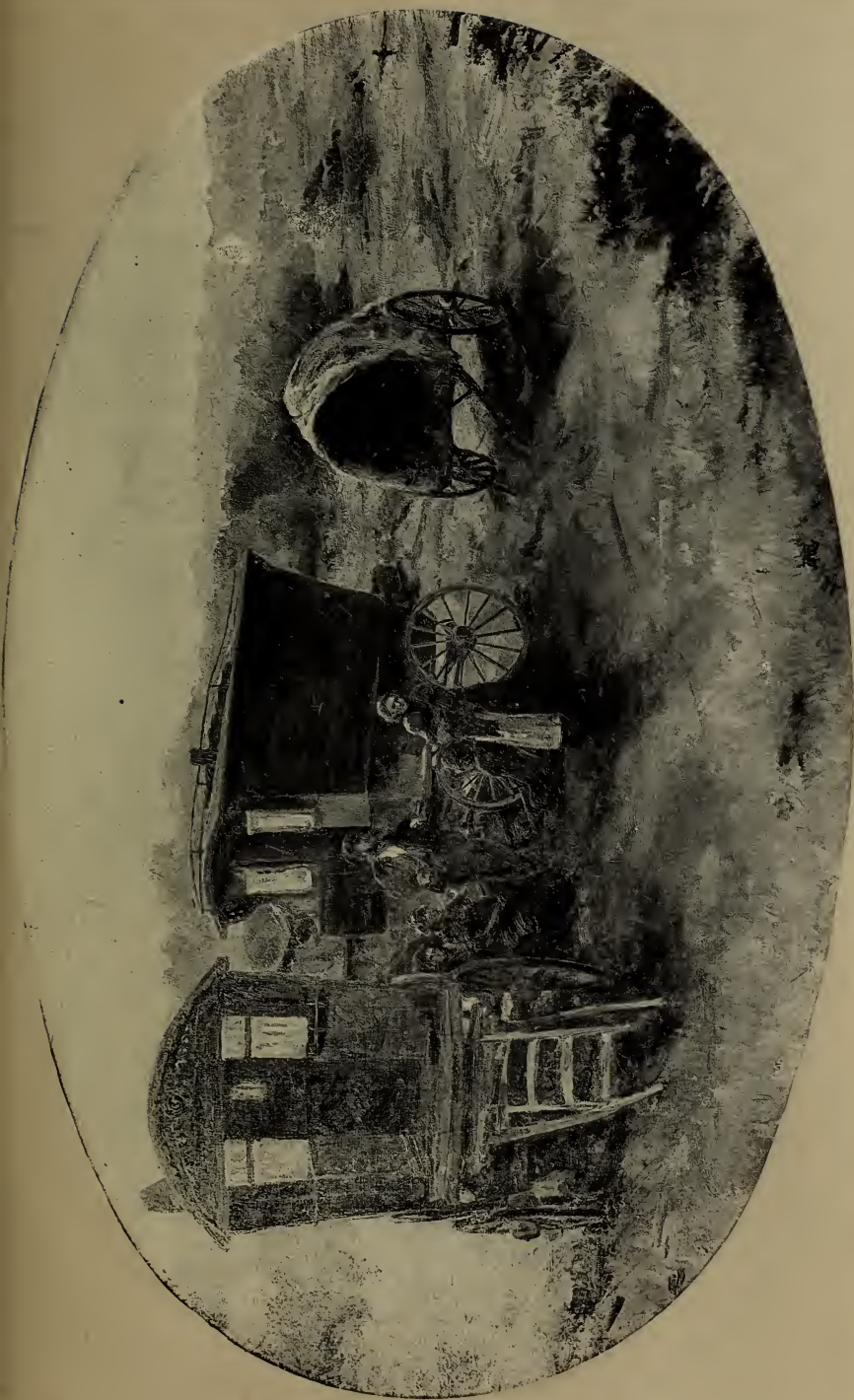
2.—*O Múlo ta Těrní Tšai*

This little song was likewise sung by the twins, Bapo and Bi, to the accompaniment of the harp, *à faute de guitarré*.

3.—*O Zénelo Ruk o Bólepen*

The directions for the proper rendering of this song are as follows :—

Gather together ten men of shady character. Make them drunk. Give them violins and guitars, and let them stand about on a country road so as to effectually prevent a miller's cart from passing until the song is over. They will then begin. The first



GYPSIES HALTING BY THE LING

By AMELIA GODDARD

(To whom the copyright belongs)

four chords will be played with much vigour by both violins and guitars. The very essence of 'naughtiness' will be expressed in the guitar-strumming of the second bar. The song will be more shouted than sung, and the instruments will be played fiercely. After the words *pále kóla tsáte* there will be a grand pause, while the players exchange leers and winks of expectation. Then a crash and the stamping of ten feet at the word *būl*! Again the guitars alone as above, then the last words yelled. The miller's cart can now pass.

With regard to the song *Efta P'rāl*, the words of which were printed in my article on the Gypsies of the Rhine Province, I have received a note, for which I am very grateful, from Miss D. E. Yates, in which she quotes the song given by Liebich (ch. ix. p. 101), wherein are mentioned *efta prāla*. The same song, with the accidental omission of lines 5 and 6, quoted with a Latin rendering by Miklosich in his *Mundarten* (III. p. 28), has, she tells me, been translated as follows by Charles G. Leland (*English-Gipsy Songs*, pp. 186-7):—

THE LADY AND THE LORD

The lady with her flowing hair
Has covered her lover o'er.

'There are men who wish to see me here
Are hiding behind the door.
What can we do together?—
What canst thou do for me?'

'I will not let thee go, my love,
Though I lose my life for thee.
Thou hast seven brothers. Though my heart
Should leap upon their sword,
Whilst thou art mine and I am thine
I ever will keep my word.'

Professor Pischel¹ gives a slightly different rendering of the song taken down by me. I have evidently mistranslated the line *Me k'ráũ les vrin*. It does not mean 'I will get him out,' but rather 'I will bring the matter to a successful issue.' Cf. German, *durchführen*.

¹ 'Vier Lieder der deutschen Zigeuner': *Apophoreton überreicht v. d. Graeca Halensis*. (Festsch. z. 47. Vers. D. Philol. und Schulm., pp. 129-135. Berlin, 1903.)

TRIN BERŠ TA DÍVES, ÁI!

VOICE

HARP OR PIANO

Con melancolia

Trin berš ta di - ves, ái Di - k'á - men pā lī.
 Und ka - na dšá - tuke tu, Und ka - na vė-pute gār!

sostenuta la voce, e con dolore *smorzando*

Ná-kova k'rāŭ me gār, Mir ló - li rá - ka - li!
 Ná-kova k'rāŭ me gār, Mir ló - li rá - ka - li!

To conclude, repeat the bars of introduction.

O MŮLO TA TÉRNI TŠAI

Kát - er dšal o mŭ - lo. Me da - rá - va
Tér - ni tšai, me ka - mávo tut. Vě ye bis - la

gār! - - - Kát - er dšal o mŭ -
kai; - - - Ve mol ye bis - la mant -

- lo. Me da - rá - va gār! - - -
- sar. A - no zéne - lo věš. - - -

O ZÉNELO RUK O BÓLEPEN

O zéne - lo ruk, o bó - le - pen.

Ap kai, gináb túke tren : His ye kyáke šúkar tšai, Hi le, Hi le funeli dai.

Háko vinklo, kako štála, His kóva tšávo pále kóla tšáte, Pa lákr bŭl!

Táisa ští - lo prē His kóva nak pádo fŭl!

WHITER'S 'LINGUA CINGARIANA'

BY LADY ARTHUR GROSVENOR

'Thank you, boy: here's Parr's health, and Whiter's.'

'Who is Whiter?'

'Don't you know Whiter? I thought everybody knew Reverend Whiter the philologist, though I suppose you scarcely know what that means. A man fond of tongues and languages, quite out of your way—he understands some twenty; what do you say to that?'

'Is he a sound man?'

'Why, as to that, I scarcely know what to say: he has got queer notions in his head—wrote a book to prove that all words came originally from the earth—who knows? Words have roots, and roots live in the earth; but, upon the whole, I should not call him altogether a sound man, though he can talk Greek nearly as fast as Parr.'

'Is he a round man?'

'Ay, boy, rounder than Parr; I'll sing you a song, if you like, which will let you into his character:—

"Give me the haunch of a buck to eat, and to drink Madeira old,
And a gentle wife to rest with, and in my arms to fold,
An Arabic book to study, a Norfolk cob to ride,
And a house to live in shaded with trees, and near to a river side;
With such good things around me, and blessed with good health withal,
Though I should live for a hundred years, for death I would not call."

Here's to Whiter's health——'

THUS in the twenty-fourth chapter of *Lavengro* wrote George Borrow of the Rev. Walter Whiter, M.A., friend of Porson, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and rector of Hardingham, Norfolk, from 1797 until his death in 1832. Borrow had no personal acquaintance with this eccentric philologist, but having seen his *Etymologicon Universale* in the City Library, Norwich, where it is to-day, he must have known, though he omits to mention it, that Whiter was a Gypsy scholar who held extravagant ideas as to the value of Romani. For in 1888 Groome, attracted as he tells us by the word 'Gipsey' in the titles of these wonderful volumes, collected therefrom twenty-six words which proved that 'Mr. Whiter himself, or an informant (? George Borrow), had clearly some knowledge of Romany, gained independently and not from books,' and reprinted in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (First Series, i. 102-4), sundry speculations which showed more than ordinary interest in the subject. Struck by the kinship of Latin and Sanskrit, of which Gipsey is acknowledged to be a dialect, and by

the similarity of the race-names *Romans* and *Romany*, Whiter ventured to suggest:—

‘It will perhaps be discovered by some future enquirer that from a horde of vagrant *Gipsies* once issued that band of sturdy Robbers, the companions of Romulus and of Remus, who laid the foundations of the *Eternal City* on the banks of the Tibur. . . . It is curious, likewise, that some should have observed the resemblance between the Cloak or Blanket, thrown over the shoulders of the Gipsies, and the *Roman Toga*. I was not aware, that this resemblance had been noticed, when I ventured on the above conjecture. Martinus, under the article *Cingarus*, has the following passage: “Brodæus, lib. 8. Miscellan. cap. 17. ait ipsam *Romanam Togam* eandem pene cum eâ fuisse, quâ, quos Galli *Bohemos*, Itali *Cingaros* nominant, amiciuntur.” This is, I think, exceedingly impressive and singular. The mode in which the Gipsies wear the Cloak or Blanket, which is thrown over their shoulders, is certainly unlike any other mode of wearing a similar covering; and the Romans, we all know, were so marked and distinguished from every other people by the dress of their *Toga* or Cloak, that they were called the *Gens TOGATA*:

“*Romanos rerum dominos, Gentemque TOGATAM.*”

Had Groome turned to Whiter's earlier work, the *Etymologicon Magnum* (Cambridge, 1800), of which only the first part was published, he might not only have added to his list of words, but have also avoided the mistake of hinting that Whiter's *Romani* had a Borrovian origin. The greater part of the preface of that book is devoted to an apology for his enthusiasm:—

‘I may be doomed perhaps to encounter the smile or the frown of fastidious levity, when in the course of these discussions, I shall gravely appeal to the authority of the *Gipsey Language*, which we have ever been accustomed to regard as the idle jargon of a forlorn and abandoned crew,—

“So wither'd and so wild in their attire,
“That look not like the inhabitants o' the Earth
“And yet are on 't.”

The *Gipsey Language*, as it is now spoken, may probably be considered as the most ancient form of Speech, which is at present extant in the world. The causes, by which the mutation of other languages has been affected, have not extended their influence to the fate and fortunes of the wandering Gipsies; and with them only is preserved a faithful record of *Primæval Speech*. It has been imagined, that the *Gipsey Language* is a dialect of the Sanscrit; and I regard it as the important link, by which the Sanscrit is connected with the Coptic or the *Ægyptian*. The reader will find in a succeeding page a specimen of the *Gipsey numerals*; and he will there discover a similarity to the *Greek Language*, which will at once justly excite his wonder and his curiosity. With the *Ægyptian* origin of the *Greek Language*, and with the affinity of the *Greek* to the *Latin*, we are perfectly acquainted; and it will afford us a new source of meditation, when we learn that the *Gipsies*—the *Ægyptians* or the *Copts*, are in their own language called *ROMANS* or *ROMANI*. Thus it is, that the great revolutions of mankind may have been originally effected by this despised and rejected race. . . . The Eastern Scholars have been strongly impressed with the marvellous resemblance, which exists between the *Latin* and the *Sanscrit*; and I am myself enabled familiarly to illustrate the *Laws* of the *Twelve Tables* by the *Dialect* of the *Gipsies*.—In our own age a language has been

lost: It shall be my province to record and preserve another. I have already advanced far in the prosecution of this design; and the Grammar of the Gipseey Language I consider as a prelude to my enquiries into the mysteries of Sanscrit Literature, which will afford me a future theme of ample and important discussion.'

A Romany Rai, chancing upon this passage, might not perhaps have mourned the loss of the grammar, for the specimens which are scattered throughout the book show that it must have been more entertaining than instructive; but he could not have failed to lament that so early and probably so valuable an Anglo-Romani vocabulary had perished, for Whiter's promise remained apparently unfulfilled at his death. As a matter of fact, events happened otherwise, and it was the discovery, among the manuscripts of my late friend the Rev. T. W. Norwood, of a vocabulary by Whiter which directed attention to his *Etymologicon Magnum*. This vocabulary, with his own Norfolk collections and other Gypsy matter, was sent in 1858, by Goddard Johnson of East Dereham, as a gift to Mr. Norwood, who had read a paper on the Gipsies to the British Association at Leeds. Mr. Norwood studied and returned them, so that it is now impossible to tell whether Goddard Johnson possessed the original manuscript of Whiter's complete work or only words and phrases copied from it; or whether the lists which are headed 'From the Author of the *Lingua Cingariana*' in Mr. Norwood's note-book represent everything that passed through his hands, or mere extracts.

At the foot of the first vocabulary Mr. Norwood has written: 'Mr. Goddard Johnson tells me that the author of the *Lingua Cingariana* was "the Rev. Walter Whiter, formerly Rector of Hardingham (in Norfolk), . . . the compiler of a very learned Etymological Dictionary which went through a second edition." Mr. Johnson adds some curious details about this old clergyman's ways: "he was a very singular and remarkable man in his habits."' So thought Baron Merian, who in a letter to Dr. Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury school (quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) wrote: 'I pity Whiter. A great etymologist, perhaps the greatest that ever lived. A genius certainly, but it seems, like most eminent artists, dissolute.' The oddness of his character is writ large in his works, and his sense of humour is exemplified by a reference in the index of the *Etymologicon Magnum* to one of his own books:—'*Specimen of a Commentary on Shakspeare*. The author of the *Etymologicon Magnum* compelled to adopt the doctrine of that obscure writer.'

That Whiter's words were collected from English Gypsies, and not from foreign visitors, is proved by the prevalence of the *â* and *ô* sounds in such words as *baukero*, sheep; *baulo*, pig; *bauro*, large; *chaw*, grass; *gaujo*, *gorjo*, man; *garvje*, woman; *kaulo*, black; *mauro*, bread; *maur engro*, baker; *mauto*, drunk; *pauno*, white, flour; *rauné*, *raunee*, lady, madam; *sau*, all; *saula*, *saulo*, morning; *staur*, four; *comauvč*, I love; *conglé*, comb; *kopper*, blanket; *cosht*, *kosht*, wood; *nok*, nose; *nok-engro*, snuff; *posh*, half; *roker*, talk; *yog*, fire; and also by the presence of a number of words and forms which are characteristic of English Gypsy:—*duvol*, God; *hernafious*, turnips; *kek*, not; *coosa*, *coosé*, a little; *kooshke*, good; *méla*, *meilé* [pl.], ass; *owālay*, *howalé*, yes; *posh-nikous*, handkerchief; *rinkano*, beautiful; *scoodilla*, dish; *starna*, deer; *techeeros*, time; *trin korisher*, a shilling.

That his vocabulary was original is equally evident. It includes words and forms such as *bouv*, oven; *maraze*, frost; *mau lako*, [false]; *paramoosh*, dream; *shirké*, stars; *tabe*, *tabela*, light; which could not have been borrowed from printed sources: he twice mentions the 'venerable Braminess' who taught him, and refers to his 'collection of Gipsej words.' Bryant and Grellmann he knew from the *Annual Register* and Raper's translation respectively, and his opinion of their work is summarised in the index of his *Etymologicon Magnum*:—'*Bryant* (Mr.) His conjectures false and futile. *Grellman*. His History of the Gipsies an idle Compilation.' He quotes them occasionally, often with a contemptuous acknowledgment, as 'that inaccurate catalogue to be found in Grellman,' and he reproves Bryant for having 'represented the names for Death by *Moloo* and *Miraben*; in both which words he is mistaken,' and for confounding adjective and noun in 'A country, *Bittutheim*.' He shows himself keenly conscious of the difficulty of recording an unwritten tongue:—'Nothing is so common through the whole compass of language, as to find words derived and formed from the omission or the addition of the term representing the article. In taking down a spoken language from the mouth of another, especially if the speaker be himself ignorant of the nature and form of his own language, the greatest care and attention must be paid to this circumstance. Mr. Bryant and the Collector of Gipsej words in Grellman have been betrayed into various mistakes arising from this source; and particularly from confounding sentences with words.' And lastly he avoided with conspicuous success the usual mistake of confusing Romani

with 'the *Vulgar Tongue*, or, as it is commonly called, the *Slang Language*':—'This language has been sometimes confounded with the Gipsy; though they have nothing in common but a few terms occasionally adopted from that race, because Gipseys have sometimes consorted with other beggars.'

The *Etymologicon Magnum* contains a few words which are not in Mr. Norwood's manuscript; for instance, *chaw*, grass; *chiva ben*, I am alive; *craftnis*, buttons; *mera ben*, I am dying; and *zimin*, broth. It seems probable, therefore, that Whiter's interest was aroused while he was at Cambridge by the simultaneous publication in 1787 of Bryant's list in the *Annual Register* and Raper's translation of Grellmann, and that he made these collections after that date, and at some time before June 5, 1800, when he added the preface to his work, which had 'been in the press during seventeen months.' After 1800 his interest in Gypsies seems to have flagged, for there is nothing except the vocative *Raunéa* in his *Etymologicon Universale*, in which Romani occupies a very inconspicuous place, to show that he had added to his vocabulary, nor did he repeat the enthusiastic praise which appeared in the preface of his earlier work.

The two groups of phrases and the fifteen vocabularies are here reprinted exactly as they appear in Mr. Norwood's note-book, without addition, subtraction, or change of any kind. A few queries, conjectural readings and translations, which Mr. Norwood had added, are enclosed within square brackets, and for the sake of completeness the words from Whiter's two etymological works are printed at the end.

GIPSY TALK.

From the Author of the *Lingua Cingariana*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Pooro Gaujo</i> . An old man. | 10. <i>So se dovo?</i> What is that? |
| 2. <i>Poore Gawje</i> . An old woman. | 11. <i>So pen-esse?</i> What do you say? |
| 3. [?] <i>Mishta dousta seele sun</i> [sore shan]. They are all very well. | 12. <i>So ker-esse?</i> What do you do? |
| 4. <i>Sa shan sau ke teero ker?</i> How are all at your house? ¹ | 13. [?] <i>Wistis</i> [<i>Nastis</i> ?] <i>tovello pauno</i> . She can't wash it white. |
| 5. <i>Sa see pal te pen?</i> How are your brother and sister? | 14. <i>Piro se wodder</i> . The door is open. |
| 6. <i>Boot nashfelo shom</i> . I am very ill. | 15. <i>Panlo se wodder</i> . The door is shut. |
| 7. <i>Keri j'ovva</i> . I am going [home]. | 16. <i>Peer-asse</i> [-esse] <i>menga coosé</i> . Let us walk a little. |
| 8. <i>Ja'nna keré</i> . They go home. | 17. <i>Kolako</i> or <i>ovava divous</i> . To-morrow. |
| 9. <i>Ja'lla keré</i> . They go home. ² | 18. <i>Comora</i> . The parlour. |

¹ How are you all?

² He goes home.

19. *Pray podous.* Upstairs.
20. *Tatsohapen se.* It is true.
21. *Rokera tatschapen.* I will tell the truth.
22. *Mé duvoleska.* For God's sake.
23. *So se te nav?* What is your name?
24. *Sa ja'lla te booté?* How goes your trade?
25. *Mishti prastella.* He runs very fast.
26. *Lel.* To take.
27. *Mishti dekella ke divous.* [He looks well to-day.]
28. *Yiv ella.* It snows.
29. *Ella yiv.* It snows.¹
30. *Plookte.* Sheets.
31. *Paramoosh.* A dream.
32. *Roker ella dové chavé.* The two boys talk.²
33. *Ke-nan [w] se divvos.* Now it is day.
34. *Duvos se.* It is day.
35. *Romado.* A married man.
36. *Kek, mau lako.* No, it is not so.
37. *Tu besh tēlay.* You sit down.
38. *Mai bosháva telay.* [I will sit down.]
39. *Beshto s'o kam.* The sun is set.
40. *Bauro peera.* A large boiler.
41. *Ker pané.* Make water.
42. *Kera vella pané.* The water boils.
43. *Tabe yog.* Light the fire.
44. *Tatto se bouu.* The oven is hot.
45. *Drai chivo maraclé.* Put the cake there [in].
46. *Bosh a mengry.* A fiddle.
47. *Bosh a mongro.* A fiddler.
48. *Dotto hobbin ā, menga.* Plenty of victuals for us.
49. *Avree se yog.* The fire is out.
50. *Lai tcheure.* Take the knife.
51. *Mai kairovo les.* I will do it.
52. *Mai kaidom adovva.* I did that.
53. *Maur engro.* A baker.
54. *Adōvau see.* It is it.
55. *Mai don-ma los.* I did it.³
56. *Dooi.* Two together.
57. *Av ēta.* Come hither.
58. *Ki av Palla.* Come here, my lad.
59. *Kotche kosht.* Burn the wood.
60. *Aprai yog se.* It is upon the fire.
61. *Jen nessa so se dovai?* 'Jenessa,' what is that? [Do you know what that is?]
62. *Lil.* A book.
63. *Den ap[?] Reading.* [*Delling opré.*]⁴
64. *Del o Ria apray.* That gentleman reads aloud.
65. *Del a raunee apray.* That lady reads aloud.
66. *Ri te Raunee den apray.* They both read aloud.
67. *Mai lovō les.* I will have.
68. *Lai les adravo vast.* [Take it in your hand.]
69. *Dinnalo siofello.* A foolish fellow.
70. *Jalla Gauje te . . .* The man is going to . . .
71. *Ke nau jessa sau te hobbin.* Let us all now go to breakfast.
72. *Jenessa so se kotcha - woodros?* [Know you what is Burn the bed?]
73. *Dotta ki oum [?] ke divvos.* We [have] here eat [-en] enough [to-day].⁵
74. *Mistis [?] Nastis* shunava gaujee. The old woman could not hear.⁶
75. *Ki ja see poora gaujee?* Where 's the old woman going?⁷
76. *Bauro drom.* The highroad.
77. *Cobbinengro.* A trencher.
78. *Mishto sovauva, -essa.* I slept well.
79. *Cannee.* A fowl.
80. *Sau mishta dotta dovai.* [All well enough that.]
81. *Jan tōka.* Go there.
82. *Owālay.* Yes.
83. *Romane shon?* Are you Romany?
84. *Dotta Romane pen chiv.* [Enough Gipsy talk.]⁸

¹ For *della yiv*.³ For *kaidom me les*.⁵ I have eaten plenty to-day.⁷ Where goest thou, old woman?² That boy talks, or those boys talk. Cf. 371.⁴ They read.⁶ I cannot hear the woman.⁸ Plenty Gypsies say *chiv* (instead of *chib*).

GYPSY SPEECH

à *Lingua Cingariana*.

I. NUMBERS.

85. *Yek*. One.
 86. *Doolé*. Two.
 87. *Trin*. Three.
 88. *Staur*. Four.
 89. *Panj*. Five.
 90. *Shouv*. Six.
 91. *Efta*. Seven.
 92. *Okto*. Eight.
 93. *Ennea*. Nine.
 94. *Desh*. Ten.
 (The rest are Borrow's.)¹
 95. *Desch ta yek*. Eleven.
 96. *Deschta-dui*. Twelve.
 97. *Deschtatrin*. Thirteen.
 98. *Deschta store*. Fourteen.
 99. *Deschta pansch*. Fifteen.
 100. *Deschta shov*. Sixteen.
 101. *Deschta hefta*. Seventeen.
 102. *Deschta octo*. Eighteen.
 103. *Deschtenneah*. Nineteen.
 104. *Besh*. Twenty.
 105. *Trianda*. Thirty.
 106. *Storanda*. Forty.

Etc. (See the Persian Nos.)

II. OF MAN.

107. *Gorjo*. Man.
 108. *Mush*. Man.
 109. *Monish*. Man.
 110. *Yov*. He.
 111. *Yoy*. She.
 112. *Gorje*. Woman.

113. *Juval*. Woman.
 114. *Monishney*. Woman.
 115. *Chavo*. Boy.
 116. *Raklo*. Boy.
 117. *Tikno chavo*. Infant boy.
 118. *Chi*. Girl.
 119. *Raklé*. Girl.
 120. *Tikna chi*. Young girl.
 121. *Ri*. Sir.
 122. *Ravné*. Madam.
 123. *Palla*. Brother. (*φίλοι*, fellow.)
 124. *Pen*. Sister.
 125. *Dad*. Father. (Celtic).
 126. *Di*. Mother.
 127. *Grallis*. King.
 128. *Piréné* (o). Sweetheart.
 129. *Loobné*. Scortum.
 130. *Romané*. Gipsy.
 131. *Romané chel*. Pack of Gipsies.
 132. *Duvol*. God.
 133. *Beng*. Devil.

III. OF THE EARTH.

134. *Poov*. The earth.
 135. *Chik*. Mud.
 136. *Tem, temma*. Country.
 137. *Cosh*. Wood.
 138. *Rook*. Tree.
 139. *Poos*. Straw.
 140. *Kas*. Hay.
 141. *Gav*. Village.
 142. *Forus*. Market.
 143. *Starapen*. Prison.
 144. *Giv*. Corn (general).

¹ Whiter's vocabulary seems to have been collected before 1800, and his interest in Romani had abated considerably by the time he published his *Etymologicon Universale*. It is therefore improbable that he would himself have obtained contributions from Borrow. Moreover, although W. P. Courtney says in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Borrow made Whiter's acquaintance, Professor Knapp states quite definitely that, although he had seen his larger work, he 'knew nothing of the writer personally.' The earlier of the numbers in question resemble those in Borrow's *Lavolil*, but *besh* and *trianda*, if plagiarisms, would have been taken most easily from Grellmann, *hefta* and *storanda* are original forms, and the reference to Persian is quite in Whiter's manner. There is no evidence that either Goddard Johnson or Mr. Norwood tampered in any way with Whiter's words, and the conclusion is inevitable that these numerals from 11 to 40 are Whiter's own, but, as the differences of spelling indicate, that they were not written at the same time as the numbers one to ten. Who was responsible for the note, 'The rest are Borrow's,' is not apparent: perhaps it was a conjecture of Mr. Norwood's.

145. *Barler's giv.* Barley.
146. *Grasna's giv.* Oats.

IV. OF THE HEAVENS.

147. *Kam.* Sun.
148. *Tchun.* Moon. (*Cynthia.*)
149. *Shirké.* Stars.
150. *Dood.* Light.
151. *Divous.* Weather.
152. *Baval.* Wind.
153. *Brish ndo.* Rain.
154. *Yog.* Fire.
155. *Panee.* Water. }
156. *Piah.* Water. }
157. *Bauro Panee.* River.
158. *Doriav.* The sea.
159. *Deriau.* The sea.
160. *Maraze.* Frost.
161. *Bero.* Ship.
162. *Doriav-engro.* Sailor.
163. *Pané-engro.* Waterman.
164. *Yiv.* Snow.
165. *Toov.* Smoke.
166. *Renje.* A flower.

V. OF TIME.

167. *Divous.* Day.
168. *Saula.* Morning.
169. *Raté.* Night.
170. *Tcheeros.* Time. (*καρπός.*)
171. *Ke divous.* To-day.
172. *Ovava divous.* Yesterday.
173. *Kalako divous.* Yesterday.
174. *Kolako divous.* To-morrow.
175. *Besh.* A year.
176. *Kurkoos divous.* Sunday.
177. *Congré.* Church.
178. *Ora.* Hour, watch.
179. *Lini.* Summer.

VI. OF FOOD.

180. *Mauro.* Bread. (See Welsh.)
181. *Mass.* Meat.
182. *Kal.* Cheese. (*caillé.*)
183. *Kil.* Butter.
184. *Koro.* A pot.
185. *Kobbin, kob.* Victuals. (*cibus.*)
186. *Dousta.* Plenty.
187. *Pour.* Belly.
188. *Tchuré.* Knife. (*κείρω.*)
189. *Pronglé.* Fork.
190. *Tchaur.* Plate.
191. *Scoodilla.* Dish for tea, etc. (*Scodella, Ital. ; Scutula, Lat.*)

192. *Tchauro.* A large dish.
193. *Kola, kau, koba.* To eat.
194. *Piena.* To drink. (*πίνω.*)
195. *Tood.* Milk.
196. *Goodlo.* Sugar or honey.
197. *Mauto.* Drunk.
198. *Moul.* Wine.
199. *Maraclé, or marakel.* A cake.
(See Irish and Welsh for *-clé*
and *-kel.*)
200. *Poovengre.* Potatoe. (*Pomme de Terre.*)
201. *Hernafious.* Turnips.
202. *Tatte Pane.* Gin, etc.
203. *Pauno.* Flour. (*Panis, Lat.*)
204. *Vinni.* Beer. (*Vinum, Lat.*)

VII. OF THE PERSON.

205. *Mooé.* Face or mouth.
206. *Dan.* Teeth. (*Dens, Lat.*)
207. *Vast.* Hand.
208. *Vastay.* Hands.
209. *Vaungasté.* Fingers.
210. *Peero.* Foot.
211. *Peray.* Feet.
212. *Errur.* Legs.
213. *Nok.* Nose.
214. *Chong.* A knee.
215. *Kan.* Ear.
216. *Trupous.* Body.
217. *Bel.* Hair.
218. *Chib.* Tongue.
219. *Wishto.* Lips.
220. *Sharo.* Head. (*κάπα.*)
221. *Sauva, salla.* To laugh.
222. *Kotter.* A guinea.
223. *Trin korisher.* A shilling.

VIII. OF DRESS.

224. *Shubar.* Gown.
225. *Vanglé.* Ear-rings.
226. *Kan-engré.* Ear-rings.
227. *Vangasté.* Finger-ring.
228. *Mira-cla.* Beads.
229. *Chouha.* Coat.
230. *Chirka.* Shoe.
231. *Chirk-engro.* Buckles.
232. *Bi-engré.* Waistcoat.
233. *Stady.* Hat.
234. *Gad.* Skirt.
235. *Posh-nikous.* Handkerchief.
236. *Conglé.* Comb.
237. *Kolov.* Stocking.
238. *Plashta.* Cloke. (*πλέκω.*)

IX. OF ANIMALS.

239. *Matchka*. Cat.
 240. *Grewné*. Cow.
 241. *Baukero*. Sheep.
 242. *Jugal*. Dog.
 243. *Juglé*. Bitch.
 244. *Gri*. Horse.
 245. *Grasné*. Mare.
 246. *Baulo*. Pig.
 247. *Conengro*. Hare.
 248. *Shoshi*. Rabbit.
 249. *Pappin*. Goose.
 250. *Pappines*. Turkey.
 251. *Retza*. Duck.
 252. *Kanne*. Hen.
 253. *Boshéna*. Cock.
 254. *Poré*. A tail.
 255. *Chirrécla*. Bird.
 256. *Méla*. Ass.
 257. *Matcho*. Fish.
 258. *Starna*. Deer.
 259. *Pishama*. Bee.
 260. *Kakaratchka*. Magpie.

X. OF A HOUSE, ETC.

261. *Kair*. House.
 262. *Pen*. Cabin.
 263. *Vodros*. Bed.
 264. *Woder*. Door.
 265. *Klitsen*. Key. (*Clavis*, κλείω,
 κλεϋ.)
 266. *Kopper*. Blanket.
 267. *Cacāvé*. Kettle.
 268. *Pekemengro*. Gridiron.
 269. *Momelé*. Candle.
 270. *Bar*. Flint.
 271. *Poutan*. Tinder.
 272. *Lell*. Book.
 273. *Pengé*. To learn.
 274. *Koia*. A trough.

XI. OF TRADES.

275. *Cacāv-engro*. Tinker.
 276. *Petal-engro*. Farrier. (*Petal*,
pedilson, πέδιλο, *calocus*.)
 277. *Grasko* [*gresko*] *petalles*. Horse-
 shoe.
 278. *Morovomengro*. Barber.

XII. PARTICLES

279. *Sa*. How.
 280. *Saa*. How.
 281. *Sara*. How.
 282. *Sei*. Where.
 283. *Ki*. Where.
 284. *So*. What.
 285. *Kek*. Not.
 286. *Nau*. Not.
 287. *Howalé*. Yes.

XIII. VERBS.

288. *Kau, kol*. Eat.
 289. *Trash*. Fear.
 290. *See, shan*. Are. (*Sa shan Ria* is
 'How do you do, sir?')
 291. *Shom, ovva*. Am.
 292. *Esse*. Are you.
 293. *Ella*. It is.
 294. *Ella, na, ena*. They are
 295. *Auva, essa*. I was.
 296. *Roker*. To talk.
 297. *Pen*. To talk.

XIV. ADJECTIVES.

298. *Toolo*. Fat.
 299. *Tchuro*. Poor.
 300. *Sau*. All.
 301. *Goodlo*. Sweet.
 302. *Shootlo*. Sour.

XV. PRONOUNS, ETC.

303. *Mai*. I.
 304. *Tu, te, tot*. You.
 305. *Yov*. He.
 306. *Yoy*. She.
 307. *Dovo*. That.
 308. *Teero*. Your.
 309. *Los*. Him.
 310. *La*. Her.
 311. *Kisse*. Much.
 312. *Boot*. Much.
 313. *Dosta*. Much.
 314. *Mishto*. Well.
 315. *Padel*. After.
 316. *Pallau*. After.

CONVERSATIONS ON THE FOREGOING.

317. *Sa shan Ri?* How do you do, sir?
 318. *Sa shan Ravné?* How do you do,
 ma' am?
 319. *Mishta dosta para karau tot*. Very
 well, I thank you.
 320. *Comauvǎ la mishto*. I love her
 dearly.
 321. *Comauvǎ los*. I love him.
 322. *Ne comauvǎ los*. I hate him.
 323. *Comō-ben* (or *pen*). I love.

324. *So se Romăné?* What is it in Gipsy?
325. *Sa shan Palla?* How are you, friend?
326. *Rinkano Chi.* A beautiful boy.
327. *Rinkana Chi.* A beautiful girl.
328. *Pila-pen.* To woo.
329. *Kotcha-pen.* Morbus venereus.
330. *Bitto Racklo.* A little boy.
331. *Bitta Raklé.* A little girl.
332. *Posh Romanes, posh Cawjé kōnnes.* Half Gipsy, half English language. (*bis*=*posh*.)
333. *Beng te lel tot.* The devil take you.
334. *[?] Nevi Foras.* New Market.
335. *Moola jaw te poov.* The corpse goes to the grave.
336. *Vassavo divous.* Bad weather.
337. *Kooshke divous.* Fine weather.
338. *Tatto divous.* A hot day.
339. *Chillelo.* It is cold.
340. *Tattō-se.* It is hot.
341. *Kindō ben.* I am wet.
342. *Shukō-shom.* I am dry.
343. *Dood-se.* It is light.
344. *Avrai se yog.* The fire is out.
345. *Aprāi se yog.* The fire is up.
346. *Kisse baval koloko ratee.* Much wind last night.
347. *Kaulo se.* It is dark. (*κελαινός*, coal.)
348. *Pavne.* White.
349. *Saulo se.* It is morning.
350. *Kalake rātee.* Last night.
351. *Jau te soute.* Go to sleep.
352. *Souto.* Sleep.
353. *Mishta dosta soute yom.* I slept well.
354. *Nistis souvāva ke rat.* I could not sleep to-night.¹
355. *Aprai s'o kam.* The sun is up.
356. *Jawte vodros kam.* The sun is set.
357. *Telāy s'o kam.* The sun is set.
358. *Besh telāy o kam.* The sun is set.
359. *So se ora?* What o'clock is it?
360. *Kol doustā kobbin.* To eat plenty of victuals.
361. *Pauro pour.* A full belly.
362. *Nistis kauva ke divos.* I could not eat to-day. (*Kēr* is the verb of action.)²
363. *Kerābé te yog.* Light the fire.
364. *Āvré se yog.* The fire is out.
365. *Kerāve coosa pané.* Boil a little water.
366. *Bokalo shom.* I am hungry.
367. *Troshalo shom.* I am thirsty.
368. *Ma kairava los.* I did it (a man).³
369. *Mai kairava los.* I did it (a woman).³
370. *Kair yog.* Make the fire.
371. *Dooe meilē seeka kolla.* Two jackasses are eating together.⁴
372. *Oka tchure.* Give me the knife.
373. *Piena les kokoro.* They drink it themselves.
374. *Okis scammin ; pesh poshee mandee.* Here's a chair ; sit by me.
375. *Shootlo.* Sour.
376. *Goodlo.* Sweet.
377. *Lallé moul.* Red wine.
378. *Kaulo bel.* Black hair.
379. *Per-de.* A traveller.
380. *Nok-engro.* Snuff.
381. *Vassave chib.* A bad-spoken one.
382. *Kooshke chib.* A well-spoken one.
383. *Shun.* To hear.
384. *Rif tot.* Dress yourself.
385. *Sottō-se juggal.* The dog's asleep.
386. *Kistāva gri.* I am going to ride.
387. *Klitsen de woder.* Lock the door.
388. *Jawte kairier.* Go, build your cabin.
389. *Tabela momëlé.* Light a candle.
390. *Pengé les kokoro.* They learn it themselves.
391. *Gri.* A horse.
392. *Gresko.* Of a horse. (*-sko* is the articular postfix as in Hindostanee).

N.B.—Adjectives are formed by adding *-lo* or *-elo* to the substantive ; as—

393. *Bouk.* Hunger.
394. *Boukelo.* Hungry.
395. *Shoot.* Vinegar.
396. *Shootlo.* Sour.

¹ I cannot sleep to-night.

² I cannot eat to-day.

³ I am doing (or will do) it. The distinction of gender is imaginary.

⁴ Verb singular instead of plural. *Dooe meilē see ka kona* (are which eat) would have been more correct. *Ella* occurs in No. 294 as a plural verbal termination, showing that Whiter's Gypsies, like Wester Boswell, were a little lax in this respect. Cf. 9 and 32.

FROM WHITER'S *Etymologicon Magnum*, CAMBRIDGE, 1800.

397. *Romani*. Name of the Gipseys in their own language : Preface.
398. *Shubar*. A gown : p. 18.
399. *Copper*. The blanket or covering stretched over their tent, and afterwards a blanket in general : pp. 18-19.
400. *Craftnis*. Buttons : p. 26.
401. *Cacāvé*. A kettle : p. 33. Means, I believe, 'the kettle,' and *cavé* is, as I imagine, the true representative for the name of the vessel. . . . *ke* or *ka* is, I believe, one of the Gipsey articles. If, however, it be not the article, it is the termination of a case, according to Grellmann (p. 153) both in the Gipsey and in the Hindoo languages . . . in the Gipsey pronunciation it [the penultimate letter of *cacave*] is long, *cacāvé* ; let me add for the honour of Gipsey prosody, that some of the MSS. of Julius Pollux read *κακάββη*.
402. *Sova*. Sleep (verb). Lat. *sopio* : p. 54-6.
403. *Soto*. Sleep (noun) *κοῖτος*. Sometimes used as a verb : p. 56.
404. *Ga te soto, ga te vodros*. Go to sleep, go to bed : p. 56. *Ga* is sounded as *jaw*, with the *g* soft ; and I have represented it by *g*, in order to shew its identity with our word *go*.
405. *Nistis sovava ke rat*. I did not sleep to-night : p. 56.
406. *Coma ben*. I am loving, I love : p. 60, *como ben*, p. 376.
407. *Coma tot*. I love you : p. 60. When they [the Gypsies] inform you that it [the word for 'love'] is *coma ben* and *coma tot*, they mean 'I am loving' or 'I love' ; and the latter is 'I love you.' In Mr. Bryant's collection love is represented in one word *commoben* ; and in that inaccurate catalogue to be found in Grellman, a kiss is called in Gipsey *Tchumoben*, though in the parallel Hindoo we have it, as I conjecture, *Tschuma*.
408. *Peré*. The feet : p. 85-6.
409. *Foras*. A market town. Latin, *forum* : p. 86.
410. *Nevé foras*. Newmarket : p. 86. In talking with a venerable Braminess of that order, and having occasion to translate the word New-Market into the Gipsey language, I was informed that *Nevé Foras* would be the exact translation.
411. *Gav*. A village : pp. 87, 92, 104.
412. *Baukero*. A sheep : p. 165. In the Gipsey language *Baukero* signifies a sheep ; and what is extremely curious, the venerable Braminess, who taught me this part of her language, informed me likewise that some Blacks from the coast of Africa, whom she had accidentally seen, had used a similar term for that animal. In their language a sheep was *chy baukero* : p. 166.
413. *Romi*. Man : p. 172.
414. *Gobbin*. Food : pp. 178-9.
415. *Giv*. Wheat : p. 180-6.
416. *Zimin*. Broth : p. 183. Greek *ζωμός, ζωμόν*.
417. *Nistis kau-va ke divve*. I did not eat to-day : p. 183.
418. *Chaw*. Grass : pp. 183, 184.
419. *Tem*. Country : pp. 202, 212.
420. *Bitta*. Little : p. 202.
421. *Dan*. Tooth : p. 242.
422. *Chib*. Tongue : pp. 242-3. Persian *Zubaun*.
423. *Vassave chib*. Bad-spoken person : p. 242.
424. *Koosh ke chib*. Good-spoken person : p. 242.
425. *Fang-gaste, Fangaste*. Fingers : pp. 266, 272.
426. *Vaste*. Hand, fist : p. 273.
427. *Yog*. Fire : p. 296.
428. *Bel*. Hair : p. 321.
429. *Chave*. Boy : pp. 373-5.
430. *Chi*. Girl : p. 375-6.
431. *Chiva ben*. I am alive : pp. 373-6. *Cheeva*. Life : p. 450.
432. *Tikno chave*. Young child : p. 375. Greek *τεκνῶ, τέκνον*.

433. *Mera ben.* I am dying : p. 376.
Ben, as in our language, and other dialects of the Teutonic, signifies 'I bin' or 'am.'
434. *Molo.* Corpse : p. 376.
435. *Mar.* Death : p. 376.
436. *Yek.* One : pp. 476-8, 490.
437. *Dooe.* Two : p. 476.
438. *Trin.* Three : p. 476.
439. *Staur.* Four : pp. 476-8.
440. *Pange.* Five : p. 476.
441. *Showv.* Six : p. 476.
442. *Efta.* Seven : p. 476.
443. *Okto.* Eight : p. 476.
444. *Ennea.* Nine : p. 476.
445. *Desh.* Ten : p. 476.

FROM WHITER'S *Etymologicon Universale*, CAMBRIDGE, VOL. I., 1822 (PREFACE DATED 1811); VOL. II. (*i.e.* Part 2 of VOL. I.), 1822; VOL. III., 1825.

446. *Poov.* Earth : Introduction, 107.
447. *Paune.* Water : Introduction, 108.
448. *Okto.* Eight : i. 128.
449. *Yek.* One : i. 222, 337.
450. *Se.* Is : i. 290, 312, 338.
451. *So, sa.* How, what : i. 312.
452. *So se Romané.* What is it in Gipseys ? i. 312.
453. *Sa shan Rîa, Sa shan Raunéa?*
 How do you do, sir ? How do you do, madam ? i. 312.
454. *Sa.* How : i. 339.
455. *So.* What : i. 339.
456. *Ki.* Where : i. 339.
457. *Efta.* Seven : i. 508.
458. *Yog.* Fire : ii. 849-50.
459. *Rî.* Gentleman, sir : ii. 1004.
460. *Raune.* Lady, madam : ii. 1004.
461. *Rato.* Night : ii. 1069.
462. *Rome.*¹ Man : ii. 1215-19. The English cant term *Rum* was originally derived from the Gypsies : ii. 1220.
463. *Romani.* Name by which the Gipseys distinguish their own tribe : ii. 1223.
464. *Petal-engro.* Farrier : iii. 32.
465. *Cacave-engro.* Tinker : iii. 32. The term *engro* means 'in,' 'engaged in,' 'concerned in,' and is added to substantives for the purpose of expressing the occupation of a person.
466. *Gre sko petalles.* Horse-shoe : iii. 32.
467. *Gre, gri.* Horse : iii. 32. *Sko* is the post positive article denoting 'of.'
468. *Staur.* Four : iii. 37.
469. *Padel.* After : iii. 47.
470. *Besh.* Down : iii. 38-47.
471. *Beshte s'o kam.* The sun is set, or down : iii. 47.
472. *Besh telse.* Sit down : iii. 47.
473. *Okhis scammin, besh-poshe mandee.*
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474. *Okhis.* Greek ἐκεί : iii. 47.
475. *Scammin.* Latin, *scamnum* : iii. 47.
476. *Vassave.* Base, bad : iii. 38-47.
477. *Vassave chib.* Bad tongue, bad-spoken person : iii. 47.
478. *Baukero.* Sheep : iii. 232.

FOR convenience of reference an alphabetical index of all Whiter's words and forms, excepting the personal terminations of the indicative present (No. 291 to 295), is added. A few of the mistranslations which appear in the vocabularies have been already corrected in footnotes, and these, as well as many others, are marked 'mistr.' in the index. Verbal inflections are grouped

¹ This word appears to have been taken from Bryant, though, unlike the cases of borrowing which occur in the *Etymologicon Magnum*, no acknowledgment is made.

together under the verb-stem, which is enclosed in square brackets.

Whiter's spelling is not quite consistent: *au* generally represents *â* (*baulo*, *gaujo*, *mauto*, *staur*, *rauné*), but the same sound is sometimes expressed otherwise, as in *charw*, *garwje*, *gorjo*; *ai* is usually *ē* (*aprai*, *kaidom*, *lai*, *mai*), but there are also *telay*, *vastay*, *te*; and for the sound which is heard in the English word 'rare' he has *sharo*, *bero*, *kair*. The final *i* is almost always written *é* (*avré*, *conglé*, *congré*, *raklé*); but not invariably, for there are also *avree*, *cannee*, *mandee*, *ratee*, and *stady*: and for *ī* he has *teero*, *peero*, *piena*. For *ū* Whiter usually wrote *oo* (*boot*, *coosé*, *dood*), but in *greuvné*, *reuje*, *shun*, *tcheuré* he used other symbols. His final *i* represents the diphthong *ai* (*chi*, *di*, *gri*, *ki*, *ri*, *bi-engré*), but he wrote *meilé*. His *ou* seems most commonly to stand for *o*, as in *boukelo*, *bouv*, *souto*, *divous*, *chouha*, *moul*, *podous*, *poutan*, *pour*, *souvava*, *shouv*, *dousta*, *trupous*, *kioum*. With regard to consonants it need only be mentioned that his *g* is hard except in *ga*, and perhaps in *pengé*, and that the guttural aspirate is represented variously as in *kobbin*, *gobbin*, and *hobbin*.

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shon, thou art : 83.
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kan, ear : 215.
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cannee, fowl : 79.
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ke nau, now : 71.
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[*ker-*, to do, to make.]
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[*kerav-*, to cook, to boil.]
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panee, 155.
paune, 447.
tatte pane, gin, etc. : 202.
bauro panee, river : 157.
pané-engro, waterman : 163.
panj, five : 89.
pange : 440.
pansch : 99.
 [pand-, to shut.]
panlo : *p. part.* : 15.
pappin, goose : 249.
pappines, [geese] mistr. 'turkey' : 250.
 [parakar-, to thank.]
para karau, I thank : 319.
paramoosh, dream : 31. Cf. Sampson, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 77.
paramissa, story. Pott, ii. 359.
 Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 162.
pauno, white : 13.
paune : 348.
pauno, flour : 203.
pauro, full : 361.
peera, boiler : 40.
 [peer-, to walk.]
peer-asse, let us walk : 16.
per-de, traveller : 379.
peero, foot : 210.
peray, feet : 211.
peré, feet : 408.
 [pek-, to roast.]
pekemengro, gridiron : 268.
pen, sister : 5, 124.
pen, cabin : 262. Probably the suffix of an abstract noun : e.g. *lodipen*.
 [pen-, to say.]
pen-esse, sayest thou : 11.
pen, ? they say : 84.
pen, to talk : 297.
pengé, learn : 273, 390. This may be the reflexive pronoun in a sentence, *pengé les kokoro*, where the verb (e.g. *sikena*) is lost. But in that case, there would be a redundancy of reflexives, and just as Whiter wrote *ga* for *jaw*, he may have written *pengé* for *penjer*, the imperative of the verb which Borrow recorded as *penchava*, 'to think.' Cf. Mik. viii. 53. In this case the sentence would mean 'know (or learn) it yourself' (*sing.*). Or perhaps *pengé* is simply *pende*, 'they said.'
per-de. See *peer-*.
petalles, horse-shoe [*pl.*] : 277, 466.
petal-engro, farrier : 276, 464.
 [pi-, to drink.]
piah, [I drink] mistr. 'water' : 156.
piana, they drink : 373 ; mistr. 'to drink' : 194.
 [pirav-, 'to woo']
pila-pen, wooing : transl. 'to woo' : 328.
pirěno, sweetheart : 128.
piréné : 128.
piro, open : 14.
pishama, bee : 259.
plashta, cloke : 238.
plookte, sheets : 30.
podous, stairs : 19.

- pooro*, old : 1.
poora : fem. : 75.
poore : fem. : 2.
poos, straw : 139.
poov, earth : 134, 446 ; grave : 335.
poovengre, potato : 200.
poré, tail : 254.
posh, half : 332.
poshe, by [near] : 473.
poshee : 374.
posh-nikous, handkerchief : 235.
pour, belly : 187, 361.
poutan, tinder : 271.
[prast-, to run.]
prastella, he runs : 25.
pronglé, fork : 189. [Cant or slang.]
raklo, boy : 116.
racklo : 330.
raklé : 119, 331 ; girl.
rat, night : 354, 405.
raté : 169.
rato : 461.
ratee : 346 ; *râtee* : 350 ; loc.
rauné, lady, madam : 122, 318.
raune : 460.
raunee : 65, 66.
raunéa : 453.
retza, duck : 251.
reuje, flower : 166. S. & C., *roozho*.
Pott, ii. 280, s. v. *rosa*.
ri, gentleman, sir : 66, 121, 317, 459.
ria : 64.
ria : voc. : 290, 453.
[rif-, to dress.]
rif : imperative : 384.
rinkano, beautiful : 326.
rinkana : fem. : 327.
[roker-, to talk.]
roker, I will tell : 21.
roker ella, [he talks] : mistr. 'they talk' : 32.
roker, to talk : 296.
romani, the name Gypsy in their own language : 397, 463.
romane : 83, 84.
romané, Gypsy : 130, 131.
romané : 452 ; *romăné* : 324 ; in Gypsy.
romané chel, pack of Gypsies : 131.
romanes, Gypsy language [adv.] : cf. *carwě konnes* : 332.
rome, man : 462. Probably from Bryant.
romi : 413.
[romer-, to marry.]
romado, a married man : p. part. : 35.
rook, tree : 138.
[sa-, to laugh.]
sauva, [I laugh] mistr. 'to laugh' : 221.
salla, [he laughs] mistr. 'to laugh' : 221.
sa, how : 4, 5, 24, 279, 290, 317, 318, 325, 451, 453, 454.
saa : 280.
sara : 281.
sau, all : 4, 71, 80, 300.
sun, 3 [? mistranscription for *sau*].
saula, morning : 168.
saulo : 349.
scammin, chair : 374, 473, 475.
scoodilla, dish for tea, etc. : 191. S. & C., *skoodálin*, *skoodilin*.
se. See *is*.
shan. See *is*.
sharo, head : 220.
shirké, stars : 149. Pott, ii. 197.
shoot, vinegar : 395.
shootlo, sour : 302, 375, 396.
shoshi, rabbit : 248.
shom. See *is*.
shov, six : 100.
shouv : 90, 441.
shubar, gown : 224, 398.
shukô, dry : 342.
[shun-, to hear.]
shunava, [I hear] mistr. '[she] heard' : 74.
shun, to hear : 383.
so, what : 10, 11, 12, 23, 61, 72, 284, 324, 359, 451, 452, 455.
[sov-, to sleep.]
sovava, [I sleep] mistr. 'I slept' : 405.
sovauva : 78 ; mistr. 'I slept.'
souvāva : 354.
sovessa, [thou sleepest] : 78.
sova, [to] sleep : 402.
souto yom, I slept : 353.
soto, [p. part.] : 403, 404 ; *souto* : 351, 352 ; sleep.
sottô, asleep : 385.
stady, hat : 233.
starapen, prison : 143.
starna, deer : 258. S. & C., *staáni*, deer, stag.
staur, four : 88, 439, 468.
store : 98.
storanda, forty : 106.
ta, and : 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102.
te : 5, 66.

- [*tab-*, to light.] Paspati, *tapáva*,
 échauffer, brûler; *taváva*, *tábiovava*,
tápiovava, *tabaráva*, *tabiaráva*.
 Mik., viii. 81.
tabela, [he lights] mistr. 'light'
 [*imper.*]: 389.
tabe, light: *imper.*: 43.
tatschapen, truth: 21
tatschapen: 20; mistr. 'true.'
tatto, hot: 44, 338.
tattö: 340.
tatte pane, gin, etc.: 202.
tchaur, plate: 190.
t'chauro, large dish: 192.
tcheeros, time: 170.
tchun, moon: 148.
tchuré, knife: 188.
tcheure: 50.
tchure: 372.
tchuro, poor: 299.
te, the: 363. = English 'the' mispronounced. See *de*.
te, to: 71, 335, 351, 356, 404.
te, that [*conj.*]: 70, 333.
teero, thy: 4, 308.
te, thy: 23, 24.
vo, [for *to*] (in *adravo vast*): 68.
teláy, down: set (of sun): 357, 358.
telay: 38.
tēlay: 37.
telse: 472. Groome suggests misprint
 for *telae*.
tem, country: 136, 419.
temma, [*pl.*]: 136.
tikno, young, infant: 117, 432.
tikna: *fem.*: 120.
tood, milk: 195.
toolo, fat: 298.
toov, smoke: 165.
- [*tov-*, to wash.]
tovello, she washes: 13.
 [*trash-*, to fear.]
trash, [to] fear: 289.
trianda, thirty: 105.
trin, three: 87, 97, 223, 438.
troshalo, thirsty: 367.
trupous, body: 216.
tu, thou: 37, 304.
te: 304.
tot, thee [*acc.*]: 304, 319, 333, 384, 407.
tōka, to thee [*dat.*] mistr. 'there':
 81.
vangasté, finger-ring: 227. See *fangasté*.
vanglé, ear-rings: 225.
vassavo, bad: 336.
vassave: 381, 423, 476, 477.
vast, hand: 68, 207.
vaste: 426.
vastay, hands: 208.
vava, other: 17, 172.
vinni [*lovina*], beer: 204.
vodros, bed: 263, 356, 404.
woodros: 72 (in *kotcha woodros*).
wishto, lips: 219.
woder, door: 264, 387.
wodder: 14, 15.
yek, one: 85, 95, 436, 449.
yiv, snow: 29, 164.
yiv ella, it snows: 28.
yog, fire: 43, 49, 60, 154, 344, 345, 363,
 364, 370, 427, 458.
yov, he: 110, 305.
les, it [*acc.*]: 51, 67, 68, 373, 390.
los, it [*acc.*]: 55, 368, 369.
los, him [*acc.*]: 309, 321, 322.
yoy, she: 111, 306.
la, her [*acc.*]: 310, 320.
zimin, broth: 416.

REVIEWS

ANGLO-AMERICAN ROMMANY: A REPLY

IN the July number of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Mr. John Sampson has seen fit to fulminate furiously against my short monograph on the 'English-Rommany Jargon of the American Roads' (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxviii. 271-308), implying throughout his critique that I have copied my material exclusively from Leland's Gypsy treatises, instead of testing it properly on the roads.

There is a curious method of thug-criticism which I had hitherto believed to be inherently French, which may be best exemplified by an illustration from Mr. Sampson's conscientious martellade. In my article (p. 273) I expressly state: 'In the following glossary, my comparison of Rommany words with modern Hindu forms simply indicates a connexion in root and does not in any case imply my belief that Rommany is derived from any modern Hindu idiom.' Yet the truly Gallic Mr. Sampson, in his review (p. 82), accuses me of 'jumping at a bound from American Gypsy to Sanskrit or Hindu'! In other words, he purposely ignores my very clear explanation just cited, that I have compared Rommany and Hindu words merely to show the Hindu connexion of Rommany, even in this corrupt dialect, but without attempting to pass through any intermediate steps; and he, therefore, attacks my act of placing Rommany and Hindu side by side, implying that I believe in a *per saltum* derivation, in spite of all that I have explained. This form of attack is so manifestly unfair that it has made me wonder as to the nationality of my critic, his name being suited to at least two possible attempts at derivation.

Since my transatlantic *petulengro* has chosen me for his anvil, I should perhaps explain my connexion with Rommanes (not *Romnimus*). When about twelve years of age, Professor H. A. Sill of Cornell University and myself proceeded to learn Rommany, first from Borrow's and then from Leland's works, not, needless to say, for purposes of philological investigation at that time, but simply to manufacture a secret language. We made such a language—a real language with English-Rommany vocabulary, supplemented when necessary by Spanish-Rommany and with Continental-Rommany endings; an idiom quite as real as the extraordinary dialect invented by Mr. Sampson in which to write his *Omar Khayyâm*, which production, he may be glad to learn, has diverted us immensely, because it so closely resembles our own Zamenhofian attempts. When we reached fifteen years of age, we began to visit real Rommanies, and by speaking in the *poggado jib* we had no difficulty in making ourselves understood. We were, in short, genuine *aficionados*, at that time of course entirely ignorant of real Gypsy life. Since then, however, I must assure Mr. Sampson I have carefully tested on Rommanies every word given in my glossary, and can only add that my critic's attempt to question my good faith and stamp me as a Rommany forger cannot be justified either by the facts or by ordinary critical good taste.

In reply, then, to his rather hysterically-worded charges, I state:—

I. Yes, I have learned Rommany largely from Leland *in principio* and have tested his words on Rommanies in a hundred camps. I have heard *janwar*, 'animal,' also pronounced *jowwar*; *mun*, 'forehead'; *patti*, 'hub' and 'knob'; *archich*, 'lead' (metal) only once; here I should have added the word 'rare'; *shulam*, 'greeting,' borrowed from Yiddish-Hebrew שָׁלוֹם; *barya* for 'sea,' which I was most careful to state may be a perversion of *darya* (p. 276): Mr. Sampson again ignores this clear statement of mine, of course purposely; *lunter*, 'boast.'

The word *katsimengro* I tried myself on a Rommany woman and found that she understood it. I have also heard *jellico* for 'apron,' and only the other day *dre táb*, 'in amazement,' 'surprised.'

II. I confess to erring as to the name Harriott mentioned by my critic (p. 80). I do not see why my allusion to Harriot is 'jaunty,' however. It is simply an error which I freely confess.

III. With regard to *kováskaruk*, I heard that word once in the mouth of an aged Rom near Philadelphia. I thought then that it was a corruption for *kov akai ruk*, but could not account for the *-sk-*. I accept Mr. Sampson's explanation (p. 80) that this form originated from a misprint, which misprint being repeated by some Rommany Rye has been thus remembered by a few Roms. As another example of an extraordinary word I will mention *katarákshus*, which an old Gypsy woman at Newark, N.J., once told me was her word for the kettle-iron. Being doubtful of it, I did not incorporate it in the glossary.

I will at present take up no more of your space, save to add that already my little glossary, confessedly incomplete, has nonetheless served in the hands of one student of English-American Rommany as a useful primer. More than this I have no wish to claim for it, and I echo my critic's wish that some one else may make other and more valuable collections in this jargon; for jargon it is, whether spoken by Roms or deodorised by Sampsons into a quasi-poetical lingo for the utterance of ideas, the simplest expression of which would be unintelligible to almost every Rom on the roads: I refer of course to the unfortunate attempt to translate *Omar Khayyám* already mentioned.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

Die Zigeuner in der Bukowina. Von Dr. JOHANN POLEK, K.K. Universitäts-Bibliothekar. Sonderabdruck aus dem Jahrbuch des Bukowiner Landes-Museums xiii. u. xiv. Czernowitz, 1908.

However fond one may be of cuckoos, a caged cuckoo is a pitiful object: and his brother the Gypsy in a state of slavery can hardly be expected to provide an entertaining study. And it is to the later phases of the history of the enslaved Gypsies of Bukowina,—Gypsies sunk to such a depth of thralldom that their very slavery became infectious and tainted even free men and women who intermarried with them—that Dr. Polek has devoted the first part of his study of the Gypsies of that province. To the later phases only: of their early history he tells us nothing save a single sentence from a law passed by Alexander the Good. That sentence—whereby they are granted 'free air and land to wander in, and fire and iron to tinker with'—has already been quoted several times by authors who have dealt with Moldavian and Wallachian Gypsies: but strangely none of them, not even Dr. Polek, give us any further details about the law. Yet it would seem to be a point of some importance, as it was passed in 1417, the very year in which chroniclers tell us those strange bands of pilgrims under Counts and Lords of Lesser Egypt were first observed in Western Europe; and the country where it was passed was Moldavia, which Grellmann¹ regarded as the most likely starting point of those wanderers. If we may judge, too, by a single sentence, the terms of the decree are sufficiently remarkable from their unlikeness to the other early documents relating to the Gypsies. Permission to 'stall the monkery' as tinkers

¹ *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner*, Zweite Aufl. (Göttingen, 1787), pp. 203-4.

does not seem a natural privilege to grant to holy pilgrims on their way to receive the Pope's blessing, nor yet to the right worshipful Panuel, Duke of Little Egypt and Lord of Hirschorn. How comes it that the Gypsies were known for what they were in Moldavia years before Western Europe awoke to the true state of affairs? Unless there is something in the rest of the law to contradict the supposition, it may fairly be counted strong support to the other evidence which goes to prove beyond a doubt that they had already been settled for some considerable time in South-East Europe before they began their march in the early years of the fifteenth century. Possibly it was in Moldavia that they learned sufficient of European superstitions and ways to know the advantage of a pilgrim's guise: and the full text of a law passed in that very year might perhaps throw some light on the reason of their migration. But a single sentence is a slender foundation to build upon: and one cannot help regretting that Dr. Polek has not thought it worth while to quote a little more of Alexander's law.

Again, it does not seem the natural result of a law granting people liberty to wander, that the greater part of those privileged persons should sink to a state of slavery. Yet Dr. Polek, like his predecessors, passes without even a hint of surprise from the law of Alexander to the attempts made towards the end of the eighteenth century to free the enslaved Gypsies. Surely there must be records of persecution and edicts of oppression such as exist and have been published in most other countries. Yet even so, it is hard to see why some were taken and others left: for it was only one—though far the largest¹—of the four classes² into which the Gypsies of Bukowina were divided in the eighteenth century who were enslaved. The other three still retained their freedom. Is it possible that they were later comers who had entered the country after their brethren were enslaved? Again one requires facts to work upon, and the facts are not forthcoming.

I do not wish to imply that Dr. Polek is wanting in thoroughness, he has shown the most exemplary—almost wearisome—thoroughness in dealing with what would seem the least interesting part of the subject. To me, at least, it is singularly difficult to arouse in myself any interest in political and sociological squabbles, and as such the preliminaries to the freeing of the Gypsies of Bukowina may fairly be regarded. Those who can, will find that the servant problem, still so fruitful a topic for tea-table talk, was even more important in Bukowina, when it became a part of the Austrian Empire. There were practically no servants except Gypsy slaves. And the monied classes showed no keenness for any others, because the Gypsies enjoyed the privilege of being outside the law, and therefore outside the reach of taxation, except an insignificant poll-tax. The early Austrian governors were trying feebly to wrestle with the problem of how to get taxes from people who could not be classified to tax, when the whole aspect of the affair was altered in 1782 by the imperial edict abolishing slavery in the Austrian dominions. One would have thought that that settled the question; and so the hapless governor, General Enzenberg, no doubt imagined when he published it in Bukowina. But unfortunately that province suffered from a ridiculous superabundance of rulers, and one of the other powers that were, the Hofkriegsrat, at the earnest request of the landed proprietors, decided that the new law was unjust and oppressive. Enzenberg sent pitiful letters to its president without effect; and then made himself publicly ridiculous by countermanding the edict: and the Hofkriegsrat wrote a letter containing the extraordinary assertion that it was not acting in defence of slavery. 'Off with his head' would seem the directest course to take with so un-

¹ Dr. Polek's numbers on p. 5 seem to be quite unintelligible unless 'Zigeuner' and 'Zigeuner-Familien' are synonymous, which, even if an allowable German idiom, is certainly very confusing.

² *Robi*, slaves; *Lingurari*, spoon-makers; *Ursari*, bear-leaders; *Rudari*, miners and gold-washers.

conscientious an objector. But as Joseph had not the Queen of Hearts' partiality for that argument, matters drifted until a new element of confusion was introduced by the dissolution of the monasteries a few years later. Again one would have thought that it followed naturally that a monastery which no longer existed as such, could not have any claim to slaves. But it took much squabbling and some compensation before the slaves who no longer had masters were declared free. Whether the other enslaved Gypsies have ever won their freedom, Dr. Polek somewhat strangely nowhere clearly states. Perhaps things were allowed to take their natural course, and slavery died without further legislation.¹

It is interesting to note that slavery does not seem to have destroyed the wandering instinct. Though orders were given as early as 1787 that all nomadic Gypsies must either settle or quit the land, and stricter regulations on the same point were passed in 1802, the *Bulubaschen*² or Gypsy chieftains made a formal appeal in the latter year, alleging that they would prefer to wander. Naturally the request was refused, though a few years later some families obtained a special permission to remain in tents owing to difficulties in incorporating them in parishes. One must, however, admit that there were exceptions to the rule, as some of the freed Gypsies from the monasteries grumbled at the change, finding that they had to provide for themselves instead of relying on their owners for deficiencies in time of need. But they were admittedly only a small number, probably the 'white Gypsies'³ mentioned earlier in the pamphlet as being practically indistinguishable from the rest of the inhabitants of Bukowina both in appearance and in their mode of life. These, however, must have been the exception even in the days of slavery: and the wandering instincts of the rest were doubtless largely preserved by the custom prevailing among the slave-owners of allowing the surplus number of the slaves a year's grace to wander, when they had more than they could accommodate. And even now, Dr. Polek says, they dwell chiefly in mud-huts or tumble-down cottages, though since 1850 there have been hardly any Gypsies counted as nomadic. In spite of their years of drudgery, their employments, too, are the same as those of other Gypsies, the making of spoons, buckets and other wooden things, tinkering and acting as musicians: and one may reasonably doubt whether in reality they are as 'settled' as they look on a census-list.

As a second part Dr. Polek promises us a monograph on their manners and customs which, if they have preserved customs as well as they have folklore,⁴ should be of the highest interest.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ On p. 20 Dr. Polek refers to a law of 1811 abolishing slavery in Austrian domains; but as he adds 'it did much towards exterminating slavery,' it does not seem to have been taken much more seriously than its predecessor.

² These *Bulubaschen* were under a prince who was, as usual (cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 98), not a Gypsy, but a native noble.

³ Have these any connection with the 'white Gypsies' discovered by Krauss along the banks of the Drina (cf. Krauss, *Zigeunerhumor*, Leipzig, 1907, p. vi.)? or were they merely Gypsies who had intermarried with natives?

⁴ Cf. Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten . . . der Zigeuner*, Theil iv., v., 'Märchen und Lieder der Zigeuner der Bukowina.' Wien, 1874-5.

NOTES AND QUERIES

12.—LÁLERE SINTE

MR. PERKINS has very kindly sent me the solution of twelve of the words taken down from the Lálere Sinte, which gave me so much trouble. They appear to be all Hungarian.

BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

JOURNAL, p. 7.	HUNGARIAN.	MEANING.
Dunjha	Dunna	Das Deckbett
Gēha	Kéh	Das Asthma
Hamo	Ham	Das Pferdegeschirr
Bungordje	? Burgonya	Der Erdapfel
Harištñj }	Harisnya	Der Strumpf
Baristñj }		
Hera	Lóhere	Der Klee
Lagato	Lakat	Das Schloß
Horko	Horog	Der Haken
Šēza }	Csésze	Die Tasse
Šēdza }		
Erekré	Örök	Ewig

13.—SOME GYPSY CUSTOMS

Many years ago I heard from some of the Smiths of the existence of the following customs. I should be glad to know whether they are racial or purely tribal :—

(1) When a girl is already engaged, if a suitor comes to court her, she withdraws from the tent, and seats herself on the ground apart from the camp, loosening her hair so that it falls all round her, and covers her face : this indicates that she is already plighted.

(2) A woman is unclean for a month after childbirth ; during that time she must not touch any dish, cup, or cooking utensil except with gloved hands : if she does they must be destroyed. She has her own cups and dishes for food, which are broken when the month is over.

(3) No Gypsy will allow a dog to eat from or lick a dish intended for human use : if a dog does so the dish must be destroyed.

D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING.

[Regarding ceremonial purity see Liebig, *Die Zigeuner*, Leipzig, 1863, page 51 ; 'Kairéngro' in *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 382 ; Sampson in *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, iii. 58 ; and Gilliat-Smith, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 129. According to Rodney Smith the custom is not confined to cases of childbirth, but extends to any illness. 'A sick person has a spoon, plate, and basin all to himself. When he has recovered or if he dies they are all destroyed' (*Gipsy Smith, his Life and Work by Himself*, p. 7).]

14.—GYPSY INITIATIONS AND EXPULSIONS

In the April number of the *Journal* our late President pointed out the advantages of internal Gypsy jurisdiction in early days. Perhaps the following extract from the *Times* for October 5, 1842, may be of interest as an instance of a late survival

of such jurisdiction. It deals with an expulsion ceremony, a thing which, so far as I can find, has never been described elsewhere.¹ That alone is sufficient to excite suspicion; and the mock coronations of recent date hardly tend to allay it. But on the other hand, to judge by the description, secrecy and exclusion of Gorgios, rather than attraction of them, seem on this occasion to have been aimed at; and, indeed, one may doubt whether in those days a Gypsy ceremonial would have had much pecuniary value. At any rate, the paragraph is worth quoting. It reads as follows:—

‘A short time since a very remarkable circumstance took place in the New Forest, Hampshire, in the instance of a gipsy of the name of Lee having been rejected from the fraternity. The spot where the scene took place was at Bolton’s Bench, near Lyndhurst. Between 300 and 400 gipsies, belonging to different tribes, including the Lees, Stanleys, and Coopers, were assembled upon this unusual occasion. The concourse consisted of a great many females, and so secretly had the meeting been got up, that scarcely a person residing in the neighbourhood was aware that a circumstance of the sort was about to take place. The offender, a handsome-looking man, apparently between 30 and 40 years of age, was placed in the middle of a ring, composed of the King of the gipsies and the patriarchs of different tribes. This ring was followed by a second, made up of the male portion of the assembly, and an exterior circle was formed by the women. The king, who was one of the Lees, a venerable old man, and one who looked as if he had seen upwards of 90 summers, then addressed the culprit for nearly an hour, but in a tongue that was perfectly strange to the bystanders. The address was delivered in a most impressive manner, as might be conceived by the vehemence of the gesticulations which accompanied it. None but the gipsies themselves had the slightest knowledge of the crime which had been committed by the offender, but it must have been one evidently very obnoxious to the tribe, as the act of expulsion among them is an exceedingly rare occurrence. As soon as the king had finished his speech to the condemned man, he turned round and harangued the whole of the gipsies assembled, and expressing himself in English, informed them that Jacob Lee had been expelled from among them, that he was no longer one of the fraternity, and that he do leave the camp of the gipsies for ever. The king then advancing towards him spat upon him, and the circles which enclosed him, simultaneously opened to admit of his retreating from among them, whilst they smote him with the branches of trees as he left the ground. The meeting then broke up, and the parties assembled went their different ways, some of them having come to witness the tribunal from a considerable distance. The whole ceremony, which took place under an aged oak in the forest, was a very imposing one, and being a very unusual, almost an unprecedented occurrence in these parts, created an intense degree of interest among the bystanders.’²

What an opportunity for Borrow to have missed! As he did miss it, and none of the bystanders appear to have been able to unravel the mysteries of the Romany speech, I suppose Jacob Lee’s sin is buried with him, unless some of our older members have heard the tale from Gypsy lips.

The patriarchal potentate who officiated may well have been King Joseph Lee, who died two years later at the age of eighty-six (cf. Pott, *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 265). At any rate his memory would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century, when the kingly office among the Gypsies was popularly believed to be more than

¹ The infliction of the punishment of expulsion by German Gypsy chiefs is mentioned by Liebich, *Die Zigeuner* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 40; but the ceremony is not described.

² The description was quoted in the *Staatszeitung*, 18th October 1842, No. 290, and thence reprinted by Heister, *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen über die Zigeuner*, Königsberg, 1842, p. 160.

titulary.¹ Otherwise Fielding would hardly have introduced the Gypsy trial in *Tom Jones* (bk. xii. ch. xii.). The latter is presumably purely imaginary, and may be counted a reminiscence of Bampfylde Moore Carew's life, and referred to the company of 'Maunders' rather than to the Gypsies. But it is noticeable that Fielding at least escapes the pitfall into which most authors before and many after Borrow fell, and does not make his Gypsies cant and 'cut ben whids.' Some cant he knew, as other characters in *Tom Jones* use it; but his Gypsies use neither cant nor the local dialect of the other country folk. Instead they speak a broken English, of which the use of *d* for *th*, a genuine Gypsy idiosyncrasy, is a prominent feature. And though the trial scene and the king's assertion that the Gypsies count shame 'the most grievous punishment in the world' (cf. W. A. Cragg's note on a Gypsy marriage, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 93) look at first sight ludicrous, it is noticeable that Liebich (p. 40) mentions shame (*prasapenn*) as one of the penalties inflicted by the German Gypsy chiefs on their subjects, apparently distinct from banishment, though he later speaks as if the two were synonymous. Compare also Wlislöcki on the 'Vehmgerichte' among the Balkan Gypsies (*Ethnol. Mitt. aus Ungarn*, iii. (1896) p. 174), where it is stated that unfaithful wives are declared *melaless* 'disgraced' and are banished for a time. Can we count Fielding one of the *aficion*, or had his police-court experiences taught him the simple fact that Gypsies differed from tramps? I fear the latter, as he seems to have accepted Mother Squires' Gypsy claims without a qualm, though they are as doubtful as everything else in the Canning case.

The Canning case among its other miscellaneous interests is noteworthy as an instance of an attempt at adoption of a Gorgio into a 'Gypsy' community. An unsuccessful attempt it proved—if ever made—as Elizabeth refused to 'go their way'; but there were not wanting damsels of a more 'pleasant and conformable' disposition. Witness the following extract from Dodsley's *Annual Register* for September 2, 1769, on a 'Gypsy admission festival.' Two gentlemen riding over Hounslow on the preceding Tuesday, fell in with a 'gang of Gypsies, about twelve in number, who were boiling and roasting in the modern taste, *al fresco*, on account of a conversion as they called it; this conversion consisted of rubbing or dyeing a fine young girl, about seventeen, with walnut-shell, it being the first day of her entering into the society.' Then was she converted indeed, but hardly into a *tatchi Romani chai*; the ceremony savours rather of the mummery of the maunders. Perhaps it formed part of the 'requisite ceremonies' performed on Carew before his admission to that company. Richard Head, at any rate, underwent a similar ordeal some years earlier; 'being now ale mode de Tatterdemallion, to compleat me for their purpose, with green walnuts they so discoloured my face, that every one that saw me, would have sworn that I was the true son of an Egyptian' (R. Head, *English Rogue*, 1668, i. 38). But he calls the company indifferently 'maunders' and 'Gypsies,' and the canting vocabulary collected from them is sufficient to prove that the former is the truer appellation. Certainly the 'Rum-Mort,' whose attractions converted him, was no true daughter of an Egyptian, as she added to her other eccentricities 'a skin artificially discoloured tawny.'

Whether actual Gypsies ever resorted to such a trick save in the case of necessity is more than doubtful, though Morwood (*Our Gipsies*, p. 34) relates 'on good authority,' that many Gypsy mothers rub children of a few weeks or months old with a dark liquid made by boiling together the roots of 'a certain wild plant

¹ He may have succeeded another 'King' whose death in 1830 was thus chronicled:—'Aged 105, at Sevenoaks, W. Lee, well-known by his periodical visits to different parts of the country, under the denomination of "King of the Gipsies"' (*Maidstone Journal*, July 1830).

and young walnuts, or the leaves of a walnut tree, and then lay them in the sun or by the fire, to enhance their dark beauty.'¹

'The walnut tree supplies our lacke ;
What was made faire, we can make black.

We can paint when we command,
And looke like Indians that are tand'

as *The Brave English Gipsy* sings.² According to an old German work *Zwey nützliche Tractätlein—Das Erste: Wunderliche und wahrhaftige Beschreibung der Cingaren oder Ziegeuner*. . . Von C. B. L. M. V. R. (1664), an ointment containing among other things nicotine, was similarly used by 'die faulen Deutschen Haluncken,' who masqueraded as Gypsies, and had at least one virtue 'dass sie keine Leuse bekommen.' And Miss Gillington kindly refers me to G. B. Dewar's *Faery Year* (Lond., 1906, p. 267) for a statement that Black Horehound was used by Gypsies as a dye. But she suggests that it should rather be Water Horehound or Gypsy Wort, referring to Sowerby's *English Botany* (vol. vii.) for a quotation from 'the old herbalists' that 'those strolling cheats called gipsies do dye themselves of a blackish hue with the juice of this plant, the better to pass for Africans by their tanned locks and swarthy hides, to bubble the credulous and ignorant by the practice of magic and fortune-telling; they being indeed a suck of all nations, living by rapine, filching, pilfering, and imposture.' Gerarde, I find, gives the same information: 'Some also thinke good to call it *Herba Ægyptia*, because they that counterfeit themselves Egyptians (such as many times wander like vagabonds from citie to citie in Germanie) do use with this herbe to give themselves a swart colour, such as the Egyptians and the people of Afrike are of.' This information was stolen by Gerarde without acknowledgment from Dodoens, *Stirpium Historiae Pemptades sex, sive libri xxx.* (Antwerp, 1583): and Dodoens is also responsible for the statement that Water Horehound is called 'in Brabant *Water Andoren*, and of some *Egyptenaers cruyt*, that is to say, the Egyptians herbe, bycause of the Rogues and runnegates whiche call themselves Egyptians, do colour themselves blacke with this herbe.'³ It is noticeable that this herb, according to Castore Durante (*Herbario Novo*, Venetia, 1602, p. 275-6), has the virtue attributed to the ointment used by the deutsche Haluncken, 'L'acqua . . ammazza ancora i vermini del corpo, il che fa parimente la poluere delle foglie.' Is it for

¹ Thomasius refers to the same practice with oil instead of the walnut mixture. But one would like to know how good the authority was. Heister (*Notizen über die Zigeuner*, Königsberg, 1842, p. 50) also mentions the usage, probably drawing his information from Thomasius. Liebich (p. 21) asserts that Gypsy children are actually born with white skins, which soon turn dark. He makes no mention of any staining process; indeed, he remarks that the fact that the Gypsies naturally retain their darkness in any country disproves Dr. Foissac's assertion that the darkness of Indians is due among other things to the use of dyes. Certainly the skin and what little hair there was on a Gypsy—or rather *poshrat*—infant a few weeks old, which I lately saw, was fair enough. But when I commented on the discrepancy between its fair hair and skin and its dark Romany eyes, I was reproved for my ignorance by its *puri dai*, who assured me that it would eventually be as dark as herself. She herself, she asseverated, had been fair as a child; and, when I saw her, she was as black as Lucifer,—who indeed, if one may believe the traditional portraits of angels and devils, must have undergone a similar transformation.

² Ballad Soc., *Roxburghe Ballads*, iii. (1875), p. 329.

³ *A Nieuwe Herbal . . . First set forth in the Doutche or Almaine tongue, by that learned D. Rembart Dodoens . . . translated out of French into English by Henry Lyle* (London, 1578, p. 257).

any such reason that Black Horehound is, as Miss Gillington tells me, still known by Surrey children as 'Bugs and Fleas'? The Rev. John H. Steggall, curate of Great Ashfield, near Ixworth, Suffolk, about the middle of the last century, had his face stained with willow peelings by the kind-hearted *poshrat* family (the father was a Gorgio, the mother a Hearne), who adopted him when as a child (*circa* 1799) he fled from a brutal schoolmaster;¹ and the future author of *Bedford's Questions for Junior Classes*, and founder of Tayford School, was similarly treated to a preparation of walnut juice when kidnapped by a Gypsy woman at Portsea (E. Godfrey, *English Children*, London, 1907, p. 251). But in both cases there was a pressing necessity for a quick transformation, which there can hardly have been in the case of that 'fine young girl'; and in the second instance one would be glad to see the 'Gypsy' woman's birth certificate. Thomasius indeed states that the Gypsies willingly incorporated²—and kidnapped—strangers, changing their names and staining them with 'drows' (*Dissertatio Phil. de Cingaribus*, Leipzig, 1671, § 63). But one may be pardoned doubts as to the reliability of his authority, Henric. Barlaeus, for anything more than the case of kidnapping of an African girl—who cannot have required much staining—by Spanish Gypsies.³ Probably the information was ultimately derived from Guler's *Rhaetia* (1616); and Guler was one of Stumpf's pupils, and held that the original Gypsies really returned to Egypt at the end of their seven years' pilgrimage, while their place was taken by a set of masquerading rogues, who 'dared to make themselves black by means of an ointment.'⁴ It is noticeable that an early authority on the English Gypsies, Samuel Rowlands, quoted in my note on 'Gypsy Parliaments,' speaks of Giles Hather's company as 'causing their faces to be made black,' and Decker and Coryat both bear witness to the use of a dye.⁵ Whether Popham or Callot suffered any such transformation does not seem to be recorded; but Callot's case proves that the Gypsies in early days were not so exclusive as one imagines; and if there is any truth in the story of the Gorgio origin of the Stanleys, quoted by Woodcock (*The Gipsies*, 1865, p. 148), on the authority of one of the clan, they were not altogether exclusive in England in the eighteenth century.⁶

But that statement is very difficult to reconcile with other facts. It was made by a dying Stanley to a friend of Woodcock forty years before the publication of his work, that is to say, about 1825. According to him his great-grandfather was

¹ Cf. *John H. Steggall: A real history of a Suffolk man . . . by himself*. Enlarged ed., London, 1859, p. 9-10; and Morwood, *Our Gipsies*, p. 215.

² Cf. Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basileae, 1554, p. 268), 'Recipiunt passim et viros et feminas volentes in cunctis provinciis.'

³ A description of an admission festival among Spanish Gypsies may be found in Cervantes' *La Gitanela* (*The Gypsy Lovers*: English translation by Rev. W. H. Kent, London, 1908, p. 38): 'First, they set about clearing one of the best cabins in the camp, and adorned it with branches and strewed it well with rushes. They then seated Andrea [the neophyte] on the trunk of a cork-tree, and put into his hands a hammer and a pair of pincers, and to the sound of two guitars . . . they made him cut two capers. After which they proceeded to strip one of his arms and bound it about with a new silk riband, drawing it quite tight with a sort of garrotte-stick.' After that they told him he was engaged to Preciosa. Whether the ceremony was all initiation or partly betrothal is not clear to the reader; nor, I fancy, was it to the writer.

⁴ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 280.

⁵ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 249 for a quotation from Dekker's *Lanthorne and Candlelight* (Lond., 1609), and New Series, i. 288 for one from Coryat.

⁶ Nor earlier, if we may believe *The Brave English Gipsy*:—

'Some decay'd 'mongst gallants strives
To leade the English Gipsies lives.'

'a principal officer in the army of the commonwealth; but the family, falling to decay, my father took up with the wandering life of the Gipsies; among them I was born, and have continued to the present time. I am now in my eightieth year.' Who was that great-grandfather? The only Stanley mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as distinguishing himself in the Civil Wars is James Stanley, the Martyr Earl of Derby, a prominent Royalist. Royalist and Roundhead may well have meant the same thing to a dying Gypsy; but, though his statement is supported by no less an authority than Sylvester Boswell, who thought the Stanleys 'origin'd in Lord Derby . . . about two hundred years ago' (Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 110¹), he can hardly have been a descendant of that Stanley, as the direct line died out in the third generation, and the title went a-begging to a distant cousin. A more likely candidate is one Peter Stanley, mentioned in Seacome's *Memoirs of the House of Stanley* (p. 178). He, too, was an 'eminent Royalist' like his more distinguished relative; and 'his Estates were sequester'd to the great Impoverishment and loss of himself and Family.' The family seems to have fallen on evil days, and Seacome could only trace it to the grandson, another Peter, who had three sons, Edward, Thomas, and William. Edward succeeded to the estate such as it was; 'but how his younger Sons were disposed of in the World,' Seacome could not discover. It certainly might have been one of those younger sons, who as a youth disposed of himself to the Gypsies about 1740, the date required according to the chronology of the dying Gypsy's statement. If we accept that statement, the Gypsy Queen 'Mistress Paul Stanley, wife of Mr. Paul Stanley, who died November 1797' (George Smith, *Gipsy Life*, p. 66), must have been the wife either of the original founder of the clan or of his immediate successor. But how does the story fit with that of Charlotte Stanley, whose adventures are related by Kohl (*circ.* 1840) as ancient history?² It would no doubt supply a reason for her adoption, if we suppose that some of her more fortunate Gorgio relatives adopted her, and for her name, too, as her best known ancestress, the wife of the Martyr Earl, was also named Charlotte. But whence came the deeply rooted wandering instinct that bade her flee back to the Gypsies as her people, if she was the granddaughter, as she apparently would be, of a Gorgio? Even if we suppose that the original errant Stanley married a full-blooded Gypsy lass, and that the nomad spirit came from her, we are not out of the wood; for in Hoyland's day (*circ.* 1816) the Stanleys were reckoned one of the most numerous Gypsy clans, and Crabb's convert, William Stanley, numbered the members of his clan as upwards of two hundred (Crabb, *Gipsies' Advocate*, 3rd ed. p. 163). Gypsies are notoriously prolific, and *poshrats* and mumpers are not far behind them in that particular; but unless the wife of the founder of the clan shared the unenviable peculiarity of an Italian woman, noticed some years ago in the papers, whose misfortunes invariably

¹ Sylvester's opinion on Gypsy families is given more fully by Crofton in *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., ii. (1874), p. 349. According to him the Lees were only two hundred years old as a family, and are mixed nigger(!) and Bengauler; and the Smiths came over from Ireland about two hundred years ago, but were probably real Gypsies.

² It cannot, however, I find, have been particularly ancient, as her portrait, when a child of four or five years old, was painted by J. N. Robinson, who was born in 1796. It is noticeable that the portrait, if genuine, rather supports the Gorgio origin of the clan, as 'the child's hair is flaxen, and the complexion and features light' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 317). Unfortunately I have been unable to see Mrs. Pennell's article on 'Gypsies and Gypsying' in *Wide Awake* (Boston, 1890, Christmas Number), which contains information about the portrait; and also A. Kegan's article in the *Globe-Democrat* for 26th May 1889, on 'A King's Nephew: how Owen Stanleigh was crowned years ago in England,' which may throw light on the early history of the Stanleys

came in batches of ten or more at a time, it is difficult to see how the sum total of over two hundred could be reached within ninety years. Moreover, though one might assume the Stanley, who was 'elected king of the Gypsies' about 1791 and executed three years later (Groome, p. 108), to be the son of the original founder of the clan, and Mrs. Stanley, the Dowager Queen of the Gypsies of the counties of Wilts, Hants, and Dorset, who died at Paddletown in March 1821 in her 101st year (*Hull-Rockingham Newspaper*, March 17, 1821), to be his wife, no amount of manœuvring can bring Richard, Thomas, Peter, and Elizabeth Stanley, who were convicted of being dangerous rogues in 1682 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 33), into the family tree. And what of William Standley, yeoman, of London, who was sentenced to be hanged in 1594, because he had 'consorted for a month with Egyptians' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 21), but soon reprieved? Did he relapse again after his reprieve, or perchance leave his name, or one that should bear it, as a legacy among them, and so found the clan? At any rate, with regard to Woodcock's tale, it is perhaps best to remember that 'an old man's wit may wander ere he die'; also that the great-grandson of a distinguished general might command a higher price from the benevolent than the great-grandson of no one at all.

The Boswells themselves have a suspicious ancestor in a king of that name, who died and was buried at Rossington, near Doncaster, in 1708. 'He was a gentleman with an estate of £200 a year, and is described by De la Prynne of Hatfield as "a mad spark, mighty fine and brisk, and keeps company with a great many gentlemen, knights, and esquires, yet runs about the country"' (Hunter's *History of South Yorkshire*, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., vol. iii., 1869, p. 557).¹ Hunter gives his name as Charles Bosvile, taking it from the parish register; but another writer on the same page quotes an extract from E. Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* (1804), p. 237, where the name appears as James Bosvill. Miller apparently took it from the grave, at which Gypsies, more than a hundred years later, used to assemble and 'turn down an empty glass' or rather a quart pot of 'jolly good ale and old.' Whatever his name was, he must, from the description, have been either a gorgio or very badly gorgified. There were, says one of the writers in *Notes and Queries*, several families of gentry named Bosvile in South Yorkshire.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

15.—GYPSY EXPULSIONS

Another instance of the late survival of internal Gypsy jurisdiction, of a somewhat different nature from that described in the preceding note, occurs in *The Martyrdom of an Empress*, London and New York, 1904. The anonymous authoress of this biography, 'wellnigh the only confidante and truest friend' of the late Empress of Austria, proves that she has 'taken the pains to acquire some knowledge of the Romany language,' and, after endorsing 'Grellman's theory concerning the Hindoo origin of this remarkable people,' gives *inter alia* picturesque descriptions of a Tzigan wedding, Tzigan music, Tzigan fortune-telling, and a Tzigan expulsion. The following extract is an account of the latter ceremony, at which she and the Empress Elizabeth were 'involuntary witnesses':—

'One evening the Empress and myself rode to the Czikanà, or camp, belonging to the great Vajda, Ferénzi-János, but found it deserted. The faint sound of wailing voices coming from the pine-woods in the distance, however, attracted our attention, and guiding our horses cautiously over the tangled bracken and osmunda-bushes which covered the ground, we soon came in sight of a scene which I shall never forget.

¹ Cf. also Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 110.

‘The moon was shining brightly, lighting up the spot with fairy-like splendour. All around the pine-woods stretched the ruddy glow of gypsy fires, flashing between the dark boughs and throwing a crimson gleam on a space where the trees had been cut down. There, bound to a stake like a prisoner of the red-skins, was a woman, her perfect figure clothed in nothing but her raven tresses. Her great black eyes had an agonised look in them, and blood was dropping from four incisions made with some sharp instrument in her shapely arms and limbs. Surrounding her was the entire tribe—men, women, and children—chanting a kind of sinister invocation, while towering over the victim was the majestic form of the Vajda, still holding in his clenched hand the leather thong with which he had been chastising her mercilessly. With a cry of dismay we both sprang from our saddles, and scattering the crowd, rushed towards him.

“What do you mean, János Ferénzi?” cried her Majesty, clutching his arm. “What has this unfortunate woman done that you should treat her thus?”

‘The noble face of the Vajda, which at first had expressed nothing but astonishment at our unexpected appearance, now assumed a look of dignity and of sadness which I, for one, had never seen there before.

“There has been love, and of the love, sin, and of the sin a curse which would come upon my tribe were it not punished,” he said solemnly. “This woman has betrayed the man to whom she was in honour bound. I, Ferénzi-János, must avenge the disgrace inflicted on one of my people. Her woe was wrought by her own hand, and she must eat the fruits of her crime.”

‘The words fell slowly and mournfully on the silence of the night, troubled only by the river waves, beating, with a dull murmur, against the rocks fifty feet below, and by the sighing of the wind which had arisen. Ferénzi-János was indeed in his own eyes, and in those of his people, a judge and an avenger. In vain did we try to plead and argue in behalf of the woman. He remained immovable, quietly but firmly refusing to grant even an imperial request.

“Nothing can help the culprit,” he said. “For twenty-four hours must she remain at the stake, and then she will become a wanderer on the face of the earth. The incisions you see are the signs of her degradation, and no tribe will ever allow her to rest in its midst. Believe me,” he added, “we are only just. We warn our women of what awaits them should they sin. It is for them to keep themselves pure. Moreover, you have been our friends and you will not betray us, because in your heart you know that this punishment is well deserved.”

‘What could either of us argue against such reasoning? We exerted ourselves so much in her behalf, nevertheless, that at last the miserable woman was unbound and sent out of the camp that night instead of being left at the stake until the following sundown. This was a great concession on the part of Ferénzi-János, and seemed to fill his people with astonishment. I need hardly add that through the Empress’s care the wretched woman found a home on one of the royal estates, where I have reason to believe she remains to the present day. The impression made upon us by this incident was a lasting one, and often did we talk together of the wild, weird scene of the forest of Yémisâr.’

D. E. YATES.

16.—GLEANINGS AMONG GYPSIES IN ASIA

The accompanying extracts may be of use to students of the Asiatic Gypsies. While the works quoted from are not rare, they are apt to be overlooked, and it seemed best to me to quote the matter in full.

‘I was surprised at the appearance of detached families of Gypsies throughout the government of Tobolsk; and upon inquiry I learned, that several roving companies of these people had strolled into the city of Tobolsk. The Governor thought

of establishing a colony of them ; but they were too cunning for the simple Siberian peasant ; which induced him to separate each family. He placed them on the footing of the peasants, and allotted a portion of land for cultivation, with a view of making them useful to society. They, however, reject houses even in this severe climate, and dwell in open tents or sheds ; nor can they be brought to any regular course of industry ; but they watch every traveller, and pretend to explain the mysteries of futurity by palmistry or physiognomy. The peasant dreads their power, and from motives of fear contributes to their support, lest they should spoil his cattle and horses. It is said that they are very skilful farriers and cowleeches.'—Martin Sauer, *Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia . . . in the years 1785, etc., to 1794.* London, 1802. 4to. p. 331.

'The Gipsy race is mostly confined to the northern portions of the Peninsula, where they profess to be members of the Armenian Church. A Gipsy, pure blood, has sharp features, is tall and slender, but sinewy and active. The hair, eyes, and finely arched and meeting brows are black. The men all wear a lock of their hair on the middle of the forehead. The women go about selling their willow baskets for bread and old clothes, and in spite of their thieving propensities are patronised as fortune-tellers and reporters to the ladies of all the important gossip of the town.'—H. J. Van Lennep, *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 301. London, 1870. 8vo.

'The Bohemians, or gypsies, are divided into Luli and Mazangs. The Luli number about 1000 souls, are wanderers like their *confrères* in Europe, and as dark or darker in complexion. They are above the medium height, and some of them look veritable athletes. They set up little tents of white linen, and busy themselves as in Europe, with making baskets, etc. The Mazangs are an enigmatical race, that some assimilate to the Bohemians, whilst others make them the aborigines of the Turks of Constantinople. They are not so tall as the Lulis, but are good-looking, and compare advantageously with the Tajiks in possessing greater fineness and elegance in the general structure of the body. The skin is not so dark as with the gypsies of Europe. Those of the Zarofshan valley have become almost sedentary. They profess Muhammedanism, and speak Persian and Turki. The poor are idle, and given to nefarious occupations ; the women practise medicine, and seek to meddle in households with a view to gain. Both classes of gypsy women have the right to go unveiled, and the Mazang females enjoy anything but a good reputation.'—Henry Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, vol. i. pp. 543-544. London, 1885. 8vo.

'In several provinces there are nomadic gypsy tribes who, having a quiet demeanour externally, are yet skilful and daring thieves. They wander about, and settle down like a small flight of locusts, on any piece of waste ground that may be available ; and the neighbours soon find their property slipping away from them bit by bit. Here again the legislature has wisely empowered the executive to take effective steps for restraining these criminal tribes, for reclaiming them from predatory habits which they follow because they know no better, for settling them down in fixed dwellings on cultivated lands, and for practically teaching them the lesson of honest industry. These measures have already been blessed with some results, and may with considerate persistency be crowned with full success ultimately.'—Sir Richard Temple, *India in 1880*, 3rd. ed. p. 200. London, 1881. 8vo.

GEO. F. BLACK.

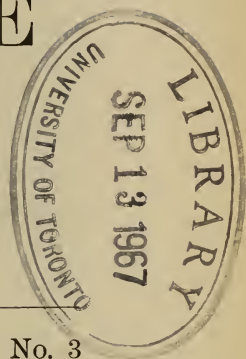


Photo by Nadar, Paris.

Yours very truly
W. S. Knapp

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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I.—WILLIAM IRELAND KNAPP

By DAVID MACRITCHIE

BY the death of Professor Knapp, which took place at his home in Paris on the night of 5th December 1908, after a very short illness, our Society loses one of its most esteemed members. He had been associated with the Society since 1888, being at that date a *Romano Rai* of thirty years' standing, and both then and subsequently he devoted much time and labour to the elucidation of Gypsy matters. But, keen as was his interest in our common study, the variety of his tastes led him into many fields of knowledge. A mere glance at his career is sufficient to show this.

Born in New York on 10th March 1835, the son of the Reverend H. R. Knapp, he studied at the universities of New York and of Colgate, Hamilton. Early in his student life he manifested a philological and literary bent of mind. In 1858 he made a European tour, and ten years later (1867-68) he travelled in France, Italy, and Spain, thus increasing his qualifications as an exponent of mediæval and modern languages in the academic positions which he successively occupied. In 1860 he graduated as B.A., and in 1861 as M.A.; these degrees being followed later by the distinctions of Ph.D. (1867) and LL.D. (1888). During the period 1860-65 he was Professor of Modern Languages in Colgate

University, and in 1865 he was appointed to the same chair in Vassar College, where he remained until 1867. He then undertook his second European tour, thereafter devoting himself to the study of Spanish and French literature, on which subjects he published, at this time, several works. In 1879 he became 'Street' Professor of Modern Languages in Yale University, a position which he occupied for fourteen years.

It was towards the end of this period that he first came into touch with our Society. As it happens, I have preserved the letter which he wrote at the time of his adhesion, and, believing that it will prove of much interest to our readers, I reproduce it here:—

YALE UNIVERSITY,
NEW HAVEN, CONN., *Sept. 8th*, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—You are very kind to think of me in the matter of the 'Gypsy Lore Society.' I have long been trying to get some information about it and the mode of addressing its Secretary.

I take the liberty of sending you a local episode with a Gypsy, apropos of a lecture I delivered last spring before the Scientific School of Yale Univ? I thought you might want to archive all *Ægyptiana*.

We have a branch of the Williams family in permanent session in our environs. One day the Queen, Mrs. Victoria (Cooper) Williams, alighted on the curb stone opposite our home, and I went out and called her in deep *Ægyptian*: 'Av akai, miri dai, kamav te rakerava Romanis tusa.' She came across the street radiant with smiles, nodding and smirking, while she remarked: 'I s'pouse ya want me ta come over.' We enjoyed a long and interesting interview in the library, where I showed her my Romany collection from 1597 down to the present, but nothing pleased her so much as the picture of Queen Esther Blyth of Yetholm as found in 'Once a Week,' April 1862, and Mr. Leland's illustrations in the *Century*.

Anticipating much profit & entertainment from your publications, I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

W. I. KNAPP.

The 'local episode' referred to was chronicled in cuttings from New Haven newspapers of 21-23 March 1888, which accompanied the letter. The first of these reported a lecture by Professor Knapp on 'The Gypsies,' delivered the night before. The second contained a letter from an English Gypsy of fairly good education, Sidney Gray, taking exception to some of the statements in the lecture. And in the third the professor replied to these criticisms, in a very friendly and good-natured tone, winding up with an invitation to the Gypsy to call at the professor's house, and share a 'puro koshto Romano habben, with mol or levina, as you prefer.' That this resulted in a cordial relationship between the two may be seen from Gray's letter, written a week later, which was printed in our *Journal* (Old Series, vol. i. p. 174). It is a matter of regret that this letter of

Gray's formed the professor's only contribution to the Old Series of the Journal, although he never ceased to take a deep interest in it. There is, it is true, one other item relating to him. This occurs in the last number of the Old Series, April 1892, where there is an announcement (p. 259) that he was then 'preparing a *Life of George Borrow*, to be issued next year.' The same paragraph also intimates the publication of the lecture which called forth the letter of Sidney Gray.

In 1892 Professor Knapp resigned his position at Yale and was appointed to the chair of 'Head' Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Chicago. Before taking up his new duties, however, he gave himself the pleasure of visiting Europe for a third time. At Chicago he remained until 1895, but, as his letters of that time indicated, feeling himself to be in a somewhat uncongenial atmosphere. Indeed, he appears to have found in Europe a greater degree of sympathy with his tastes than in even the Eastern States of his native country. This is not to be wondered at, in view of his special cast of thought, and his is no singular instance. It was therefore natural that he resolved to return once more to Europe, after resigning his chair at Chicago. He made his home at first in England, where he lived from 1895 to the end of 1902. Here it was that he completed and published his great work, *The Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow*, in which is embodied an enormous amount of painstaking research. This is undoubtedly the one of all his works with which his name will be most associated. Thereafter, he moved his household gods to Paris, and there he spent the last five years of his life. It was in Paris, in the summer of 1903, that I first became personally acquainted with Professor Knapp, although we had corresponded since the year 1888. He was then busy in getting his library transferred to his new home, and one recollection I have is of a long interview with the railway officials at the station on the subject of certain belated boxes of books. Since that date I had no other opportunity of meeting him, but I retain a very pleasant memory of our intercourse on that occasion.

The revival of our Society in 1907 gave Professor Knapp great pleasure, and his letters to our Honorary Secretary show the continued activity displayed by him in Romani and other studies. In a letter of 22nd March 1908, for example, he offers to compile for our Society 'an alphabetical vocabulary of all the Gypsy words and radices found in the version of St. Luke's Gospel by Borrow,

1837.' The versatility of his mind is illustrated in the same letter, where he states that he was then engaged in an examination of Polynesian and cognate languages. On the 18th of April, he writes further as to his scheme of making 'a full vocabulary of all the Gypsy words Borrow ever used.' In the middle of June he sent to Liverpool the letter on the Suzmani of Persia, which appears among the Notes and Queries in our present number. Our October number contained his interesting contribution, 'A Gypsy's Letter to George Borrow in 1838,' at the end of which he promised us a translation of some of the more obscure passages. Moreover, his copy of the *Historia de los Gitanos* was sent on loan, for reproduction of the picture used as the frontispiece of the same number. In the accompanying letter, which contained some corrections of mistakes in Spanish, printed in the July number of our Journal, he thus remarks: 'The July Journal—an excellent number. I sat up nearly all night to read it, as it came at 9 P.M.' 'This revival of Borrow presses very heavily on me,' he writes in the same letter. 'The letters come thick and fast. I have just sent off a bulky parcel that cost me *three weeks* to write, containing the transcription of one of Borrow's Note Books of 1857.' Moreover, the letter contains information about Whiter, about Goddard Johnson, and about various Borrovian versions of the Creed and Pater Noster, seven of which he copied out. Truly he gave himself little rest; but, in the words of his dearest friend, 'His was a labour of love, for which no trouble was too great.'

His last letter to our Honorary Secretary was dated 17th October 1908, and therein he thus reports himself: 'Am very busy on a case of serious invasion of copyright—month's work. Have been to London to confer with J. M.'

Not long after this, in the last week of November, he was taken ill with double pneumonia, and although he displayed throughout his illness a remarkable vitality that astonished his medical man, he finally succumbed on the night of 5th December. His funeral took place four days later, in the American Church, Rue de Berri. In thus referring to the closing scenes of the life of one of our oldest and most respected members, it may be permissible to add that the lady who was his partner through life, and who may be assured of the sympathy of all in this Society who knew her husband, was with him to the last.

II.—RUSSIAN GYPSY SONGS

By AUGUSTUS E. JOHN

THE following songs were taken down at Cherbourg from the family of Demeter, Gypsy coppersmiths from Baku. I regret that I am unable to record also the melodies, which would appear to be genuine Gypsy music, resembling that of the Spanish Gypsies, and differing in rhythm and character from Russian folk-song as the former does from Spanish.

A translation improvised by one of the band is appended to the first song. My notes are evidently full of faults, which, however, are not all of my committing.

These Gypsies, though well off and good craftsmen, have recently been refused a footing on the shores of England. They are free to go as they please in France.

SONG I

*Bário ladjav tuke mansa te gilaves,
Ke imme sym Rom, ande kai la baliaki,
Delai tzala, ril baliaki.
Akanato hai java andr'o foro te kelav.
Hai mardala le bičoso pai bul,
Hai me kedé, hai peleči pa piróša
Andi kaile le gajángi
Seg manuš laižverdó paš amendi
Mes kerimé hai vi gojnardo.*

TRANSLATION offered by ZACHARIE DEMETER

*Tu devrais avoir grande honte de chanter avec moi,
Car je ne suis qu'un Bohémien, dans une baraque,
Dessous une tente, dedans la baraque.
Maintenant je vais dans la ville pour danser.
Il m'a battu avec un fouet sur la queue,
Et voilà fini, il m'est tombé dans les bras,
Immédiatement,
Elle ne croyait pas qu'il était si naïf (!)*

SONG II

Av 'dar ker, Mimi,
And 'o ker e χas!
Kas suves, Mimi,
O lolo gad¹
Te parni travesa!
Kai šanas tu lolič?
Trin rača hai dui jes
Le Tzingné čavés,
Le čačes gilivensa,
Hai so de beš slūan pel gava.
Hai durba bešér dūr katar.
O Gospodine Ivanovaiič
Daraχ mandar,
Kerav de χles ander kalz,
Anda yek de kūn.
Oioša, čungar del t'ando mui.
Anav panš jandáre,
Pandav jivas pal pani,
Hai čidav berš pandavav.
O Mamūka fūlalo (or kūlalo), ai o būka
Bičinel le grasňyan.
Hai Yorška dikel palalés
Hai le kararai yeko kardíčo
Marel či baχ Demeter.

SONG III

Perado pelo, lajo manuš šorensa
Kakavi wasterensa,
Isto χarkuno kai garbona
Xala χula.
Silalo ji starel bulansa
Dilo kār, kertilal hai kāro pral,
Hai pori murš rovel, lel kārés and' o vast,
Skafidi (misali) driné puņrensa
Angusti po mutrás
Jal kode manuš te mūterel,
Jal te χlel—
Baχendi ki pošendi
Lūlava šun.

¹ Can this be the song, *I rakli adro o lolo gad*, which the Gypsies in St. Petersburg sang to Leland? (*The Gypsies*, p. 44).

SONG IV

Kurdanitza gana ganiča,
Mui šuko.
Spidavó ande čo mui okar,
Či de čo mui
Vast de čonar
Trav tuke baχ palui kŭro
Hai šunav dro ande mole
Mai pala jal te mutaral
Jal te χlav, zuralés, and' čo mui,
Kandav to palma, kŭl kandel mángi
Čil šow-les tuke po mŭi o čil
Sek čavoro katel e lulava.
Gáter.

III.—DRAB

By JOHN MYERS

MANY writers on Gypsy Lore, and notably Borrow, have referred to the one-time Gypsy practice of poisoning pigs and eating the flesh of the unfortunate animals.¹ Borrovians will remember :—

'The Rommany chi
 And the Rommany chal,
 Shall jaw tasaulor
 To drab the bawlor
 And dook the gry
 Of the farming rye.'

That the art is still practised in Spain is testified by Mr. J. Stewart Maclaren (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 95). It is no longer a common custom in this country, but there are English Gypsies still living who have themselves *drab'd bálos* and *há'd mŭlo mās*.

The substance used appears never to have been identified, although the fact that the Gypsies possess a knowledge of poisons has not escaped the notice of toxicologists. A. Wynter Blyth, in his introductory preface on 'The Old Poison-Lore' (*Poisons: their Effects and Detection*, London, 1906), says: 'The gipsies, speaking a tongue which is essentially a deformed *prakrit*, and therefore Indian in origin, have long possessed a knowledge of the properties of the curious "*mucor phycomyces*." This was considered an alga

¹ See Leland, Palmer and Tuckey, *English-Gipsy Songs*, pp. 130-4.

by Agaron, but Berkeley referred it to the fungi. The gipsies are said to have administered the spores of this fungi [*sic*] in warm water. In this way they rapidly attach themselves to the mucous membrane of the throat, all the symptoms of a phthisis follow, and death takes place in from two to three weeks.' A similar statement is made in a book entitled *Criminal Investigation*, translated and adapted from the *System der Kriminalistik* of Dr. Hans Gross by J. Adam and J. Collyer Adam (London, 1907, p. 372):— 'When the gipsy wishes to poison someone he uses neither phosphorus nor arsenic nor the like; he uses his infallible *dry* (also called *dri* or *drei*) . . . a fine brown powder made with the spores of a mushroom, (perhaps the *Aspergillus niger*). These spores grow in animal organisms, developing a greenish yellow shoot of about twelve to fifteen inches in length. This powder is dissolved in lukewarm liquid and the spores, becoming fixed in the mucous membrane and rapidly developing there, bring on consumption, coughing, often spitting of blood, and death finally ensues after two or three weeks. When the body becomes cold the mushroom also soon dies and disappears so completely that after death no trace of it can be found.'¹ Blyth states elsewhere that 'the poisons known to the Asiatics were arsenic, aconite, opium, and various solanaceous plants.'² Groome, in the introduction to his *Gypsy Folk-Tales* (p. xxiv.), discussing a legend of the eleventh century which describes how the Atsincan destroyed wild beasts by means of poisoned meat, says: 'The poisoning of pigs . . . has become a lost Gypsy art. But twenty-five years ago I knew English Gypsies who had a most unpleasant knowledge of whence to get natural arsenic. One of them dropped down dead, and the policeman who examined his body found a quantity of it in his pocket. "Oh, yes," explained the survivors, "he used it, you know, sir, in his tinkering."' It is possible that Groome used the term 'arsenic' rather loosely, as standing for a deadly poison.

The following extract from *The Times* (November 14, 1842,

¹ A reference is given to Alex. Classen, *Gerichtliche Chemie*.

² Mr. Winstedt, to whose kindness I owe several of the quotations in this article, has sent me the following reference to a practice somewhat akin to poisoning: 'Another custom . . . is that of annually drinking some potion, the secret of whose preparation is known only to the oldest and wisest of the tribe. This draught is partaken of by the whole community as a charm or preventive against snake bites. It is certain that, owing to some agency, the gipsies can catch snakes and handle them with the greatest impunity, but are never known to kill or hurt these animals' (*The People of Turkey* . . . By a Consul's Daughter and Wife, edited by Stanley Lane Poole, London, 1878, vol. i. p. 160).

p. 5 col. 6), although it does not refer to poisoning, shows that the Gypsies did not lack an alternative method when for any reason they could not or did not care to use *drab*.

GIPSIES.—(From a Correspondent.)—Several farmers in the neighbourhood of the New Forest in Hampshire have lately sustained serious losses among their sheep for which they have been unable to account. The shepherds could ascribe no cause for this sudden mortality which pervaded their flocks, but it has invariably been noticed that when a horde of Gypsies has been encamped in the vicinity of their sheepfolds, one or more of the animals have been found dead in the morning which on the previous night appeared in perfect health. What first led to a suspicion that the Gypsies were accessory to the destruction of the beasts was this—viz., that they were the very first persons to apprise the farmers of the circumstance, and beg the carcasses, observing that they would return the skins to the owners. A few days since a farmer in the neighbourhood of Sway, who kept a kennel of grayhounds, lost one of his sheep in this unaccountable manner, and was applied to by two Gypsies for the carcase, but he being desirous of converting the same into food for his dogs, ordered it to be cut up for that purpose, in doing which, the shepherd, to his great surprise, discovered that the animal's throat was crammed full of wool, so as to have caused the creature's death by suffocation. The fact is (as has since been discovered) that the Gypsies around the New Forest have been in the habit, for some months past, of resorting to the practice of suffocating the sheep on the farms in the vicinity in the manner above described, evading thereby the suspicions of the farmers falling upon them.

Strangely enough, the notice follows one of October 12, which gives the New Forest Gypsies the best of characters: 'Their conduct is well worthy of admiration.'—'Not one single article of his [the farmer's] property is found missing whilst these vagrant supplicants remain on the outskirts of the premises. The farmers consider themselves, as to their homesteads and property, always safe when Gypsies are encamped near them.'—'A farmer considers a Gypsy a good watch-dog' against poachers, sheep-stealers, and 'neighbours.' This method of obtaining mutton is still known to Gypsies, and one who hails from Staffordshire, in describing it to me recently, added that another trick was to break a lamb's neck and place its head in the bars of a gate in such a manner as to suggest that the death was purely accidental.

The facts which I have been fortunate enough to gather prove that the Gypsies possess knowledge of metallic poisons in an extended field, and that they understand the use of a mineral, which, though it occurs largely in nature, is nevertheless rarely met with in toxicological cases; and further, although sufficiently powerful to act as a rapid poison for animals, does not harm the man who consumes the flesh of beasts so killed, if certain elementary precautions are taken. Several Gypsies have admitted knowledge of *drabing*. The first, whom we will call 'Matcho,'

described the *drab* as a dirty-whitish, 'carroty' or rusty-looking stone found at the Ponsenbury (? Pontesbury) lead-mines in Shropshire.¹ 'No fowls can live where it exists: it kills everything.' The procedure, he said, was to burn² and crush the stone, when it became powdery and 'like flour,' place a portion in a baked potato or mix with flour, and administer by hand, preferably at midnight. The amount of the dose was apparently about twenty grams, or a piece about the size of a small walnut, and the pig would be dead in the morning. He had himself used the stuff about twenty-seven years ago, and had seen as many as four pigs killed together by this method.

Another Gypsy, to whom we may refer as 'Kasht,' told Mr. Sampson a similar tale, but in his case the *parno bar*, which was significantly described as 'heavy,' came from between Portmadoc and Beddgelert, and was administered in dough. Speculation as to what this mysterious stone might be led to an examination of the mineral poisons; and for various sound reasons it seemed that all these, excepting Arsenic and Barium, might be ignored. Our Honorary Secretary thereupon undertook a journey into Shropshire in quest of the mineral. The result I give in his own words:—

To pure good luck and a commercial traveller I owe the success of my expedition. For when I took a ticket from Liverpool to Wrexham, another thence to Shrewsbury, and as an afterthought a third to Craven Arms, I had not even heard of Bishop's Castle, the quaint little town at the end of an unfrequented branch-line, where I was destined to sleep that night. And I should have supped, slept, and breakfasted, and departed by a road which led to no mines, had not the commercial traveller insisted on sitting up to all hours in spite of the landlord who, wearied by a depressing rent-dinner, at which the tenants had been warned that two quarters' rents must be paid in three months, slept on an oaken settle, and was shaken into wakefulness only when more whisky was needed. Between three and four A.M. I cautiously broached the subject of poisonous minerals, and Mr. Phillips, for such was the commercial gentleman's name, tendered from vast stores of local knowledge, acquired as the son of a drover, the information that at Roman Gravels, not far distant, 'mountains' of Barium-spar lay unprotected by the roadside: and so I went happily to bed. But therein he did me an injury. Next day I found indeed the mountains of spar, crammed into my knapsack crystals enough to poison a battalion, losing in the effort the invisible means of support of

¹ According to Borrow's song (*The Romany Rye*, chapter vii.) Gypsies bent on poisoning a pig used to buy *trin horsworth* of *drab* from an apothecary; but this may have been one of the details which he added when he expanded the 'slender prose draft,' of which three separate versions occur in his MSS., into a ditty of nine verses.

² The object of this burning is, as Matcho stated, to make the process of powdering easier. The heat partly disintegrates the mass by cracking the crystal along its cleavage planes. At the same time its colour changes from yellowish to grey, but no caustic Baryta is formed.

part of my vesture, and laboured on overloaded and dreadfully uncomfortable under a scorching sun. But at the inn where I paused for a lunch of cheese and beer, a burly miner with whom I discussed spars informed me that the Roman Gravels yield no Barium. Shamefacedly I slunk out to deposit my burden behind the first hedge, and took my way across the fields to Snailbeach, where, according to the burly miner, the poisonous Barium Carbonate, Witherite or 'Water Spar,' as it is called locally, was found. Everybody knew Water Spar. They praised it as a rat-poison. They blamed it for the destruction of much cattle, for which the farmers got no compensation. But when found it is closely guarded, and ultimately used to refill disused workings in the mines. Nobody, from the keeper of the one inn to the lads who idled on the bridge, could or would supply a specimen at any price. Hungry and disheartened I abandoned the quest, consulted my map, and made for Minsterley and tea.

By this time I began to realise that my errand exposed me to some suspicion. It may be that the *Beng* himself scented an ulterior motive, for 'The Deil's bairns aye hae their Daddy's luck,' and it was certainly an amazing freak of fortune which, at a turn in the road, brought me face to face with a farmyard door on which, in letters of fiery vermilion, blazed the unexpected notice, 'Baryta Co., Ltd., Registered Office.' In front everything was verdant, neat, and healthy; but at the rear disorder reigned. Rusty boilers and machinery lay between neglected sheds and a reservoir of unhealthy water. The scanty herbage of the neighbouring field was dusted with a white deposit. And in the midst of the desolation stood a cottage of corrugated iron painted a dull, cheerless red, and surrounded by the ghost of a garden haunted by a few spectral plants. The door was opened by the foreman's wife, a woman with a strange, dazed look, old before her time, whose colourless skin hung in flabby folds from the bones of her face. Her husband was out, she said, but she invited me in, and I sat down and explained the object of my visit. No, she had never heard of Water Spar—if there were such a spar she would know it—it was all nonsense; the stuff did not exist. So we turned to other subjects: her loose teeth; the bringing of the Barium Sulphate ore by road from mines near Chirbury; how the men worked 'up to their knees' in Barium; and the perfect healthfulness of their employment provided they had plenty of soup and cod-liver oil. And all the time she scanned me earnestly and seemed anxious to prolong the conversation. But I soon wearied of such unprofitable talk, and rose saying that I would call again later in the evening when I hoped to find her husband at home. 'Whisht!' she said suddenly, a bony finger on her pale lips; 'he's in the next room, fast asleep.'

'Then perhaps you will be good enough to wake him, and say that I would like to speak to him.'

'Not for worlds,' she replied; and beckoning mysteriously, 'follow me. Come along. I knew what you wanted the moment you came to the door.'

I followed, not without misgivings, for this uncanny woman seemed to regard me as her accomplice in some crime. She led the way to a little porch where, on narrow shelves, were ranged some dozens of stones of various colours, shapes, and sizes. In silence she took them up one by one, dusted them with her apron, held them to the light, and weighed them in her hand. Finally she selected two which she carried to the pump and scrubbed with a brush. Then approaching closely she whispered—

'Here, take these. They're worth five shillings to a druggist.'

'I shall be very glad to pay for them.'

'No, no! Not from you. Put them in your pockets, one on each side. Let nobody see them, and don't tell a soul where you got them. We're not allowed to have it.'

I did as she directed, thanked her, and went on my way reflecting. But the more I reflected the deeper grew the mystery, and the more convinced I became

that Minsterley was no healthy place for me. So I hired a trap and drove ten miles further before I halted for the night.

Analysis showed that the mineral, a wax-coloured crystalline substance, was almost pure Barium Carbonate, containing 77·36 per cent. of BaO, and 22·25 per cent. of CO₂.

The recognition of the stone was now all that was required to complete the 'discovery,' and Matcho was run to earth in one of those South Wales valleys which, once exquisite, have even now a saddened charm, as if mourning the days when collieries and squalid cottages were not. Here, snugly encamped, and enjoying the huge fire like a true Romany, lay my friend. Did he remember the stone of which we had so often talked?—'Yes.' Would he recognise it?—'Yes.' Did my having some in my pocket surprise him?—'No.' For it takes much more than a little matter of this kind to cause surprise in a Gypsy. All he said was, 'I hope you have brought two stones, *Rai*; then I can show you the right one.' One more whispered question:—'Would the *waver Romanichal akai jin variso* of so we were *rōkerin*?'—'Kēka!' So the Barium Carbonate from Minsterley; a piece of Limespar, which greatly resembled the Barium in appearance, but not in weight; and a specimen of Galena, encrusted with Limespar and Ferric Oxide, were submitted to Matcho. The Limespar was instantly rejected, with 'Tain't that.' The two remaining caused some hesitation, and he spoke as if to himself. 'This (Barium) is like it, but it ought to have some of this rusty stuff' (Ferric Oxide, which commonly occurs with practically all minerals); another gaze, then he suddenly nibbled the Barium and said with decision, 'That's it.'

The *waver Romanichal* now took a hand in the game, and with a 'Let's look,' pounced on the Barium and exclaimed, 'That's Water Spar; it *vels* from Minsterley in Shropshire, it'll *drab* anything.' Now, Matcho had no name for this stone, but the *waver Romanichal* named it correctly and told of the times *he* had used it. 'Many a poor *Romanichal's* family,' he said, 'have been brought up by this *bar*.¹ *Mi kōko* used to *del* the *būtiéngros levinor* to *chor lest* for him, and *yek chērus* the *givéngro* a'd *kek del* us the *bálo*, not even the skin.' (One wonders if the body was

¹ The practice was probably the last resort of the starving Gypsy. Cf. Borrow, *The Romany Rye* (chapter vii.): 'Had you tasted that pork, brother, you would have found that it was sweet and tasty, which balluva that is drabbed can hardly be expected to be. We have no reason to drab baulor at present, we have money and credit; but necessity has no law. Our forefathers occasionally drabbed baulor; some of our people may still do such a thing, but only from compulsion.'

begged on the pretext of using the skin.) Tongues were loosened, and Matcho told of an occasion when he and four others went to beg the body, and the farmer said, 'The pig ain't dead yet!' The animal had been eating heartily of potatoes, which according to Matcho had *mēr'd* the *drab* and acted as an antidote. They were also both agreed that milk was a splendid antidote for any poison, and added that a little *drab* 'was *kushti* for yer *kokero*.' Matcho affirmed that he could easily distinguish *drab'd mas* as it was very pink, and the *waver mush* explained with '*Awă Rai*, the *rat's adre* the *trūpo*.' This pink appearance had been previously mentioned by other Gypsies. Professor Sherrington, the eminent physiologist, has given his opinion that the flesh of a pig poisoned in the above manner might be eaten with perfect safety, provided the entrails were rejected, and the parts of the animal which might come into contact with them carefully washed; which indeed the Gypsies seem to have done if we may believe Borrow's 'Poisoning the Porker':—

'And then we toves the wendror well
Till sore the wendror iuziou se,
Till kekkeno drab's adrey lis,
Till drab there's kek adrey lis.'

Matcho asserted that the meat was harmless because the *drab* '*să jals* to *pāni*.'

But *drabing bálos* was an innocent peccadillo to an old lady like Mrs. Hearne, who 'carried so much Devil's tinder about with her' and 'was always too fond of covert ways, drows, and brimstones,' as Mr. Petulengro showed in his story of the poisoned plum-pudding. And indeed it is not unworthy of notice that the symptoms which Borrow describes (*Lavengro*, chapter lxxi.) are all typical of Barium poisoning; although one, salivation, which is sometimes associated with such cases, is wanting and replaced by thirst.¹ Borrow's symptoms were as follows:—

Intense thirst.—'My mouth felt parched.' 'Feeling my thirst increase.' 'I felt thirstier than before.' 'My mouth was dry and burning, and I felt a frantic desire to drink.'

Abdominal pain and colic.—'I felt a dreadful qualm.' 'The qualm had seized me again.' 'Qualm succeeded qualm.' 'The qualms continued, deadly pains shot through my whole frame.'

Nausea and vomiting.—'I was deadly sick.'

Acute diarrhœa.—No mention.

¹ A. P. Luff, however, in his *Text-Book of Forensic Medicine and Toxicology*, London, 1895, mentions intense thirst as a characteristic symptom of Barium poisoning.

Muscular weakness.—‘Instantly robbed me of nearly all my strength.’ ‘To reach the spring once more was impossible.’ ‘My condition did not permit me to rise.’

Unconsciousness.—‘I could bear my agonies no longer, and I fell into a trance or swoon.’ ‘Once more I relapsed into my swoon.’

Convulsions and paralysis.—‘An inexplicable something chained my tongue.’ ‘Look at the gentleman’s motions.’ (Leonora.) ‘What, another throe! writhe, sir, writhe.’ (Mrs. Hearne.) ‘Look at his motions.’ (Leonora.) When Leonora’s dog ‘seemed about to spring at’ his face, Borrow apparently could not move to defend himself, but merely ‘flashed at the dog with his eye, and scared him’; and he does not seem to have resisted Mrs. Hearne when she struck him on the face with her stick. He was unable to speak when Peter Williams found him.

High blood-pressure.—‘Something appeared to bear heavy on my breast.’ ‘My temples were throbbing.’ ‘The oppression about the chest which I had felt in my sleep still continued.’

Catarrh of the conjunctiva.—‘There was a burning in my eyes.’

Rally and relapse.—‘I felt somewhat better, and attempted to lift my head off my couch; the next moment, however, the qualms and pains returned, if possible, with greater violence than before.’

It must be remembered that this description is taken from a novel and not from a text-book of pathology, so that it would be unreasonable to expect minute accuracy. Dr. J. W. S. Macfie tells me that the symptoms which would have been most decisive in a differential diagnosis are unfortunately those for which the evidence is least convincing. Convulsions and paralysis, for instance, would not have occurred with Arsenic; and the pulse would have been weak and the heart’s action feeble, whereas Borrow’s blood-pressure seems to have been high.

Still both Mrs. Hearne and Leonora compared Borrow’s condition with that of a hog dying ‘by the drow of the Gypsies’; and, moreover, the adventure cannot have happened far from the South Shropshire lead-mines which are on the direct line west from Willenhall and Borrow’s dingle, to the nearest part of the Welsh border.¹ Thus it is at least probable, if not certain, that the *drab* in old Mrs. Hearne’s cake was this same Water Spar, and that to it Borrow owed the troubles of which he wrote in 1851: ‘these

¹ The distance makes it improbable that Borrow could have departed far to the north or south of this line, for in one day, driving his ‘little pony-cart,’ he accompanied Peter Williams from the meadow with the three immense oaks, where they had slept for ten nights, to the borders of Wales; fought with Jasper Petulengro for half an hour; refreshed himself at the Silent Woman; ‘discovered, though not without some difficulty, the dingle’; pitched his tent and ‘contrived to put up’ his forge. And the meadow cannot have been many miles from the wood where Borrow first camped, for he was poisoned on Saturday, June 11, 1825, apparently early in the afternoon, lay suffering for a considerable time, was tended for two hours by Peter Williams, and removed to the meadow ‘at a slow pace,’ arriving after night-fall, but not too late for the evangelist to summon a congregation and preach for three-quarters of an hour.

memorials of the drow have never entirely disappeared—even at the present time they display themselves in my system, especially after much fatigue of body and excitement of mind.’¹

IV.—THE FORMER COSTUME OF THE GYPSIES

By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

AN article under this heading appeared in 1876 in the *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, and the subject has been deemed of sufficient historical interest to warrant a revision of it appearing in this Society’s Journal, with additions and corrections, coupled with some of the scattered woodcuts which were used to represent the early Gypsies.

So far as their costume is concerned, Grellmann, the historian of the Gypsies, contented himself, in chapter v. of section I., by stating that the first of the Gypsies that ‘came to Europe, appeared ragged and miserable, unless we perhaps allow their leaders to have been an exception.’ For this generalisation the notes, at page 187 of Raper’s English translation, refer to Stumpf’s *Schweitzer Chronik*, 425, and Krantz’s *Saxonia*, bk. II. chap. ii. p. 239.

The rest of the chapter merely describes their rags and ragged finery, and their love of gaudy colours. All other writers have simply echoed Grellmann when dealing with Gypsy dress.²

¹ The verdict of Sir Henry D. Littlejohn on Borrow’s case is all the more valuable because, at first, he was inclined to suspect a vegetable narcotic; basing his opinion on the absence of any mention of purging, on the knowledge of herbs which the Gypsies are reputed to possess, and on the fact that when such poisons are taken in their natural state ‘the vegetable structure affects the system with symptoms of irritation before the true physiological effects of the drug manifest themselves.’ With the greatest kindness Sir Henry afterwards made extensive inquiries on the subject of Barytic poisoning and modified his first view. ‘On the whole, therefore,’ he wrote, after reading the proofs of this article, ‘I think you have made a good case for this special poison.’

² For Mr. Sampson’s article on English Gypsy dress of comparatively modern date, see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 155. Danilowicz, whose work was not seen by Pott when he wrote *Die Zigeuner*, had a chapter on Gypsy dress, and Colocci, *Gli Zingari*, Turin, 1889, p. 337, says it is a translation of Grellmann. Colocci himself (pp. 190-194) does not treat their dress historically, but states that in the East (of Europe) ‘they wear a turban of green or white linen, the *Albanian toga*,’ etc. (p. 191): this however applies to Gypsies of the present day. In the *Syevernaya Pchela*, St. Petersburg, 1838, there was a ‘Sketch of the History Costume and Language of the Gypsies’ in Nos. 75, 77, and 82 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 25 note), and in 1879 H. R. A. Gosche published at Berlin *Die Zigeuner als Typus in Dichtung und Kunst*. These I have not seen. It is, however, exceedingly probable

PART I

THEIR COSTUME IN ENGLAND

It is most probable that when the Gypsies arrived in England about the year 1500 they had a recognised distinctive costume of an oriental character, because in 1542 Dr. Andrew Borde, who was born in Sussex about 1490, wrote in his *Introduction of Knowledge*, in the chapter on Egypt, that 'the people of the coutry be swarte and doth go *disgisid in theyr apparel* contrary to other nacions' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 163), and twenty years later, in 1562, an Act of Parliament (5 Elizabeth, chapter 20) was passed to the following effect: 'Whereas sithence [since] the Act made in the first and second years of the late King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, [A.D. 1554, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, chapter 4] . . . there is a Scruple and Doubt risen, whether such Persons as being born within this Realm of England . . . and are . . . become of the Fellowship . . . of the said Vagabonds, by transforming or *disguising themselves in their Apparel*, . . . are punishable, [or whether the Act only applied to those who were born abroad], Therefore . . . Be it enacted . . . That, all . . . Persons which, from and after the first Day of May now next ensuing, shall be seen . . . in any Company . . . of Vagabonds, commonly called . . . *Egyptians*, or . . . *disguising themselves by their Apparel . . . like unto such Vagabonds* . . . and so shall or do continue . . . one Month, . . . the said . . . Persons, shall . . . be deemed . . . Felons; and shall therefore suffer Pains of Death, Loss of Lands and Goods.'

These were not the first English Acts passed against the Gypsies. In 1530 an Act (22 Henry VIII., chapter 10) was passed; fifteen years later, in December 1545, another Bill was before the

that they drew upon Grellmann, and merely added contemporary and not historical descriptions.

The gradually disappearing Lithuanian Gypsy costume is described by Mr. Davainis-Silvestraitis in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 108-9. A Venetian Gypsy dress about 1710 is described by Mr. Pincherle, *ibid.*, i. 308-9.

De Goeje in *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes* (Leyde, 1903), at p. 60, says: 'We find amongst the Eastern authors only very little information on the habits and customs of the Gypsies. The historians say that the Zotts, who were exhibited in boats at Bagdad [A.D. 835], wore their national costume, but we do not know of what it consisted. According to the passages cited above, certain dress-materials or garments were called after them *Zottiya*, and we know, by a passage in Ibn Abd-rabbihi, that there were Gypsy weavers (*tisserands*). We also read there that they called a style of shaving the head in the form of a cross, *Zottiya*, that is to say, "Gypsy fashion." I have not succeeded in discovering any trace of this style amongst the various authors who have described the Gypsies.'

Lords, but did not pass; two years later, in November 1547, a Bill was before the Commons, but it shared the same fate. In 1554 the Act above alluded to was passed, but the Act of 1562 is the first to refer to the disguising apparel, which would seem to have been so well known that it was unnecessary to go into detail about it.

What it was in 1567 is partly shown by the epistle prefixed by Thomas Harman to the third edition of his *Caueat or Warening for Commen Cvrsetors*, where he expresses a hope that ‘as short and as speddy a redresse wyl-be for these [sturdy rogues], as hath bene of late yeres for the wretched wily wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egipcians, depely dissembling and long hyding and couering their depe decetfull practises—feding the rude common people, wholly addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions, delyting them with the *strangenes of the attyre of their heades*, and practising paulmistrise to such as would know their fortunes.’ This is confirmed at an early date by Edward Hall in his *Chronicle of King Henry the Eighth* (published in 1548), where, describing a Court Mummary in 1510 (folio 7), he says that two ladies had ‘*their heades rouled in pleasauntes [lawn or gauze] and typpers [brims of caps or bonnets], lyke the Egipcians, enbroudered with gold,*’ and that, at a State Banket in 1520, ‘there entered into the chamber eight ladies *tired [with headdresses] like to the Egipcians very richly.*’ It is very likely that, as the Gypsies alleged that they came from Egypt, they lent colour to their tale by wearing turbans after the fashion of the inhabitants of that country.

In 1517 the poet Skelton goes into further confirmatory detail in his description of ‘*Elynour Rummynge,*’ whose name is also quaintly reminiscent of a *Romani chei*.

‘Her kyrtel [*bodice and skirt combined*] Brystow [*Bristol*] red;
 With clothes upon her hed
 That wey [*weigh*] a sowe [*or pig*] of led,
 Wrythen in wonder wyse, [*wound in a wonderful way*]
 After the Sarasyns gyse,
 With a whym wham, [*round revolving table*]
 Knyt with a trym tram, [*trifle*]
 Vpon her brayne pan,
 Lyke an Egyptian
 Capped about:
 Whan she goeth out.’

It may be remarked here that Mr. MacRitchie's careful history of the Scottish Gypsies (Edinburgh, 1894; *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. ii.) has not revealed anything more definite with regard to costume than the ambiguous expression 'habit and repute' in the various Ordinations and Records about Gypsies. This is somewhat remarkable, because Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, 1808, says, under the word 'Gipsy,' that it was the name of a *form of Cap*, which was borrowed by that generation's great-grandmothers from the Gypsies, which carries its tradition back to about 1700. He adds that it was a woman's cap or mutch '*plaited on the back of the head.*'

In Knight's *Old England*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 292, fig. 2317, there is a modern woodcut to illustrate Addison's account of Sir Roger de Coverley's interview with Gypsies about 1710, and the artist has drawn the female Gypsies as wearing long hooded cloaks, fastened toga-like at the shoulder, and on their heads they have a cloth twisted very much as a turban is, but with a long end passing round the chin.¹ According to the description given to Mr. Sampson by the old tinker Murray,² the Gypsy women of old used to wear long cloaks with hoods: 'most of them were red' (like Elynour Rummyng's Bristol red kirtle), and 'sometimes they'd have a band of fine cloth going round and round the head, with these rosettes on it—one on each side of the front part of the head and three at the back,' and sometimes 'as many stars on her head as there be in the sky,' as was befitting for astrologers. Murray half remembered a headdress or turban called a *vūrla* or *būrla*, with two *andales* hanging down behind.³

In 1609 Dekker (*circa* 1577-1637), in his *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, says: 'They are a people . . . beggerly in apparell. . . . If they be Egiptians, sure I am they neuer discended from the tribes of any of those people [the Jews] that came out of the Land of Egypt. . . . Their apparell is *od*, and *phantasticke*, thou[gh] it be neuer so full of rents: *the men weare scarfes of Callico*, or any other base stuffe, *hanging their bodies like Morris-dancers, with bels* and other toyes, to intice the cōtrey people to flocke about them, and to wounder at their fooleries, or rather rancke knaueryes. *The women as rediculously attire themselves*, and (like one that

¹ Compare the young women in the Effiat tapestry, *post*.

² *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 159 and note.

³ Compare the headdresses in Predari's view of a Zingari's *capanna*, about 1840. *Origine e Vicende dei Zingari*, Milano, 1841, opposite p. 91.

plaies the Roague on a stage) *weare rags, and patched filthy mantles* vpermost, when the vnder garments are hansome and in fashion. . . . The bloody tragedies of [killing] al these [poultrie] are only acted by *y^e Womē*, who *carrying long kniues or Skeanes vnder their mantles*, do thus play their parts' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 248-250).

In 1612 S[amuel] R[id], in his *Art of Juggling*, says of the Gypsies: 'These kinde of people about an hundred yeares agoe, about the twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight [the first prohibitory Act was in 1530, 22 Henry VIII.], began to gather an head, at the first heere about the Southerne parts, and this (as I am informed and [as far] as I can gather, was their beginning:—*Certaine Egyptians banished* [from] their cuntry (belike not for their good conditions) ariued heere in England, who being excellent in quaint trickes and deuises, not known heere at that time among us, were esteemed and had in great admiration, for what with *strangenesse of their attire and garments*, together with their sleights and legerdemaines, they were spoke of farre and neere.'

Shakespeare (1564-1616) mentions Gypsies in several places, but does not allude to their dress. He seems to have believed that they were veritable Egyptians. In *As You Like It*, Act v. Scene 3, the two pages are to sing 'both in a tune like two gypsies on a horse.' This custom of several riding on one horse is mentioned in Dekker's *Lanthorne*: 'If they can stradle once, then aswell the shee-roagues as the hee-roagues are horst [horsed], seauen or eight vpon one iade, strongly pineoned, and strangely tyed together' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 249).

In Gifford's edition of the Works of Ben Jonson (1573-1637), vol. vii., London, 1816, p. 370, the stage direction to the *Masque of the Gypsies Metamorphosed* (circa 1621) runs: 'Enter a Gipsy leading a horse laden with five little children . . . upon him.' The Gypsy says: 'Room for the 5 princes of Egypt, mounted all upon one horse. . . . Gaze upon them, as on the offspring of Ptolemy, begotten upon several Cleopatras, in their several counties; especially on this brave *spark* struck out of *Flint-shire*, upon Justice *Jug's* daughter, then sheriff of the county, who running away with a kinsman of our captain's, and her father pursuing her to the marches [the boundary of Wales] . . . they were both, for the time, turn'd *stone* [perhaps a pun on *stone-jug*, i.e. a prison, is here intended], upon the sight each of other, in Chester: till at last, . . . a *jug* of the town-ale reconciling them,

the memorial of both . . . hath remained ever since preserved in picture upon the most *stone jugs* of the kingdom.'

In the 1507 edition of Brandt's *Ship of Fooles* appears a woodcut which is used to illustrate this article. It appears in earlier editions with slight differences. A copy serves to illustrate Douce's extra-illustrated copy of Raper's English translation



FIG. 1.—Illustration to the section 'De improbe mendicantibus,' from Brandt's *Navis stultifera* (Basilee, 1507), p. lviii^v.

of Grellmann's *Dissertation on the Gipsies*, bequeathed to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The custom of children being carried in panniers is also shown in a woodcut prefixed to a ballad called *The Brave English Jipsey* (to be sung 'to the tune of the Spanish Jipsie'), the date of which is presumably about 1630 (Ballad Society's *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. iii. p. 329). In this woodcut it will be noticed that the man in front of the

horse wears a sort of twisted circlet on his loose hair, and that his cloak is fastened over one shoulder. The other woodcut here given of a group of ragged beggars, with a woman in the centre, appears at the head of the second part of *The Brave English Jipsie*, but was also made use of five pages earlier at the head of



FIG. 2.—English Gypsies, from 'The brave English Jipsie' (about 1630 A.D.), *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. iii. (Hertford, 1875), p. 329. Reproduced from the original ballad in the British Museum.

The Beggar Boy of the North. The fourth woodcut, headed *The Gypsies*, and showing seven ragged vagabonds posturing, dancing and singing, has come from some unidentified seventeenth-century book of English verse, judging from the few lines visible on the back, and was found by Mr. Wellstood in Douce's copy of Grellmann at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

So late as 1649, at Bransby in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 'divers people *in the habitts of jipsey*' were apprehended. Here the word 'habitts' clearly means 'costume,' and the Scottish phrase 'habit and repute,' and Jamieson's description of the 'Gipsy' cap may be borne in mind. These were veritable Gypsies in 1649, for it is said that 'divers of them did tell fortunes. They did some tyme speak in languages wich none who were by could understand.' Their leader was named Grey, which is still a Romany patronymic, and his followers were Elizabeth Grey (probably his wife), Richard and Barbara Smith (still a Gypsy sur-



FIG. 3.—English Gypsies, from 'The Second Part' [of 'The Brave English Ippie'] (about 1630 A.D.), *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. iii. (Hertford, 1875), p. 331 : also used at the end of 'The Begger-boy of the North,' *ibid.*, p. 325. Reproduced from the original ballad in the British Museum.

name), and Francis and Elizabeth Parker. They owned a mare, had several children, and had travelled through several counties including Lancashire (*Surtees Society*, vol. xl.).

Mr. Sampson's tinker, Murray, told him that 'the kind of cloaks the old men used to wear, they were made of nothing but skins riveted together with fine little nails made of copper pieces, old "card" pennies. They're tied by a knot on both shoulders, made in a curious position. Some of them wears them brought up like a bunch of ribbons on one shoulder for grandeur, with copper hooks to them in front,' . . . 'and some of the old men had green coats as they set a mortal store by' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 156-7, and note). Mr. MacRitchie, in chapters ii. and

x. of the second volume of *Ancient and Modern Britons* (London, 1884), has collected several descriptions of the showy costumes beloved by Gypsy men and women of England and Scotland for state occasions, from about 1700 onwards.

It is submitted that these quotations indicate that in England, at least, the Gypsies had formerly a distinctive costume, somewhat oriental in character, although the descriptions are not as definite as could be wished as to the peculiarities of the costume itself;



FIG. 4.—‘The Gypsies,’ from the flyleaf of Douce’s copy of Raper’s translation of Grellmann.

and that the gradual disappearance of the costume was probably due to the repressive Act of 1562, though it lingered on till about 1700, and was most probably an intentional imitation of the attire of the actual inhabitants of Egypt, whence they alleged that they had come. The probability is that they wore this costume when they first arrived in England, and that their adoption of it was of earlier date, when questioned by travellers, with whom they met, and from whom they cleverly gleaned what dress would best accord with their tale.

PART II

THEIR COSTUME IN EUROPE

On the Continent we have the advantage of earlier records than any in England, as well as the possibility that, on their first appearance in Western Europe about 1417, their costume might be reminiscent of the various countries through which they had passed on their long-drawn-out migration from India to Europe, and their prolonged sojourn in South-Eastern Europe about Thrace and the Danube, where the Turkish costume would be more or less prevalent.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was an oriental scholar, gave the following summary of his opinion as to the course of Gypsy history and their migrations, at a meeting of the Geographical Society in February 1856 (see also De Goeje in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 131; Bataillard, *ibid.*, vols. i. and ii.; and MacRitchie's *Gypsies of India*, London, 1886). Sir H. Rawlinson unfortunately does not cite his authorities, but says: 'In the fourth century they proceeded to Beloochistan, from thence they reached Susiana, and in the sixth century they occupied the Chaldean Marshes, from whence they were moved to the Cilician Gates, and continued to inhabit North Syria till the Greek Emperors moved them to Iconium. In the thirteenth century, they had reached the Bosphorus, and they were first heard of in Europe in the fourteenth century' (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, i. 40, and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 225 note).¹ This account is to some extent supported by records, and if fully proved might account for the wide difference between the European and non-European dialects. The greater portion of the race may have been the subject of these successive deportations or migrations, leaving behind in each country only a few stragglers, who perhaps evaded the authorities, or had by marriages become allied to the people of the country without having altogether forsaken their nomadic habits, or become fully assimilated to the Gâjos. This would be analogous to the differences noted by Dr. Paspati between the nomad and sedentary

¹ De Goeje discovered new references, which caused him to change his opinions about the early history of the Gypsies. His latest views are embodied in his *Mémoire sur les Migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie* (Leide, 1903) which supercedes the older work translated in MacRitchie's *Gypsies of India*. He discards the 12,000 Luris of the fifth century, and puts the Exodus from India four centuries later.

Gypsies of Turkey. As, however, Gypsies do not originate materials or articles of clothing, they would be prone to adopt the clothes worn in the countries through which they have passed. The Marquis Colocci has furnished a useful map of their European fifteenth-century wanderings in his admirable volume on *Gli Zingari*.

The earliest accounts of these fifteenth-century invaders refer merely to their rags. They evidently wore anything they could procure by fair means or foul. There was nothing in their apparel sufficiently strange to arrest the chronicler's attention. The early words applied to the women's chief garment are *schiaivina*¹ (*esclavine*, in French) at Bologna in Italy in July 1422, *flassado* in the south of France, *flassart* at Tournai in May 1422, and *flassuoie* (blanket) and *roquet* (shift) at Paris, in August 1427 (Bataillard, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 332, 336 note; ii. 30 note).

Monsieur Bataillard in the same place shows that one of the earliest undoubted records of the invasion of Western Europe by the Gypsies was that of the contemporary Hermann Corner, who wrote *Chronica novella usque ad annum 1435 deducta*, which will be found in the second volume of Eccard's *Corpus historiarum mediæ ævi* (fol. 1723, p. 1225), and Corner's account was 'embroidered' by Albert Krantz (born about 1450, died 1517), who was the author of a Chronicle of Saxony, which was published at Cologne in 1530 (*Saxonia*, Franckfort edition, 1621, folio, lib. xi. ch. ii. pp. 285-6). Corner² says: 'The Gypsies first arrived in the District of Hanover, Holstein, and Mecklenbourg, in the year 1417; they were very dirty, very ugly, and as black as Tartars. Some of them rode on horseback, others walked.' Krantz embellishes the picture by adding 'the women were drawn in waggons, with the baggage and little children. The chiefs, *who were superbly dressed*, had hunting dogs, like the nobility' (Bataillard, *De l'Apparition, etc., des Bohémiens en Europe*, Paris, 1844, pp. 22-4; *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 276 note). Stumpf, who wrote in 1546, and Tschudi, who wrote between

¹ Colocci in *L'Origine des Bohémiens*, Città di Castello, 1906, p. 5, footnote 4, says: 'A fragment, written in Italian Romany (*Shinte*), says, à propos of the usage of the *esclavine* [*schiaivina*], or big cloak (*capuchon*), which the Gypsies wore at the time of their first appearance in Europe, and which they called *cilicium*, that they were originally from Cilicia [*Silesia*?]. This unedited fragment, which concerns Thotona (? the land of Thot, or Egypt) and Darius, seems of doubtful authenticity. It runs thus: "*I bindă de Ciliciună Kătră tēmă cilincengrî penălă sāmă . . .*," which means "that the esclavine of Cilice says that we are from the land of Cilicia."

² The full text is given, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 274.

1505 and 1572, concerning this invasion, add 'they wore very poor clothes.'



FIG. 5.—Bohémiens en marche (quinzième siècle). Fragment d'une ancienne tapisserie du château d'Effiat, communiqué par M. A. Jubinal. From Lacroix, *Mœurs, usages et costumes au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1871), p. 487.

These accounts very singularly tally with a piece of tapestry, which is alleged to have been formerly preserved in the Château

d'Effiat, near Aigue-perse in the Puy de Dôme (Lacroix, *Mœurs, etc., au Moyen Age*, p. 487, fig. 369). The women are shown as wearing a kind of rolled turban with a long end passing under the chin, and large striped cloaks, fastened at the shoulder, and worn over a long loose dress. This pictorial representation would have an additional importance if it could be shown to have belonged to the fifteenth century, but M. Lacroix merely says that it represents 'Gypsies of the fifteenth century on the march' (*Bohémiens en marche, quinzième siècle*). It was communicated to him by Monsieur A. Jubinal, and it is rather remarkable that such a curious example of the art is not mentioned by Monsieur Jubinal in either of his valuable works on tapestry (*Les anciennes tapisseries*, Paris, 1838, folio; and *Recherches sur l'usage et l'origine des tapisseries à personnages dites historiées*, Paris, 1840, 8vo), but it might have come to his knowledge at a later date. The tapestry has not been at the Château d'Effiat since 1856. Shortly before that date much of the furniture was sold, and some was acquired by the Musée de Cluny at Paris, but this piece of tapestry was not included. The Museum obtained a bed, some bed-curtains, chairs, and a screen, but no tapestry, and the Director of the Museum states that all the pieces so acquired were of the seventeenth century. The manufacture of Gobelins tapestry began in the sixteenth century, and chiefly flourished in the seventeenth. Louis XIV. (1643-1713) bought the works, and the owners of the Château d'Effiat were very intimate with the Royal family. Marquis Antoine Coiffier de Ruzé (born 1581, died 1632) was Maréchal de France, and his grandson, Marquis Antoine de Ruzé (born 1638, died 1719), was a friend of Louis XIV. and Écuyer to the king's brother. It is therefore most probable that the tapestry was made in the seventeenth century from a design drawn after reading Krantz's account of the Gypsies in the 1621 edition of his *Chronicles of Saxony*, and the artist may have known some local tradition of the Gypsies' visit to that part of France about 1420, seeing that they are known to have been at Sisteron in 1419.

In 1422 the arrival of the Gypsies at Bologna in Italy is recorded in the *Chronica di Bologna*, published by Muratori in 1731, in vol. xviii. pp. 611-12 of *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, informing us that *the women went about in their shifts, and wore a Schiavina* (long garment of coarse cloth, such as was usually worn by slaves and pilgrims), *which passed under one arm and over the opposite shoulder*

with rings in their ears and a long veil on the head (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 336). Was the long veil rolled up into a turban?

Five years later again, in 1427, the *Journal of a Parisian* which was published in vol. xl. of the *Collection Buchon*, and is quoted by Pasquier in his *Recherches de la France*, notes the arrival of the Gypsies at Paris in that year, and gives an almost identical description, viz. that *the women had for their only garment a poor petticoat or shift, and over that an old and very coarse shaggy garment or blanket, fastened over the shoulder by a band or cord*. Almost all had both ears pierced, and in each ear a silver ring or two, which they said were considered a sign of gentility in their own



FIG. 6.—Züginer, from Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* (Basileae, 1554), p. 267.

country. It will be observed that no mention is here made of any peculiar headdress.

The text of the third book of Münster's *Cosmographia*, published in 1572, does not help us, but two woodcuts are given which show a kind of turban and a long loose robe, with a cloak over it fastened at the shoulder (Lacroix, *op. cit.*, 459, 461; Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, Edinburgh, 1818, p. 537). With regard to these woodcuts used by Münster's printer, it must not be overlooked that the old printers had a wretched habit of using old wood-blocks which they had in stock. It is not unlikely that those so used had sufficient resemblance to pass muster as original and correct illustrations, but care is necessary in accepting them off-hand for what they pretend or appear to be.

The woodcut which illustrates this article occurs in Münster's book against the passage in which he treats of Gypsies, and may be therefore taken to represent the printer's, if not the author's, view as to their usual appearance and apparel. Lacroix in *Mœurs, etc., au Moyen Age*, inserts another woodcut (fig. 370), also taken from Münster, which Lacroix describes as 'Gipsies fortune-telling.' In Münster, however, this latter woodcut is found (without any description whatever) in the chapter on 'Ancient and Modern Scythians,' and as Münster says that the Scythians were good at markets and fairs, it may be intended to represent Scythians holding a market. For that reason it is not here reproduced. For this critical information my thanks are due to Mr. Winstedt, who has carefully examined the copy of Münster at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Lacroix also has a woodcut (p. 465, fig. 373), which he describes as 'The Gypsy who used to wash his hands in molten lead; facsimile of a woodcut in the *Histoire Merveilleuse* of Pierre Boaistuau' (who preferred to call himself by the less singular name of Launay), but I am informed by Mr. Winstedt that in the original *Histoire Merveilleuse de Pierre Boaistuau*, 1561, the woodcut simply appears as that of a man who washed his hands in lead, and Pierre refers to Cardanus [1501-1576], *De Subtilitate*, xvi., as his authority. On referring to Cardanus (published 1551) as the primary authority, no plate is found, and he merely says that he saw a certain man perform the feat at Milan. Moreover, in Boaistuau's book the same costume, namely, a curious cap and flowing robe with girdle, occurs as an illustration of Jews in the very next plate. Mr. Winstedt calls attention to the fact that in Münster the printer has used another woodcut, which shows two tents and a covered waggon or caravan, with a woman standing behind and a man leading a horse, to illustrate the account of (1) the Tartars, (2) the Huns, who settled in Hungary, and (3) another nomad tribe. If, as is quite possible, this woodcut *originated* in an acquaintance with Gypsy customs in *Hungary*, it would be a valuable contribution to Romany history, but it is unsafe to adopt the theory.

Rudolf Stumpf, in his *Schweitzer Chronik*, published about 1546, and Guler in his *Rhætia*, published in 1616, both relate that the original Gypsies returned home, and then an idle desperate crew took their place, and by blackening their faces, at the same time *using the like outlandish garments*, endeavoured to persuade the world that they were the identical Egyptians.

Callot¹ the engraver (1593-1635, born at Nancy in Lorraine) in 1605, when twelve years old, ran away from home and joined a company of Gypsies, with whom he travelled as far as Florence. From his artistic skill and ample opportunities of observation, reliance can be placed on his entire accuracy in delineating their costumes, but in the examples shown in Lacroix, *op. cit.*, p. 462 and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. ii., it has little resemblance to the foregoing descriptions, except in the head-gear of one of the women on horseback on the right-hand centre of 'Gypsies on the March.' The woman in that instance wears a turban. All the women are depicted as wearing long shawls, most of which are striped, and some are fringed, but they are not worn like togas.

In 1764 the Siberian Gypsy women wore striped cloaks, as shown in the engraving contributed by Mr. Yoxall to *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 24, to illustrate his 'Word on Gypsy Costume.'

Jean Brodeau (1500-1563), who was better known by his Latinised name Brodæus, mentions, in vol. viii. of his *Miscellanea*, chapter xvii. (incorporated in Gruter's *Lampas*, published in 1604), that part of the Gypsy dress resembled a Roman toga, and thence argues that the wearers were natives of Wallachia, in which surmise he was nearly if not quite correct. The Rev. Walter Whiter, in his *Etymologicon Magnum*, 1800, also in his *Etymologicon Universale*, vol. i. p. 320, dated 1822, calls attention to this passage which he found quoted by Martinius, under the heading *Cingarus* in his *Lexicon philologicum* (Frankfurt, 1655. Compare *M. Jacob Thomasii Curiöser Tractat von Zigeunern, aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von M. M.*, Dresden und Leipzig, 1702, § 45, 48). Whiter adds, 'The mode in which the Gipsies wear the

¹ Samuel Rid in his *Art of Jugling*, 1612, says that, when the Gypsies appeared in England a century before, Giles Hather was their King, and Kit Calot was their Queen, and Thornbury's *Shakspeare's England* (London, 1856, i. 261) says that in the time of Henry VIII. *Cock Lorel* was their chief and then came *Ratsee*. These names were fictions, or perhaps more correctly traditional and opprobrious nicknames. About 1500 a book was published called *Cock Lorelle's Boat* (of a similar character to the well-known *Ship of Fools*), and in it occurs, 'Yf he call her calat, she calleth hym knave agayne.' In 1532, in More's *Confutation of Tindale in his Workes* (London, 1557), p. 423, col. 2, we find, 'Frere Luther and Cate calate his nunne, lye luskyn together in lechery.' In 1517 Skelton's *Elynour Rummyngye*, 347, gives us 'Than Elynour sayde, ye callettes, I shall breake your pallettes.' Ben Jonson, in his *Masque of the Gypsies*, vi. 79, has 'to set Kit Callot forth in prose or rhyme | or who was Cleopatra for the time' [that is, was Queen of the Egyptians]. In fact, Calot meant a scold or strumpet; and Lorel meant a lewd fellow, and was so used long before in the fourteenth century by Langland, Chaucer, and Wyclif. Whether Ratsee was related to the 'Moon-men,' through the Roman word *Ratt* meaning night, is exceedingly problematical.



Cingara orientale. From Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni* (Venetia, 1590), p. 466.

Cloak or Blanket, which is thrown over their shoulders, is certainly unlike any other mode of wearing a similar covering' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 103; New Series, ii. 162).

It is noteworthy that Borde's printer adorned the chapter on Egypt with a woodcut of a man wearing a cloak toga-fashion, as if it was customary with the Gypsies of that day (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 164-5).

About 1565 the *Gaunerlisten des XVI. Jahrhunderts aus Neuveville* (*Schweitzerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Zwölfter Jahrgang, 1908, Heft 2, p. 135) describes an offender named Marx von Frankfurt, as pretending to be a Moor, with a black face, and wearing a blanket (Dicken) like the Heathen, in which he wrapped himself, and carrying a blunderbuss and musket (see 'Notes and Queries' section of this number).

An important addition to our knowledge of the early Gypsy costume is afforded by Cesare Vecellio, cousin of the great Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), who was the author of an Italian work intituled *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, which was published in two volumes at Venice in 1590, but the Preface is dated 1589. Several editions have been since published with an ever-increasing number of plates, the latest being in two vols., 8vo, Paris, Didot, 1863, with 513 plates. In all the editions one plate is described as 'Cingana orientale ovvero donna errante.' (See facsimile opposite.) It is found at p. 466 of the 1590 edition, and the text annexed to it is mutilated in subsequent editions, for the sake of brevity or because it had been found untrustworthy.¹ It states that this 'Eastern Gypsy or vagabond lady'

¹ Questa è vna sorte di gente, la quale và errando tre giorni in vn luogo, et tre in vn' altro, et non hanno mai luogo permanente, sono Christiane, ma hanno qualche diuersità dalla Fede nostra Cattolica. Il loro Signore, et altri fra loro Nobili s'infarinano la faccia, e tutto il resto del corpo con farina di sandali macinati, et altri odori preciosissimi. Hanno vn Signore, quale dimandano il Rè di Colucut, il quale come Gentile fa adorare il Demonio in vera forma scolpito, et dipinto, dicendo, che sia stato mandato da Dio per far giustitia, se ben credono in Dio anchora. Questo tal Rè hà alcuni Bramini, ouero Sacerdoti, i quali stima assai, et quando esso Rè vuole pigliar moglie, fa che vno di questi Sacerdoti più honorato dorma prima con la sua Sposa, et gli leui la verginità, et poi lo paga di quattrocento, ò cinquecento ducati, dandogli libertà per sempre di poter vsar carnalmente con essa Regina, sotto al cui Regno sono queste sorti di gente. *L'Habito della sopra-posta Cingara è, che porta in capo vna diadema accomodata di legno leggiero, coperta di fasce di tela di molte braccia lunghe.* Vsa camice lauorate di seta, et d'oro di diuersi colori con molta bell' opera, et lunghe quasi fino a' piedi, le quali hanno le maniche larghe, et lauorate con bellissimi riccami, et lauri. Si lega vn manto di panno sopra vna spalla, et se lo fa passare sotto l'altro braccio, et è tanto lungo, che arriua quasi fino à i piedi. I capelli suoi cadono dalla testa sopra le spalle, et con qualche figliuolino sostenuto da qualche fascia legata al collo di essa vanno così vagando.

carries on her head a *diadem* composed of light wood, covered with bands of cloth of many arms' lengths. She wears an embroidered *camice* (chemise) of silk and of gold in divers colours, with much ornamental work, and reaching as far as the feet, with wide sleeves richly worked. A cloth *mantle* rests on one shoulder, and is made to pass beneath the other arm, and is long enough to reach to her feet.' The Cingana's 'diadem' resembles the turban shown in Münster's woodcut (Lacroix, fig. 370), and a more regular form of turban worn (in another of Cesare Vecellio's plates) by the 'Ammiragli, et Consiglieri del Gran Soldano' (Admirals and Counsellors of the Grand Sultan). The swathing of the heads of 'Africani' in another plate resembles that of the girls in the Effiat tapestry, and an 'Ancient lady of Padua,' in another plate, wears a turban almost identical with that worn by what seems to be a Gypsy man, on the left-hand side of Predari's view of Gypsies about 1840 (*vide post*). The rest of Vecellio's description mixes up Gypsies and East Indians very quaintly. He begins by stating that 'this is a sort of people who go wandering three days in one place and three in another, and have no permanent abode. They are Christians, but have some divergences from our Catholic Faith.' He then shunts himself on to another line, by adding, 'Their Signor and others of their Nobles powder the face, and all the rest of their body with powder of crushed sandalwood and other precious odours. They have a Signor, whom they call the King of Colucut (Calicut or Calcutta), who, like the Gentiles, worships the Devil, carved and painted in his true form' (then Vecellio harks back to the Gypsies), 'saying that it has been ordained by God, by way of judgment, though they also believe in God.' This confusion by Vecellio between Gypsies and Indians is one of the earliest instances of attributing an Indian origin to them. Very possibly some Venetian had observed the similarity of the Romany vocabulary to Hindustani words.

In 1580, in the Marches of Ancona, Italy, a decree against the Gypsies mentions *l'abito zingaresco* (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 217), and in 1742 another decree says they stole clothes and linen, and those who protected them gave them blankets or bed-covers (*stuore o coperte*): *ibid.*, pp. 218-19.

In 1841 Predari, in *Origine e vicende dei Zingari*, gave in the third chapter, pp. 83-7, an account of their costume which savours of Grellmann. As to their women he says, 'Their dress consists

only of a bit of linen (*tela*) thrown over their heads, which falls down the body and is bound in front about their thighs' (*legata attorno alle loro cosce*), and in the contemporary illustration (facing p. 91) styled 'Interno di una Capanna [cabin or cottage] di Zingari,' the enigmatic headdress is shown to be folded like a turban, with

Vaghi, e diletteuoli Giardini
DI CINGARESCE
 D A L F O N S O T O S I
 P A D O A N O .

V E N T V R A

Da dare à vna Donna alla finestra.

Da dare sopra della porta.

Da dare, mirando in fronte à Donzelle.

Da dare sopra della mano .

Incontro con altre Cingare.

Risposta all'incontro.



In Bolog. per Bartolomeo Cochi., al Pozzo rosso.

Con licenza de' Superiori. 1611.

two long ends, which fall down the back, and at the waist are brought to the front, and there loosely passed over one another so as not to be in the wearer's way when sitting. It is in this view that a seemingly bearded man wears a striped turban, resembling that of Vecellio's 'Antica donna di Padoua' (*ante*).

The early Gypsies of Italy are believed to have come *viâ* Sicily

from Africa, because they used a *lingua franca* of Arabic and the Sicilian dialect (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 88-9), and there are in Italy peculiar prophetic poems, called *Zingaresche* or *Zingane*, the style of which is believed to be of Gypsy origin. These poems appeared, and were much in vogue, at the beginning of the seventeenth century (*ibid.*, p. 92), and in the printed *Zingaresche*, the directions as to the women's costumes mention in each case a 'head-dress, with bands of cloth (*un concio di capo con pannicelli*), with a blanket wrapped round her, and a gown, *all in the Gypsy style*' (*ibid.*, pp. 160-1). For this information our thanks are due to Signor Lovarini.

A woodcut from one of these *Cingaresche*, dated 1611, accompanies this article, and shows the toga-like cloak and the turban. Possibly the same description appears in a pamphlet intitled *Indovini et miraculi de | alcuni zingani, i quali uanno | dinanzi alcun | cōuito. | Composti per Notturmo napolitano*, which is mentioned in Harris's *Excerpta Columbina*, Paris, Vieweg, 1887, p. 216, and is referred to in Signor Lovarini's articles on *Zingaresche*, p. 161.

The Flemish tapestry (1650-1700) illustrating volume i. of the New Series of our Journal, p. 227, shows Gypsy women wearing bright red cloaks, with a long loose underskirt and a headdress, but the subject of Gypsies as depicted by the Flemish School in the seventeenth century is worthy of a separate article, with some illustrations from pictures and engravings.

PART III

DRESS WORDS IN ROMANY

The earliest known specimen of the language of the Gypsies, given by Dr. Andrew Borde in 1547 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 163-4), does not afford us any word relating to dress.

The next earliest Gypsy vocabulary was one obtained by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), and sent by him to Bonaventura Vulcanius, who published it at Leyden in 1597 in his *De Literis et Lingua Getarum*, etc. French was the medium of communication with the Gypsy. This is evident from the mistaken meaning given to the word *Kascht*. An inquirer asked, 'How would you say *Tu bois* (thou drinkest) in your language?' and the Gypsy thought he was asked for the Romani of *Du bois* (some wood), and promptly

answered *Kascht* (wood), which in the learned fashion of the day is re-translated *tu bibis* (thou drinkest).

This vocabulary contains seven important dress words, namely :—

Bern, 'rota fasciis involuta, quam capiti imponunt mulieres Nubianæ' (a wheel wound round with bands, which the Nubian, *i.e.* Gypsy, women place on the head).

Gad, 'camisia' (chemise).

Hanro, 'ensis' (sword).

Plachta, 'linteus' (cloak or cloth).

Thuochan, 'vestis' (dress).

Tirachan, 'pallium' (cloak).

Yangustri, 'anulus' (ring).

The most interesting of these words is *Bern*. Its Latin interpretation aptly describes a sort of turban, such as is shown by Callot.¹ The Continental Romani words *perrne*, swaddling clothes, and *pcherno*, kerchief, have considerable resemblance to the Hindustani verb *phernā*, to turn or twist, and Pott in *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 358, says *pcherno* resembles the Hindustani *phent'ā*, a small turban.

Plachta is also an interesting word. Pott gives its bibliographical history in *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 368, and Professor Miklosich, in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeuner Mundarten*, p. 14, says it is of Slavonic origin.

Thuochan, without its Latin equivalent, 'vestis,' would have been a puzzle. Its pronunciation and orthography constituted a difficulty to the collector. Its modern equivalent seems to be *choxa*, 'a coat' (Pott, *op. cit.*, ii. 178).

¹ Lacroix, *Manners, etc., of the Middle Ages*, London, gives as frontispiece a facsimile fifteenth-century miniature attributed to Memling, showing 'Queen Sheba before Solomon,' in fifteenth-century costumes, but three of the Queen's female retinue wear turbans, one of which, of blue stuff with double gilt bars at intervals, has a long end falling over the shoulder in front down to the waist, and another of the turbans is closely rolled and has a rich diaper gold pattern on it. The same work at p. 435 (fig. 357), from a miniature in the fifteenth-century MS. *Histoire des Empereurs* at the Arsenal Library, Paris, shows the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem by Heraclius, A.D. 135, and in it the Jewesses wear similar turbans, without long ends; and this is the case also in the plate of 'the Jews' Passover from a Fifteenth-Century Missal,' where the female figure in front wears a long cloak and a turban, hollow in the centre like a wheel (*bern*) or crown, and very like the turban worn by the seated woman in Münster's woodcut of 'Gipsies Fortune-telling,' which will be found at p. 459 (fig. 370) of the same work. The headdress of a mechanic's wife in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as depicted in the windows of the Cathedral of Moulins (Bourbonnais), should also be studied in this connection. It shows a kerchief with one corner hanging over the neck, the front corner gathered back over the head, and the two side corners formed into a quaint knot at the back of the head.

Tirachan, 'pallium,' was a mystery to Pott, and is very like the Hungarian Gypsy word *thalik*, a mantle without sleeves. There is, however, room for a suspicion that *pallium* is a mistake of the same kind as *tu bibis*. The inquirer may have asked for the Romany of *pantalón* (trousers), and the Gypsy may have confused it with *pantoufle* (slipper), for which the Romanies use the Turkish word *c'iarik*, which figures in Anglo-Romany as *triakas*, 'shoes.'

Since the middle of the sixteenth century the Romany spoken in England has been almost entirely isolated from the Romany of the rest of Europe, and the dress words used by English Gypsies have therefore a special historical value, as supplementing our early knowledge derived from Scaliger, and denoting the articles of dress with which the Gypsies of England were familiar prior to that isolation.

In dealing, however, with this branch of the subject it has been thought best not to restrict the vocabulary to the dress words now in use in England, but to exhibit them in conjunction with a general list formed from many continental authorities, with an indication of the source from which the Gypsies annexed them.

The formation of the vocabulary has been ably carried out by our member, Miss A. Marston of Liverpool, and the interesting result is as follows:—

VOCABULARY¹

Apparel.

See 'Wear' and 'Clothes.'

Apron.

INDIAN (deriv.): Hung., Germ.,
čangengeri.

GERMAN: Germ., *fetuxa*.

FRENCH: Germ., *damadira*.

DOUBTFUL (loan-word): Eng., Welsh,
jarjoxa.

Band.

INDIAN: Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Eng., Welsh, Span., *dori*.

Bead.

INDIAN: Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Eng., Welsh, Span., *minriklo*,
etc.

Belt.

?INDIAN: Germ., Span., *prati*.

?PERSIAN: Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Span., *kiustik*.

ENGLISH: Welsh, *buštengeri*.

Blanket.

See 'Cloak.'

Boot.

?OSSETIAN: Gk., *triak*; Hung., Boh.,
Germ., Fin., Scand., Span., *tirax*,
etc.; Eng., *čok*; Welsh, *čioχ*.

SLAVIC: Rum., Boh., Germ., Fin.,
Scand., Eng., Welsh, *škurni*, etc.

See also 'Wear.'

Bracelet.

INDIAN: Gk., Rum., *koro*.

¹ The vocabulary is arranged alphabetically under the English name of the article of clothing. Then the etymological origin of the Romani word is given in capitals, followed by the dialects in which it occurs, and, in italics, by the word itself. Small dialectical differences have been neglected.

Brooch.

See 'Pin.'

Buckle.GREEK : Eng., *klizin* (lit. 'lock').DOUBTFUL : Germ., *gundini*.**Button.**? ARMENIAN : Rum., Hung., Boh.,
Germ., Fin., *kočak*.GREEK : Eng., *krafni* (lit. 'nail').**Cap.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Hung., Boh., Germ.,
šerali.GREEK : Germ., Eng., Welsh, *hufa*.FRENCH : Germ., *buneta*.

See also 'Hat.'

Chain.PERSIAN : Gk., *janjir*.SLAVIC : Rum., Germ., Fin., Scand.,
Eng., Span., *veriga*.**Change.**INDIAN : All dialects, *paruvava* (to
change).INDIAN : (deriv.) : Gk., *paruibe* ;
Eng., *parapen* (change of clothes).**Cloak.**SLAVIC : Gk., *šarga*.SLAVIC : Germ., Eng., Welsh, Span.,
plašta.ITALIAN : Germ. (mantle, covering),
Eng., Welsh (blanket), *kapa*.

See also 'Wear' and 'Mantle.'

Cloth.INDIAN : Rum., Hung., Germ., Fin.,
Span., *tan*.TURKISH : Gk., *yaba* ; Rum., *iabas*.

See also 'Linen.'

Clothes.GREEK : Gk., *yismata* ; Hung., *idya* ;
Eng., Welsh, *iza*.

See also 'Wear.'

Coat.INDIAN (deriv.) : Hung., Fin., *bai-
engeri*. Cp. 'Waistcoat.'DOUBTFUL : Germ., *raẏemi* ; Eng.,
Welsh, *raẏenya*, etc. (trousers) ;
Span., *erajami* (friar's dress).DOUBTFUL : Germ., *ročola*.DOUBTFUL : Germ., *koro*.See also 'Petticoat' (*čoxa*).**Collar.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Hung., *meneskero* ;
Eng., *menengro* ; Welsh, *menakeri*.**Comb.**INDIAN : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Eng., Welsh, *kangli*.DOUBTFUL : Rum., *nanari*.**Drawers.**

See 'Trousers.'

Ear-ring.? INDIAN : Asiat., Gk., Hung., *čeni*.? INDIAN : Fin., *anglo* ; Eng., Welsh,
vangli.INDIAN (deriv.) : Germ., Eng., Welsh,
kanengri.**Feather.**INDIAN : Rum., Hung., Germ., Fin.,
Scand., Eng., Welsh, Span., *por*.**Fur.**INDIAN : Rum., Hung., Germ., Fin.,
Scand., Span., *poštín*.**Glove.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Germ., *vasteskero*.INDIAN (deriv.) : Eng., *vongšengri*.ITALIAN : Germ., Fin., Eng., *forlotsi*,
etc.**Gown.**SLAVIC : Eng., Welsh, *šuba*.**Handkerchief.**

See 'Kerchief.'

Hat.GREEK : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Scand., Eng., Welsh, *stadi*,
etc. ; Span., *estače*.**Jacket.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Germ., *musiengro*.SLAVIC (deriv.) : Germ., *trupeskero*.**Kerchief.**INDIAN : Asiat., Gk., Rum., Hung.,
Germ., Fin., Scand., Eng., Welsh,
Span., *diklo*.? INDIAN : Boh., *p'erno*.INDIAN (deriv.) : Gk., Rum., *kozno*.INDIAN (comp.) : Eng., *baro diklo*
(shawl).INDIAN (comp.) : Eng., *pong-dišlar*,
poš-nekus.? SLAVIC : Eng., *paningoša*.**Lace.**ENGLISH : Welsh, *ejina*.**Leather.**ARMENIAN : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Eng., Welsh, Span., *morti*, etc.**Leggings.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Germ., Eng., Welsh,
herengri.**Linen.**INDIAN : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Scand., Eng., Welsh, Span.,
poxtan, etc.INDIAN : Gk., *pata*, *patave* (pl.).See also 'Stocking,' 'Swaddling-
clothes.'

Mantle (sleeveless).ARMENIAN : Rum., Hung., Boh., *t'alik*.**Muslin.**GERMAN : Germ., *muzelina*.**Petticoat.**SLAVIC : Germ., Fin., Scand., Eng.,
Welsh, *ëoxa* ; Span., *ëoxindia*.**Pin.**FRENCH : Eng., *spinga*.**Pocket.**INDIAN : Rum., Hung., Germ., Fin.,
Scand., Eng., Welsh, *positi*, etc. ;
Span., *potosia* (purse).SLAVIC : Gk., *boška*.**Purse.**ARABIC : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Eng., Span., *kisi*.

See also 'Tie.'

Rag.INDIAN : Gk., *čandi*.SLAVIC : Gk., *kirpa*.DOUBTFUL : Germ., *petaso*.**Ribbon.**

See 'Band.'

Ring.INDIAN : Asiat., Gk., Rum., Hung.,
Germ., Fin., Scand., Welsh, Span.,
angustri, etc.DOUBTFUL : Span., *čaneo*.**Sandal.**SLAVIC : Gk., Rum., *červuli*.**Shawl.**PERSIAN : Gk., *kalavo*.

See also 'Kerchief.'

Shirt.?INDIAN : ? Asiat., *g'aili* ; Gk., Rum.,
Hung., Germ., Fin., Scand., Eng.,
Welsh, Span., *gad*.DOUBTFUL : Gk., *salavo*.**Shoe.**

See 'Boot.'

Silk.INDIAN : Hung., Boh., Germ., Fin.,
Eng., Welsh, *p'ar*.PERSIAN : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Eng., *keš*.**Sleeve.**INDIAN : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Fin., Eng., Span., *bai*.**Stays.**SLAVIC (deriv.) : Eng., *trupi*.**Stocking.**INDIAN : Hung., Boh., Germ., Fin.,
patavo, etc. (lit. 'linen swathings').INDIAN (deriv.) : Germ., *teleni*.SLAVIC : Rum., Hung., Germ., Fin.,
Scand., Eng., Welsh, *χolor*, etc. ;
Span., *olibias* (pl.).SLAVIC : Germ., *panëoxa*.**String.**

See 'Band.'

Swaddling Clothes.INDIAN : Gk. *patave*. Cp. 'Linen,'
'Stocking.'INDIAN : Germ., *parne*.**Tie.**INDIAN : All dialects, *pandava* (to
tie).INDIAN (deriv.) : Gk., Hung., *bandipe*,
etc. (tie, band).INDIAN (deriv.) : Gk., *banli* (purse).**Trousers.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Eng., Welsh, *bul-
engeri*.GREEK : Gk., Rum., Hung., *sosten*.GREEK : Gk., *dimi*.GREEK : Gk., *karavana*.GREEK : Rum., Eng., *kaltsa*.ENGLISH : Eng., *brogies*.See also 'Coat' (*raxenya*).**Waistcoat.**INDIAN (deriv.) : Eng., Welsh, *bai-
engeri*.

See also 'Coat.'

Wear.INDIAN : Gk., Rum., Hung., Germ.,
Eng., Welsh, *uriava*, *rivava* (to
wear).INDIAN (deriv.) : Gk., Boh., Germ.,
Eng., Welsh, *uriabe*, *riviben*, etc.
(apparel).INDIAN (deriv.) : Gk., *uridipe* (cloak).INDIAN (deriv.) : Gk., *uridino* (shoe).**Wool.**PERSIAN : Asiat., Gk., Rum., Hung.,
Germ., Fin., Eng., Welsh, *pošum*,
etc.

The nett result of this examination of historical and other records is that when the Gypsies, about 1417, first began their westerly wandering from the south-eastern parts of Europe their costume was in no way remarkable, being mainly that of ragged

vagabonds, but, to accord with the tales of their alleged Egyptian origin, the Gypsies very soon dressed themselves up in a semi-oriental turban and a toga-like cloak as a distinctive costume for the women, if not for the men, for state occasions. Ordinarily they still went about in whatever clothes of the country they could beg, borrow, or steal, giving a preference to those which, however dilapidated, were bright coloured, and otherwise extravagant-looking and showy.

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V.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 7. *Ī DEŠŪTŌ ŠŌŠŌIÁ*

This story, taken down from Matthew Wood at Tal-y-Llyn in the summer of 1895, is transcribed from a note-book half filled with examples of Welsh Romani heard from the harpist Edward Wood in the previous year. And glancing again at these early notes, emphasised by marks of admiration and quadruple underlinings, recalls something of the first glow of enthusiasm which I felt on meeting with this miraculously preserved dialect. Of what stuff must have been fashioned Abram Wood, that 'reputed King of the Gypsies,' who came from Frome in Somerset, that he should have handed down to his descendants a love for the old language which has kept it intact to the present day, and may well maintain it as mother speech for generations to come. Here was deep Romani beyond my wildest dreams! Scotch Tinkler-Gypsy, I knew, had for over a century been merely a jargon, and Anglo-Romani—well! a fairly wide acquaintance with the elder and younger English Gypsies had long destroyed any hope of meeting with pure Romnimus in these islands. The last word, I thought, had been spoken by Wester, and, except for the chance discovery here and there of a few unrecorded *lavs*, there seemed little to be gleaned by students of the language. True, Groome had published specimens of Welsh Gypsy extracted from the letters of John Roberts, but I imagined that the venerable harpist, like Wester himself, must have been a sole survivor, a sort of Romany Dolly Pentreath, the last speaker of the Celtic speech of my Cornish ancestors. And yet here was Edward beside me, unconcernedly discoursing in a dialect hardly less perfect than that of the Tchinghianés, from which it must have separated at least four centuries before.

'Then felt I like some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken.'

Borrow's Gypsy dream had come true, and I was listening to the language of two or three hundred years ago.

Confining myself merely to the notes here referred to, probably the jottings of a single afternoon, I find not a few words and modes of expression which may be as novel to students of English Gypsy as they then were to myself:—*Ganī*, 'embrace'—Zippel's *ganni*, 'lap' (Pott. ii. 136)—a word which Edward referred to as 'most endearing,' and exemplified by the sentence *sutīās 'rē mī ganī*, 'she slept in my arms,' is of course Paspatis's *angáli*, Modern Greek *ἀγκαλία*. Another Greek

loan-word is *mūra*, 'berry,' pl. *mūrī* (Pott. ii. 451), used by the Welsh Gypsies in place of *drilyd*. I heard for the first time *kóia* (f.) beside *kova* (m.), 'thing,' in the phrase *čurī kóia*, 'poor creature'; *hūīmen*, 'befouled,' from *kul* (i.e. *kful*) with the Greek suffix *-μενος*; *χómē*—not to be confused with *komī*, 'more'—an exclamation expressing ironic agreement, probably = *χά μῆ*, 'I eat it' (cp. English 'I can't swallow that'); Armenian *čikát*, 'forehead' (Pott, ii. 177), and Tatar *mānzín*, 'riches'; *siknō*, 'dejected,' 'depressed'—*siknō mūrī sī 'dolātī*, 'she has [illi est] a downcast face.' The last word, defined 'bas,' 'humilis,' occurs also in the Greek dialect, where, however, according to Paspatis, p. 478, it is almost always found 'in conjunction with *vudár* for 'low door' or 'window.' Loan-words in ordinary use are *melanō-ī*, 'yellow,' from Welsh 'melyn'; *χοχος*, 'ham shank,' in *χοχος t'ā bobī*, 'bacon and beans,' also from the Welsh; *bunēla*, 'cider' (? French *prunelle*); *kēr akt*, 'be careful,' cp. German 'Acht geben.' I find here also in the saying *kūr'la pes ī čibésa*, 'she fights with her tongue,' the idiomatic use of *kūr* with the reflexive pronoun in the sense of 'to fight,' to which I referred in my note to *Dūī Xārī t'ā Poš Xāra*. New to me then in British Romani were many inflections and usages of familiar words, such as *čičěskī*, 'gratuitously,' *tačimáskī*, 'for truth's sake,' and *komónī* in the sense of 'somewhere,' 'anywhere,' as well as 'person.' So, too, were many verbal forms, especially the imperfect, often serving as present conditional, as in the sentences:—*te 'velas 'kaia ridentī oprē, dikēlas rinkēnī juvél*, 'if she [haec] were dressed up, she would look a beautiful woman'; *te 'vos me 'káia juvél, drūkerós les—prašós leskē lovésa*, 'if I were this woman I would predict his fortune—I would run away with his money'; *te 'vos maia te jav oddoi, denas čumónī maḡī*, 'if I were to go there they would give me something'; *kūrós dūī, 'já sār tumē, t'ā komī tūmensa*, 'I would fight two like ye, and more with ye.'

A few of his sentences have a certain autobiographical interest, e.g. '*Jā siklō šomas te šundv mō dad te rakerél romimūs, kana šomas tarnō, te n'asis bišteráva les. Rakerēlas romimūs mansa sákon divés*, 'I was so accustomed to hear my father talk Gypsy when I was young, that I can't forget it. He used to talk Gypsy to me every day'; *Kai šomas tarnō mī čurī dai prečēlas man oprē, t'ā čivēlas man top lakī čoy, t'ā p'enēlas maḡī* "Na mus te p'enés *χοχiben*, t'ā na mus te čorés čī: ū bey čivēla sákon-čumónī te dikēl rinkēnodēr," 'When I was a child my poor mother used to take me up and put me on her knee, and say to me, "Thou must not tell a lie, and thou must not steal anything: the devil puts everything [i.e. presents every sin in such a light] that it seems fairer [than it really is]"; *Mirō dad t'ā John Robertséskī dai siménsi sas-lē. John Robertséskī romnī t'ā mara šam siménsi tái. Lakō dad t'ā mūrō sas p'alā*, 'My father and John Roberts' mother were cousins. John Roberts' wife and I myself are cousins too. Her father and mine were brothers.'

Others show Wood the fisherman:—"Sār 'viás kī tī por?" "Viás burnek," 'How did it [the fish] take your fly?' [literally, 'come to thy feather']. 'It came with a rush' [literally, 'handful']; *Tildóm yekī: oxtiás vavēr*, 'I caught one [and] another rose.' The Welsh Gypsies, I should observe, always use *tīl* in the sense of 'to catch' a fish or animal.

In narrating this story Matthew Wood vacillated between ten and eighteen as the number of rabbits, perhaps prejudiced in favour of the somewhat rare word *dešūtō*. The true number of hares may have been twelve, as in Dasent's 'Osborn's Pipe.' Commenting on the abstract of this *Märchen*, supplied by me to Groome for his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, he refers to it as a very imperfect story. Doubtless, judged merely by its points as a folk-tale, *Ī Dešūtō Sošoiā* has not much to recommend it, but it is pleasantly told in excellent Romani. The two catchwords, beginning *Okē java me 'kanā* and *Akē mē java oprē*, in which Matthew genially claims relationship with the persons of the story, may be compared with the same device of the storyteller in Kopernicki's tale, 'The Brigands and the Miller's

Daughter' (*J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 279, 280):—"Leaving this brigand in the meantime, let us pass to the dead ones"; 'Let us now leave the dogs, and pass on to the girl.' Pleasant Gypsy touches, too, are the old woman's fortune-telling, and the purely extraneous episode of the hedgehog dinner, a delicacy, it may be remarked, which is strictly taboo in summer. Matthew again apparently *bišterdās pes ō lav*.

Ī DEŠŪTŌ ŠOŠOIĀ

BITA *kēr top ī mūra. 'Dōī sas bita pūrī tā trin čavé. Yek čavō sas dinilō. Ō dinilō sas ō tārnedēr pāl.*

Yek divés xoč'ō puredēr pāl peskī dakī, "Java mē te dikā mī jivimāskī. Čī na kerāva mē 'kai. Kēr maņī mariklī." "Kon lesa," xoč'ī purī, "bārī mariklī tā basavibén¹ aré latī, ō bita mariklī tā kuškibén² 'rē latī?" "Kēr maņī bārī mariklī tā basavibén aré latī."

Ī purī kel ī mariklī. 'Yas ō čavō ī mariklī tā g'as peskī, tā top ō drom sas-lō bārī hwāila. 'Vīās te l'atīās bārī stīga, tā 'dōī sas raikanō drom, tā jalas opré ke bārī filišīn. Piradās ī stīga tā 'prē g'as.

Gyas ke filišīn tā kūrdās ō gudār. Ak'ō purō rai 'vela 'vrī. "Sō wontsésa tū?" "Wontsáva mē čumónī te kerā." "Sō kesa tū?" xoč'ō rai. "Kerāva mē čumónī." "Jā talé 'dōī tā jā ke 'dova hudār. Pīrá les, tā jā aré te les čumónī te xos." T'ā g'as anré tā beštās talé.

Ak'ī xobenāskerī 'vela. P'učtās lestē: "Anī kamésa les³ lovína?" Aua," xoč'ō mūrš. 'Vīās ī xobenāskerī, tā bārō koro lovína, tā

THE EIGHTEEN RABBITS

A little house on the hill. A little old woman and her three sons lived there. One son was a fool. He was the youngest brother.

Quoth the eldest brother to his mother one day, "I will go to seek my fortune. I am doing nothing here. Make me a cake." "Which wilt thou have," quoth the old woman, "a big cake and a curse in it, or a little cake and a blessing in it?" "Make me a big cake and a curse in it."

The old woman made the cake. The son took the cake and went away, and he was on the road a long while. At last he found a big gate and a fine road leading up to a great castle. He opened the gate and went up the road.

He went to the castle and knocked at the door. Now the old master came out. "What dost thou want?" "I want something to do." "What canst thou do?" quoth the master. "I'll do anything." "Go down to that door. Open it, go in and get something to eat." And he went in and sat down.

Now the cook came. She asked him, "Wouldst thou like some ale?" "Yes,"

¹ *basavibén*] lit. "evil."

² *kuškibén*] lit. "good."

³ *kamésa les*] for *kamésa te les*, lit. "wouldst like that thou gettest?"

*dosta mas tā mārō, tā tatē-mosk'rī.*¹ *Bokālō sas-lō; xoiās sār bālō.*

*Ak'ō pūrō rai 'vela, tā rakerdās lesa. "Ši man dešūtō*² *šošiā, tā wontsāva tut te dikés pala lendī, tā ne te*³ *našavés yek. Kalikō mus te jes lensa talé aré i pūvyā."*

*Aré 'sarla 'yas ō mūrš peskō xobén tā 'vrī g'as. Ō pūrō rai 'vīās kī yov. "Av akāi maŋī te pēnā tukī." P'urdīās rūpanō kova.*⁴ *Ak'ō šošiā 'vena kī yov. "Akēkón!*⁵ *tā—dikésa i pūvyā talé okōī?—ač odōī, postē lesa tō xobén, tā av keré akyátakya*⁶ *ōra. Odōī sī dešūtō lendē.*⁷ *Te-nī andésa tū sār pālē aré peŋō ginībén, tō šērō 'vel čindalót."*

*Ak'ō mūrš jala peskī f'ō šošiā lesa. 'Vīās kī 'kala pūvyā tā l'atīās bita wella. Beštās talé pošē latī. Čidās peskī kušnī talé, tā šošiā gilē peŋī, yek akāi tā yek okōī. Beštās te tūvyerēl peskī swedla, tā pala-sō*⁸ *kedās te tūvyerēl jala te xol. Piradās i tušnī.*⁹ *Ak'ō xola, tā bita pūrī 'vela kī yō. "Dē man bita," xoč'i pūrī. "Nā mē! Nāi man kek; bita dosta ši-lō*¹⁰ *mī kokorēskī."* *Gīās peskī pūrī palāl.*

quoth he. The cook came back with a great tankard of ale, and plenty of meat and bread and mustard. He was hungry; he ate like a pig.

The old master came and spake with him. "I have eighteen rabbits. And I want thee to look after them and not lose one. To-morrow thou must go with them down to the fields."

In the morning the lad had his breakfast and went out. The old master came to him. "Come hither to me that I may speak to thee." He blew a silver whistle. Lo! the rabbits came to him. "There they are! and—thou seest the fields down there?—stay there until thou hast had thy dinner, and come home at such and such a time. There are eighteen of them. An thou bring not back the full count, thy head shall be cut off."

Now the lad set off with the rabbits. He came to the fields, and found a little well. He sat down beside it. He put his basket down and the rabbits strayed, one hither and another thither. He sat down to smoke his pipe, and when he had done smoking he thought he would eat. He opened the basket. Now he was eating, and a little old woman came to him. "Give me a morsel," quoth the old woman. "Not I! there would be none for me; there is little enough for myself." The old woman went away then.

¹ *tatē-mosk'rī*] gen. of *tato mūi*, lit. "[thing] of the hot mouth," cp. *moskerō*, "policeman," lit. "he of the gab."

² *dešūtō*] contraction for *deš ū ōitō*.

³ *ne te*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 58, note 5.

⁴ *rūpanō kova*] lit. "silver thing." Cp. p. 238, note 1.

⁵ *akēkón*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 267, note 2.

⁶ *akyátakya*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 155, note 4.

⁷ *lendē*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 146, note 3.

⁸ *pala-sō*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 27, note 2, and ii. 56, note 4.

⁹ *tušnī*]. Cp. above *kušnī*. Both forms are used indifferently by the same speaker, the latter perhaps being the commoner of the two.

¹⁰ *ši-lō*] the enclitic pronoun masc., apparently to agree with [*xobén*] understood.

Ratf' vīas 'kanā. Sas les te lel ō šošoiā kī filiśín. Ak'ō 'čela 'prē 'kanā. Jala te r'ōdēl ī šošoiēŋi. L'atīās dūi trīn, ɣanavēlas ō šērō, tā kana jalas oprē ī pūvyā tā 'vīas ke filiśín ō dūi trīn šošoiā sī lesa.

Ak'ō pūrō rāi 'vela 'vrī. Ginéla¹ šošoiā. Dikās te na ses ō poš kek odōi. G'as ō pūrō rāi pālē 'drē filiśín, tā yov 'čelas avrī. T'andīās ō pūrō rāi bārī čurī, tā čindīās leskō šērō, tā čidās leskō šērō top ī stīga.

Okē java mē 'kanā kī mī vaver dūi pālā!

P'endās ō vaver čavō peskī dakī. "Java mē te dikā mī jivimāskī. Junā mē te mō pāl kela mistō komóni. Kēr maŋi mariklī, dáia." "Kon lesa, anī² lesa bārī mariklī tā basavibén lesa, ō bita yek tā kuškibén 'rē latī?" "Lava mē bārī yek, dáia."

Ak'ō jalóp'skī top ō drom, tā 'vīas ke 'káia bārī stīga, tā dikās oprē. Dikās peskō pāléskō šērō. Piradās ī stīga tā 'rol g'as, tā 'vīas ke filiśín. Sār sas³ kedō k'ō puredēr pāl, oǵā 'vela lestī kedō. Andīās ō pūrō rāi bārī čurī, tā čindās leskō šērō talē, tā rigerdās les talē k'ī stīga, tā čidās les top ī vaver stīgiákō rig.

Okē dūi šērē sī 'dōi, yek 'káia rig, tā yek 'kóia rig.

Now night came on. He must take the rabbits to the castle. He got up. He went to seek for the rabbits. He found two or three, he scratched his head, and when he went up the fields and came to the castle he had only two or three rabbits with him.

The old master came out. He counted the rabbits. He saw that not half of them were there. The old master went back into the castle, and the lad waited without. The old master brought a big knife and cut his head off, and set it on the gate.

Now I will turn to my two other brothers.

The second son said to his mother, "I will go to seek my fortune. I know that my brother is doing well somewhere. Make me a cake, mother." "Which wilt thou choose? Wilt thou have a big cake and a curse with it, or a little cake and a blessing in it?" "I'll take the big one, mother."

Now he went away on the road, and he came to this great gate and looked up. He saw his brother's head. He opened the gate and went through and came to the castle. As all had happened to the eldest brother, so it happened to him. The old master brought a big knife, and cut his head off, and carried it down to the gate, and set it on the other side of the gate.

Behold two heads there! one on this side, and one on that.

¹ *ginéla*]. We find in this story the form *gináva* beside the denominatives *gineráva* and *ginyeráva*.

² *anī*]. In W. Rom. *anī* at the beginning of a sentence commonly serves merely to introduce a question which may be answered either in the negative or affirmative. Instead of, as here, *anī* . . . *ō*="whether . . . or" (Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 150, note 8) one hears also the preferable correlative use *anī* . . . *anī*.

³ *sār sas*] for *sār te sas*.

Akē mē java opré k'ō kēr, tā 'dói ses mī čurī dái bešélas¹ talé, tā mō p'al sas avrī te kedél kušī košt peskī dakī.

P'endás peskī dakī 'kaná te wontsélas te jal te dikél peskī jivimáskī. "Juná mē te mī dūī p'alá kena kuškō jiviben kumónī. Kēr maṇī mariklt, dáia." "Kái wontséla tū te jes? Ač kēr! Te jesa tū top ō drom, 'vela 'kái kek mansa te len kušī košt nā čī." "Kēr maṇī mariklt!" "Kon lesa, bārī mariklt t'ō basavibén aré latī, ō ī bita mariklt t'ō kuškibén aré latī?" "Lava mē bita yek kuškibenésa, dáia." "Já tā lē maṇī pānī aré 'kóia siva."²

'Yas ō Jak ī siva tā g'as k'ō pānī, tā 'dói 'viás bita lolō čeriklō³ kī yō. P'ukadás ō bita lolō čeriklō ī Jakéskī te čivél patrinyá tā čik aré siva. T'ā 'já kedás, tā 'yas ī siva p'ardō pānī, tā g'as lesa aré ō kēr ī dakī.

Ak'ī dái kela ī bita mariklt. Kedás ī mariklt. "Juná mē kek sō⁴ wontséla tū te jes tukī, tā máia akái mī kokorī!" "Java mē, dái. Sō keráva mē 'kái? Mī dūī p'alá gílē. Java máia."⁵

Gíás peskī p'ō drom postē ses-lō kīnō. L'atīás 'káia stīga. Dikás opré, tā dikás peskē dūī p'aléṇē šērē. Sanīás top lendī. T'ā 'dói sas-lō čirrla,⁶ tā salas top lendī. Učérélas bārā postē ses-lō

Now I will go up to the house. And there was my mother sitting down. And my brother was out gathering a little wood for his mother.

He said to his mother now that he wanted to go to seek his fortune. "I know that my two brothers are making a good living somewhere. Make me a cake, mother." "Where wouldst thou go? Stop at home! If thou goest on the road, there will be none here with me to fetch a little wood, nor aught else." "Make me a cake." "Which wilt thou have, the big cake and the curse in it, or the little cake and the blessing in it?" "I will have the little one with the blessing, mother." "Go, get water for me in yon sieve."

Jack took the sieve and went to the water, and there a little red bird came to him. The little red bird told Jack to put leaves and clay in the sieve. And he did so, and got the sieve full of water, and went with it into the house to his mother.

Lo! the mother was making the little cake. She finished it. "I know not why thou desirest to go away, and I here alone." "I will go, mother. What should I do here? My two brothers have gone. I will go too."

He journeyed along the road till he was tired. He found this gate. He looked up and saw the heads of his two brothers. He laughed at them. And there he was for a long while mocking them. He threw stones until he was

¹ *bešélas*] for *te bešélas*.

² *siva*] English "sieve."

³ Here, as in the story of *Ō Grīnō Mūrš* (*J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 268), the "little red bird" is of course the robin.

⁴ *sō*] for *soskē*, a usage met with also in other dialects. Cp. Paspatis, p. 480, where *sō* occurs in place of *sostar*.

⁵ *máia*]. Note the emphatic force of *máia*. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 267, note 4.

⁶ *čirrla*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 261, note 3.

kinō. “*Sō kēna ’dōi, dūi dīnīlē?*” *Akēkō pīravēla stīga, tā jala ’prē ō drom ’kanā*. *Sas les kek stādī top ō šērō tā kek čioχā*.

’Vīās oprē ke filišīn. *T’ō pūrō rāi tā pūrī rānī tā tārnī rānī, ō trin bešēnas ke χestīār*. *T’ī tārnī rānī dikās top akāla¹ mūršēstī te ’velas oprē ke filišīn, tā sanīās top lestī*.

Ak’ō mūrš ’vela k’ō gudār, tā pūrō rāi jala avrī kī yō. “*Sō wonsésa tū?*” “*Sār junā mē? Čumónī te desa man*.” “*Savī būtī kesa tū?*” “*Keráva mē čumónī*.” *Bičerdās les ke vavér hudār, tā kārđās les aré*. *Čidās les te bešél talé*. *P’uētās lestē anī wonsélas χobén*. “*Aua,*” *χočē*. *Andilē dosta χobén leskī tā dosta te pīél*. *P’urō rāi rakerēlas lesa*. *G’as ō pūrō rāi, tā muktās les, t’andīās pūrē izā leskī, tā pēndās leskī te jal te čōvél pes tā te mōravél pes*. “*Čī ’kala īza top tutī pala-sō kedán*.” *G’as ō mūrš tā tōdīās pes, tā mōradās pes, tā anjerdās pes, tā ridīās pes aré ī nēvē īza*.

Ak’ō jala ’vrī te pīr’la trušul ō tan. *Ō pūrō rāi ’vīās avrī kī yō, tā rakerél lesa*. *Pala-sō kedē te rakerén, g’as ō rāi te lel ō šošoiā avrī, te sikavél len ī Jakéskī, tā te ginél len te junél kisī sī ’dōi*. *Xoč’ō pūrō rāi “Jā lensa kalikó talé aré ’kola pūvyā. Mā našā yekī. Mīrō giniben sī ’rē ō līl mansa*.”

’Sarla ’vīās. Ak’ō pūrō rāi avrī, tā kārđās² ī šošoiā. P’ūrdīās

tired. “What are ye doing there, ye two fools?” Then he opened the gate and went up the road. He had no hat and no boots on.

He came up to the castle. And the old master, and the old mistress, and the young mistress, the three were sitting at the window. And the young lady looked upon this man who was coming up to the castle, and she smiled at him.

He came to the door, and the old master went out to him. “What dost thou want?” “How do I know? Anything thou wilt give me.” “What work canst thou do?” “I’ll do anything.” He sent him to the other door and called him in. He made him sit down. He asked whether he wanted supper. “Yes,” quoth he. They brought him plenty to eat and plenty to drink. The old master went on talking to him. Then he went away and brought some old clothes for him, and told him to go wash and shave himself. “Put these clothes on when thou hast done.” The lad went and washed and shaved, and undressed himself and clad himself in the new garments.

Then he went out to walk about the place. The old master came out and spoke with him. After they had done talking, the master went to get the rabbits out to show Jack, and to count them, that he might know how many there were. Quoth he, “Go down with them to-morrow into yonder fields. Do not lose one. I have the count in the book with me.”

Morning came. The old master was out calling the rabbits. He blew on the

¹ *akāla*]. Obl. of *akáva* before prepositional. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 260, note 4, and ii. 57, note 1.

² *kārđās*] *kāráva*, like the greater number of verb stems in *-r*, forms past-part. and preterite in *-dīnō, dīóm*, etc., beside the simpler forms in *-dō* and *-dóm*.

ī rūpanē koiāsa,¹ *t'ī šošoiā 'vīē sār pošē leskē pīrē.* “*Akēkón, Jak. Okē tō xobén okōī. Já tukī talē 'kaná, tū av tū 'prē 'kataka 'kataka ōra.*”

Jak jalóp'skī talē. T'ā 'vīās kī 'káia bita wella tā beštás talē. T'ā tatō ō līlái. Ō šošoiā gilē 'kói tū 'kái. Sutīās ō Jak. Kana sig jaṇadās te lel ċumónī te xol. Piradās ī tušnī tū ak'ō xola.

Ak'ī bita pūri 'vela kī yov. “Dē man bita, Jak. Bokālī šom mē.” “Aua, beš talē, xā, okē dosta 'dói tukī!” Xoiās ī pūrt peskī pērr pārdī. “Jā tukī 'kaná, Jak, 'kái kamésa; dikāva mē palál ō šošoiā. Av pālē bita mankē² rat.”

G'as peskī Jak te r'ōdél určēyī. L'atīās bārō yelē, mārdās les tū mōradās les. Kedās yog, tū pekdās les, tū xoiās les.

Ak'ō 'vela pālē 'kaná k'ī pūri. Ō ċēros sas leskī te jal te filišín. Diās ī pūrt ī Jakéskī rūpanī koiā. “P'urdē 'kaiā, Jak.” 'Yas lā Jak tū pūrdiās lā. Sō keka³ pūrdiās lā, ak'ō šošoiā 'vena sār trušul leskē pīrē. Ginerdās len. Odói sas-lē sār. “Jak, and tū bita xobén maṇī kalikó.” “Aua,” xoč'ō Jak. K'erē 'kaná jala Jak ī šošoiēnsa.

Ak'ō trin 'kaná 'vena 'vrī, t'ō pūro rái ginerdās len te dikél sas-lē sār 'dōī. “Aua,” xoč'ō pūro rái, “akái ši-lē sār. Já 'rē kēr, Jak, te les xobén.” Akāva pūro rái rakeréla peskē juviāsa. “'Kava mūrš kela meṇī.” “Aua,” xoč'ī ránī. T'ō Jak g'as arē

silver whistle, and the rabbits all came to his feet. “Here they are, Jack! Yonder is thy dinner. Go down now, and come up at such and such a time.”

Jack went away. And he came to this little well, and he sat down. The summer was hot. And the rabbits strayed hither and thither. Jack fell asleep. Presently he awoke to get something to eat. He opened the basket and began to eat.

Lo! the little old woman came to him. “Give me a morsel, Jack. I am hungry.” “Yes, sit down and eat; there is plenty for thee.” The old woman ate her bellyful. “Now, Jack, go whithersoever thou mayest wish, I will look after the rabbits. Come back a little before nightfall.”

Jack went off to hunt for hedgehogs. He found a large one, he killed it and skinned it. He made a fire, and cooked and ate it.

Now he came back to the old woman. It was time for him to return to the castle. The old woman gave Jack a silver whistle. “Blow this, Jack.” Jack took it and blew. As soon as he had blown it, lo! all the rabbits came about his feet. He counted them. They were all there. “Jack, bring a morsel of food for me to-morrow.” “Yes,” quoth Jack. Then he went home with the rabbits.

Now the three came out, and the old master counted them to see that all were there. “Yes,” quoth the old master, “they are all here. Go into the house, Jack, and get thy supper.” The old master talked with his wife. “This fellow

¹ *rūpanē koiāsa*]. Here, and later, fem., not as above, masc.

² *mankē*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 267, note 1.

³ *keka*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 259, note 3.

te lel peskō xobén. Ō trin rakerénas trušul lestī. “Jesa pápalé, Jak, 'rē ī 'sarla?” “Áua mē!” xoč'ō Jak.

'Prē 'čas Jak aré ī 'sarla te užerél sár leŋī čioχá. 'Prē 'čas ō pūrō rái tā 'vrī gías. “'Yan tō xobén, Jak?” “Ná, 'yom les mē kek.” “Já tā lē les. Wontsáva tukī te jes talé ī šošoiénsa.” “Áua, java mē talé 'kaná.” “Tō xobén sī 'rē ī tušnī, Jak.”

Ak'ō rái pūrdiás top ī rūpanī koia, č'ī šošoiá 'vilé trušul leskē pīrē. “Akái ši-lé sár?” pūktás ō Jak. “Ginyer len,” xoč'ō rái ī Jakéskī. Ginyerdás len ō Jak. “Áua, ráia, akái ši-lé sár.”

Jalóp'skī šošoiénsa talé ī pūvyā. T'ā 'dóí sas ī bita pūrī te bešélas talé. Ō Jak diás ī tušnī ī pūrdiákī. “'Dóí sī dosta xobén aré tušnī. Wontsáva mē bita bita,” xoč'ō Jak. “Já tukī 'kaná, Jak, kái kamésa. Av pālē bita mankē rat.”

Gías ō Jak dūr dosta trušul ī pūvyā postē sas-lō kīnó. Ak'ō 'vela pālē k'ī pūrī. “Bokaló šan, Jak?” xoč'ī pūrī. “Ná,” xoč'ō Jak. “Okē xobén aré tušnī te wontsésa bita.”

Xoč'ī pūrī Jakéskī 'kaná, “Dikésa ī tārni ránī opré ō drom te wontsēla te rakerél tusa. Odoiá 'vela tīrī romnī, Jak. And maŋī bita xobén tā mā bišter man.” Jak pūrdiás ī rūpavī¹ kóia 'kaná, tā ō šošoiá 'vilé sár. Ses 'dóí ne te yelē našadé.

Ak'ō Jak jala kéré tā g'as opré ō drom bita bita. Dikás ī tārni ránī ī guruvénsa. T'ō Jak kedás peskī čoy² lakī. Sanias

will do for us.” “Yes,” quoth the lady. And Jack went in to get his supper. The three of them talked about him. “Wilt go again in the morning, Jack?” “Yes,” quoth Jack, “I will.”

In the morning Jack got up to clean all their boots. The old master got up and went out. “Hast had thy breakfast, Jack?” “No, I've not had it.” “Go, get it. I wish thee to go down with the rabbits.” “Yes, I'll go now.” “Thy dinner is in the basket, Jack.”

The master blew on the silver whistle, and the rabbits came about his feet. “Are they all here?” asked Jack. “Count them,” quoth the master to Jack. Jack counted them: “Yes, sir, they are all here.”

He went off down the fields with the rabbits. And there was the little old woman sitting down. Jack gave the basket to the old woman. “There is plenty of food in the basket. I want very little,” quoth Jack. “Now, Jack, go whither-soever thou mayst wish. Come back a little before nightfall.”

Jack went a long way over the fields till he was tired. He came back to the old woman. “Art hungry, Jack?” quoth she. “No,” quoth Jack. “There is food in the basket, if thou shouldst want a little.”

Quoth the old woman now to Jack, “Thou wilt see the young lady on the road, and she will wish to speak to thee. That girl will be thy wife, Jack. Bring me a morsel of food; do not forget me.” Jack blew the silver whistle, and all the rabbits came. There was not one missing.

Now Jack was returning home, and had gone a very little way along the road.

¹ rūpavī]. W. Rom. has rūpavō beside rūpanō.

² čoy] keráva čoy, “to bow or curtsy,” lit. “to make a knee.”

ī rānī top lestī. Ō dūī rakerdē kitanés. Kedē 'prē kitanés te romerén.

"Mā tū pen Jak mīrē dadéskī, na wonsáva mē kek les te junél. Jasa meŋī, mē tā tū, bārē gavéstī te romerás. Jasa meŋī 'mē kušī divesá. Java mē, tā tū te 'ves pala mandī."

Ak'ī rānī jalóp'skī ke bārō gav tā pēndás ī Jakéskī kái te 'vel. Ak'ō Jak jala pala latī, tā l'atīás lā ar'ō 'kava bārō gav, odói kái pēndás ī rānī. Kalikó romerdē pen 'rē bārē kaŋrīátī, tā gilé avrť, tā 'vilé kī bārī kirčúma.

K'eré gilé, tā, sō¹ 'vilé kērē, anjerdás ō Jak peskē šernē īza, tā g'as aré ī stanya, tā g'as yōī aré filišín, tā you yūžerelas ī graiđ. T'ō pūrō rái pūčtás ī tārnē rānīátē, "Kái šanas?" "Šomas mē kek dūr," xoč'ī tārnī rānī.

Ō Jak reperdás opré ī bita pūrī; g'as aré ō kēr te lel xobén te del ī pūrīákī. "Bišteráva mē tut kek," tā dīás lā ō xobén. Ī pūrī drukerdás les: "Ī pūrī rānī t'ō pūrō rái mēr'na kana sig, tala lesa tuyā ō ūan. Mus te lā mē bita kana 'vava mē ke filišín." "Áua," xoč'ō Jak, "lesa les long sār jivésa."

Jidilē bēř aré filišín, pala-sō romerdás ō Jak. T'ā Jak sas būtiákerō 'trē ō ūan, tā sovélas aré ī stanya.

Mūiás ō pūrō rái tā pūrī rānī 'kaná. 'Yas ō Jak ō ūan. G'as te lel peskē pūrī dáí. Būt pūrt sas-lī te 'vel kokorť. Andīás

He saw the young lady with the cows. And Jack made his bow to her. The lady smiled upon him. The two talked together. They arranged together to get married.

"Jack, do not tell my father. I do not wish him to know. We will go away to the great city to be married, thou and I. We will set out in a few days. I will go, and thou shalt follow me."

Now the lady set out for the great city, and told Jack whither to come. Jack followed and found the lady in the great city where she had said. On the morrow they were married in a fine church, and away they went to a grand inn.

They went home, and, when they had come home, Jack took off his best clothes and went into the stable, and she went into the castle, and he groomed the horses. And the old master asked the young lady, "Where wert thou?" "I was not far away," quoth the young lady.

Jack remembered about the little old woman; he went into the house to get food to give her. "I will not forget thee." And he gave her the food. The old woman told his fortune. "By and by the old mistress and the old master will die, then thou shalt have the place. I must have a morsel when I come to the castle." "Yes," quoth Jack, "thou shalt have it as long as thou shalt live."

They lived a year in the castle after Jack had been married. And Jack was a servant in the place, and slept in the stable.

Now the old master and the old mistress died. Jack got the place. He went to fetch his old mother. She was very old to be alone. He brought her home to

¹ sō] Occasional pronunciation of sār as in *pala-sō*, *passim*.

lā kéré kī filiśín. Gas lasa aré k'ō rakyā te tōvén lā. T'ī rānī dīās lā īza. Andilē lā 'rē komōra tā stifi-čāi rakerēlas ī purīāsa, tā gladimén sas-lī te dikél lā 'vel aré. 'Dói jidiās postē mūāds.

Ō Jak tā peskī romerdī jivdē odōī bērsējī postē gilē purē. Ō Jak tā peskī romnī mērdē, t'ō tiknō sī aré ī filiśín 'kanā.

Okē sār šī man te penā tukī.

the castle. He led her to the waiting women that they might wash her. And the lady gave her clothes. They led her into the parlour, and her daughter-in-law talked with the old woman, and was glad to see her come in. She lived there till she died.

Jack and his wife lived there for years until they grew old. Jack and his wife died, and their son is in the castle now.

That is all I have to tell thee.

VI.—THE SECRET LANGUAGES OF IRELAND

By KUNO MEYER

IT is sometimes asserted, and has recently been put forward again by L. Sainéan in *L'argot ancien*,¹ that we have no knowledge of any artificial language in Europe before the fifteenth century. In discussing this statement in an article entitled 'Essai d'une théorie des langues spéciales,'² A. von Gennep modifies it by saying that no actual documents of any artificial language in Europe can be found before that date. But both statements are incorrect.

I am not going to speak here of the artificial Latinity taught by the grammarian Vergil, nor of another kind of artificial Latin spoken and written during the early Middle Ages in Irish and Breton monasteries, several specimens of which, known as *Hisperica famina*, have come down to us. Suffice it to say that both these jargons exhibit many of the peculiarities common to artificial languages, such as periphrasis, archaisms (as *quīs* for *quibus*), borrowing from other tongues (*idor* = ἰδωρ, *ageus* = ἄγιος, *beth* 'house,' from the Hebrew), meta-thesis, reduplication, insertion of syllables,³ etc. I will here confine my remarks to the various jargons spoken and written in

¹ Paris, 1907, p. 11.

² See *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques*, Paris, Juin-Juillet, 1908.

³ As Heinrich Zimmer has shown (*Nennius Vindictus*, p. 330), the recipe for most of these devices is given by Martianus Capella, such as: 'propria sunt vetusta praecepue; quod si sua res propria verba non habeat, novanda sunt aut alienis utendum,' etc.

Ireland from at least the tenth century onward, two of which, known as *Shelta* and *Béarlagar na Saor*, survive to the present day. Though their use is now confined to tinkers and masons respectively, any one who examines these living jargons in the light of all that has been written about them must come to the conclusion that they are derived from an artificial language invented by learned men, and in all probability modelled upon the Latin idioms mentioned above. For both *Shelta* and *Béarlagar na Saor* contain devices which none but scholars could have introduced, such as the insertion of names of letters from the Ogham alphabet, archaic words and forms, borrowings from Greek and Hebrew, and the like. Such a conclusion will cause no surprise to those who know the extent of the influence of monasticism upon the whole life of the Irish nation. Some of the learning of the monasteries and schools of ancient Ireland filtered down to all who were brought into close contact with them. This was particularly the case with two professions, those of the brazier or goldsmith (*cerd*) and of the mason or carpenter (*sáer*), and it is precisely these that have preserved the two artificial languages mentioned above to the present day. When Irish studies are further advanced than they are at present, it will be easy to illustrate this point more fully from the language and literature of ancient Ireland. Meanwhile, to show by one example the close connection of the *cerd* with the monastery for which he worked, I will mention what we are told about a famous member of that profession in the sixth century. A *cerd* called Daig is said not only to have cast 300 hand-bells and made 300 croziers for St. Ciaran of Saighir, but also to have written 300 gospels.¹

But as regards the origin and history of the artificial and secret languages of Ireland we are fortunately not left to conjecture. Not only do we find early and frequent references to their existence, but a large number of ancient records and specimens of the languages themselves, together with explanations of the processes employed in their manufacture, have come down to us. At the risk of repeating what has been said by Whitley Stokes, Rudolf Thurneysen, John Sampson, Father Edmund Hogan and others, I will here shortly recapitulate the chief items of our knowledge.

¹ 'Daig mac Coirill. Goba tra ocus *cerd* ocus scríbnid togaide in Daig sea. Is é *didíu* doróine .ccc. *eíog* ocus .ccc. *bachall* ocus .ccc. *soscéla*, ocus *prímherd* do Chíarán Saigre é' (*The Calendar of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Dublin, 1880, p. cxxx.).

Most of the processes used in the manufacture of artificial language are described minutely and with examples in the commentary to the Irish composition called *Amra Choluimb Chille*, a eulogy on St. Columba composed in the ninth century.¹ The commentary dates from about the eleventh century. The eulogy itself is written in alliterative prose and in an artificial language rendered intentionally obscure by the following devices:—

(1) The use of words in a figurative sense, as *áraid*, ‘ladders’ for ‘saints,’ because the saints are ‘*scalae caeli*.’

(2) The use of obsolete native words, such as *ond*, ‘a stone,’ *riss*, ‘a tale.’

(3) The use of words borrowed from Latin, as *cast*, ‘chaste,’ *robust*, etc.

(4) Artificial disguises of words by inserting, adding, or cutting off syllables, such as *culu*, a ‘chariot,’ for *cul*; *coluainn*, ‘body,’ for *colinn*; *Coirp*, the gen. sing. of a man’s name, for *Coirpri*.

Other characteristics of the language of the *Amra* enumerated by Stokes, such as the use of rare grammatical forms and an archaic syntax, are not peculiar to this artificial composition, but are found in many early Irish poems composed in ordinary language (*gnáthbérla*). Now, in the commentary all these devices, more particularly those under (4), are explained in detail, and their technical terms given. We learn that there were seven kinds of disguising (Ir. *fortched*, literally ‘covering up’) a word, viz. (1) *dichned*, i.e. ‘taking away its end from the word without putting anything else in its place,’ as *rú* for *rún*, ‘mystery’; (2) *dechned*, i.e. doubling the final consonant, as *benn* for *ben*, ‘woman’; (3) *formolad*, i.e. adding a syllable to the end of the word, as *gannón* for *gann*, ‘scanty’; (4) *cennachros* (*túis* and *déid*), i.e. substituting another consonant for the initial or final consonant, as *fenchas* for *senchas*, ‘history’; (5) *delidind*, i.e. spelling a word backwards, as *ref* for *fer*, ‘man’; (6) *connail*, i.e. insertion of syllables, as *befrien* for *ben*, ‘woman,’ *fefrier* for *fer*, ‘man’; (7) *mallrugud*, i.e. doubling a vowel in the interior of a word, as *been* for *ben*, *feer* for *fer*.

We possess a large number, both of poems and tales, dating from all periods of the language, in which these various devices are employed. Some of these have been published,² many more

¹ Edited and translated by Whitley Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, xx. 30 ff.

² See, e.g., three poems in *bérla na filed* in *Zeitschrift für celt. Philologie*, iv. 482, and Richard Henebry’s translation of one of them, *ibid.*, iii. 378. Another poem has been printed in *Archiv für celt. Lexikographie*, iii. 310. Tales written in this

remain inedited in manuscript.¹ This poetical jargon was called *Bérta na filed*, 'language of the poets.'

After an interval of several centuries we next hear of another artificial language called *Ogham*. Under the year 1328 the Annals of Clonmacnois contain the often-quoted obituary notice of Morishe O'Gibelan, 'master of art, one exceeding well learned in the old and new laws, civile and canon, a cunning and skillful philosopher, an excellent poet in Irish, an elegant and exact speaker of the speech which in Irish is called Ogham,' etc. As we know from a passage in O'Molloy's *Irish Grammar*, p. 133, written in 1677, this artificial language was formed by substituting for a vowel or consonant its name in the Irish alphabet, as if we were to say *aitchall* for *hall*, substituting *aitch* for *h*. The ingenuity of Prof. Rudolf Thurneysen² discovered a large number of words manufactured upon this principle in a curious list of 291 words copied in 1643 from an older manuscript by the well-known Irish scholar Dugald (or Dudley) MacFirbis, and first published by Whitley Stokes in the second edition of his *Goidelica*, p. 72. At the instance of the Editor of this Journal it has been reproduced in photographic facsimile from the original in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and accompanies the present issue. This vocabulary bears the title *Dúil Laithne*, i.e. literally rendered, 'Book of Latin.' But 'Latin' here evidently has the sense of 'idiom, jargon,' as we use the word in German when we speak of *Jägerlatein* and the like. It is remarkable that one of the names by which Shelta is known in English is 'Boglatin.' For the detailed processes employed to disguise native Irish words in Ogham I must refer the reader to Thurneysen's paper. In many words the process is complicated by further devices. Thus before vowels the names of the letters are often made into adjectives in *-ach* or *-ech*, as when we have *tinnechair* (i.e. *tinnech-air*) for *tair*, 'in the east,' or *muinchidh* for *midh*, 'mead.' Those words in the *Dúil Laithne* which are not formed upon the principle of Ogham are either 'Kennings,' such as *feirchinn*, 'tooth' = *fer cinn*, 'man of the mouth' (cf. *fer á*, 'vir oris' in Patrick's address to his tooth), or borrowed from Latin, as *collait*, 'collatio' jargon are enumerated in *Zeitschrift*, iv. 482; another will be found in *Archiv*, iii. 310.

¹ Thus the other day I came across a story written in *bérta na filed* in the MS. 23 N 10 (Royal Irish Academy), p. 56. It begins: *Fecht n-aon doluid Aodh Dorndine ben Néill Frasaig*, 'Once Aed Suckfist, son of Níall the Showery, went, etc. Here the Hebrew *ben* is put instead of *mac*, 'son.'

² See his article, 'Du langage secret dit Ogham,' in *Revue Celtique*, vii. 369.

[illegible]

in the phrase *loisiom ar collait*, 'let us eat our collation'; or formed upon methods which have yet to be discovered. Thus *mabar*, 'great,' for Ir. *már*, and *liber*, 'sea,' for Ir. *ler* show an insertion of *b*, with a vowel which takes its timbre from the vowel of the original word. Some few, like *fern*, 'man,' for *fer*, show the device called *formolad*. In one or two cases Stokes' printed text has to be corrected. Thus his No. 283 should be *Bve .i. gaoth*, 'wind,' not *gath*, 'aculeus.'

I now come to the two living secret languages of Ireland. While the discoverer of Shelta, C. Godfrey Leland,¹ was unable to say upon which of the Celtic languages it was based, John Sampson, in a brilliant paper entitled 'Tinkers and their Talk,'² proved conclusively that it is a deliberate and systematic modification of Irish Gaelic at an early period of the language. Following in his footsteps, I substantiated his conclusions by further evidence, and endeavoured to trace its history.³ Since then Sampson has printed and translated in this Journal several stories composed in Shelta, so that a large vocabulary is now available for investigation. Though many of its words are still obscure in their origin, such as *Mwik* for Connacht, we find all the processes described above resorted to. As a fair number of words are modelled upon the *Ogham* principle, it is evident that at one time or other Shelta has drawn upon that language. Its great age is proved by the fact that its sounds represent Old Irish, *i.e.* the period before 1000 A.D. This is best seen by those words which are formed by spelling native words backward, such as *grē*, 'to rise,' from O. Ir. *érg*-; *bog*, 'to get,' from O. Ir. *gab*-; *thal-osc*, 'day,' from O. Ir. *lathe*; *mālya*, 'hand,' from O. Ir. *lám*, etc.

As to *Béarlagar na Saor*,⁴ it is unfortunate that no such perfect speaker has yet been discovered as was the Ulster tinker John Barlow, from whom Sampson obtained most of his materials. Still, since MacElligott⁵ in 1808 first drew attention to the existence of this jargon, a vocabulary of altogether about 400 words has been collected.⁶ It seems to be confined to the south

¹ See his book *The Gypsies*, pp. 354-72, and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 73-82, 168-80.

² *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 204-20.

³ 'On the Irish Origin and the Age of Shelta,' *ibid.*, pp. 257-66.

⁴ *Béarlagar*, as I have shown in *Revue Celtique*, xiii. 505, is a loan from English vernacular, with folk-etymology, as if from *béarla*, 'language.'

⁵ See the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society*, 1808, p. 11. Here MacElligott gives 22 words and 1 phrase.

⁶ Fitzgerald in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 1859, pp. 61 and 389, gives 250 words and 6 phrases. E. Hogan in the *Gaelic Journal*, ix. 225; Tomas Seóns, *ibid.*, p. 272; D. Lynch, *ibid.*, p. 345 and x. 31, add about 150 more.

of Ireland, more particularly to Cork and Waterford, where some words and a few sentences are known by most masons, though they cannot always explain the latter. Thus Canon David O'Leary obtained for me from an old mason the following sentence: *cad is sadul bŭra go dŭil*, which he could only explain in a general way as meaning in Irish *t'anam don diabhal*, 'your soul to the devil!'

If we examine the vocabulary of *Béarlagar na Saor* we shall find (1) a large number of genuine but archaic Irish words, such as *bóchna* 'sea,' *dés* 'land,' *triath* 'lord,' 'lordly,' 'great,' *bé* 'woman,' *longán* 'a bed,' *barcán* 'a book'; (2) Irish words used in a figurative sense, such as *bó* 'cow' for 'woman'; (3) words from foreign languages, as *aois* (pron. *íš*) 'man,' from the Hebrew; (4) words formed upon the method of spelling backwards, as *bog*, 'to get,' from *gab*- (as in the phrase *bog suas tú féin as soin*), and many others which it shares with Shelta. But I have not been able to discover the principle of *Ogham* in any of the words. Words fashioned on the first three methods will generally be found to occur also in *Bérta na filed*. Thus *is* 'a man,' and *barc* 'a book,' occur in the poem printed in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, v. 483; Hogan's *aish crith*, 'musician,' is *aos creth* in *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, iii. 311, etc.

Here I must leave the subject for the present in the hope of returning to it sooner or later, for it is full of interest both for the student of language and of social history, and it still offers many problems to be solved.

VII.—SOME WORDS ON THE DIALECTS OF THE TRANSCAUCASIAN GYPSIES—BOŠÀ AND KARACI

By the late Professor K. P. PATKANOFF

Translated from the Russian by D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING

(Continued from Volume I., page 257)

B. KARAČI

WE have even fewer materials for the study of the dialect of the Karači than for learning the language of the Bošà. These materials consist principally of the following:—

1. A list of seventy-four Karači words written down in Tabriz

in the years 1810-1812, by Sir William Ouseley (*Travels in Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia*. London, vol. iii., 1823, pp. 400-401).¹ The list is preceded by the following explanation. 'I met once in Mr. Campbell's house a man of the race of the Karači, قراچی, a people who in many respects much resemble our Gypsies. These Karači speak in a peculiar dialect or jargon. They are said to be idle, loving a roaming life, preferring tents to a house. They steal eggs, fowls, cloth, and other things with extraordinary dexterity. They tell fortunes by the lines of the hand, and have practically no religion. The man with whom I spoke confessed to me that the majority of his tribe had no settled form of worship or religious system. In the presence of Mohamedans he loudly gave thanks to God that he was a true and orthodox follower of the prophet. My Turkish courier from Constantinople, coming into the room at the moment, immediately recognised this man and his companions as *Čingiane*, a race of which all the men are thieves and the women harlots. Mustapha, who had been in England, whispered to me that they are just the same as our Gypsies. From conversation with the more intelligent of them I composed the following short vocabulary.' Then follows a list of seventy-four words of Karači, which in the glossary I have marked K.

2. In March of the current year (1887) I received from Mr. Weidenbaum a note-book with the following title-page—'Materials for a study of the language of Asiatic Gypsies (dialect of the Karači) collected by the teacher, Usub-beka Melik-akhnazaroff, of the University of the town of Elizabethpol.' The note-book contains 101 phrases in the Karači dialect, about 220 words extracted from these phrases, and a short text of 10 lines.

3. The American pastor, A. Pratt, wrote down a few words of the Gypsies who roam in the neighbourhood of Marash, Aintab, and on the banks of the Euphrates. In a letter to M. Paspatis, he says of them: 'Marash, Dec. 7, 1867. They are scattered everywhere in towns. All of them are sieve-makers. They profess to be Mohamedans. Those about here are *Siunni*, and those to the south *Kellis*, and below are *Alevi*. They always talk their language at home.' The words of these Gypsies are set out in the vocabulary of Paspatis and marked (As.). Many of them are identical with Karači words, and occur in my lists not as independent words, but as confirming the accuracy of the reading of

¹ Cf. Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, ii, 596.

Karači and Boša words. These are all the materials at my disposal.

We have mentioned earlier (part 1) the attempts made by savants to find in India itself the race to which belong the Gypsies known to us in Europe. We said also that Professor Pischel does not share the opinion of Leland and Brockhaus (Pott, *Zigeuner*, i. 42), who see this race in the Doms. Pischel's arguments against the identity of the Doms with the Gypsies are rather weak, especially because the most important means of comparison, that is the language of the *Doms*, was unknown to him. There are, however, considerations which somewhat confirm the surmises of Brockhaus and Leland; that is, when asserting the complete similarity of the Doms with the Romané—the European Gypsies.

In order to find in India itself the nearest kindred of our Gypsies it is necessary, in addition to a thorough knowledge of the Gypsy language, to learn some ten dialects of different districts of India, particularly those of the west and north-west; to be acquainted with the mode of life, character, and customs of these peoples, and thus to approach a sound conclusion. Travellers find much in common in the character and customs of the Gypsies and those of other wandering Indian tribes; but as soon as we wish to fix on any particular tribe for comparison with the Gypsies, we meet with so much contradictory information about it that we cannot even speak of comparing it with the Gypsies. Let us then leave the search for the Gypsies in India to times and persons more competent than ourselves, and turn to a neighbouring country.

In Persia, in many parts of the Kingdom, there has been for a very long time a race wandering in scattered bands, known under different names: *Luri* or *Luli* (in Syria, *Nuri*), *Kauli* or *Kabuli*, *Suzmani*, *Karači*, and so on. From the unanimous opinion of travellers, and from scanty specimens of their language, this race may be fully identified with our Gypsies. The antiquity of their settlement in Persia may be judged from the fact that Firdusi relates that the Emperor Bakramgur (420 A.D.) demanded of the Indian Emperor Shankal ten thousand Luri musicians, the poorest of his subjects, who, by their skill, might amuse him. In the seventeenth century Sharden met with them in Persia under the name *Kauli*, and painted their character in very dark hues. Of Ouseley we have already spoken. Ker-Porter (*Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, etc., during the Years 1817 to 1820*, London,

vol. ii., 1822, pp. 528-532, 568) also met with them during his travels in 1817-1820 in different parts of Persia, and calls them *Kara-shee*, but the dancers he calls *Luzmoonies* (probably this should be written *Suzmani*).¹ E. I. Chirikoff also furnishes some information about the Persian Gypsies in his journal of travels.² He met with the Suzmani Gypsies in the outskirts of Sekhna, in the passes of Kerrinda, in Kasr-i-Shirika, where they called themselves *Dummi*, and in other places. Chirikoff speaks enthusiastically of the beauty and skill of the Suzmani dancing-girls, but does not enlarge on other sides of Gypsy existence. In one place only (pp. 281-282) he speaks of them with more detail: 'In Kerrinda there wander many Gypsies, slaves who in Persia call themselves *Kauli-girbalbend*,³ making sieves. From among them the country is supplied with wandering singers, musicians, and wonderful dancers—*Suzmani*, noted for their skill and dissolute manners these are the same as the *Alme* of Egypt, the same picturesque costume, the same castanets, bracelets on their arms and legs, and the same long tresses; the same shamelessly voluptuous movements in dancing, the same alluring manners with the audience, the same readiness to dance entirely without upper garments. They are by no means bad. The old women recall to mind the old Gypsy women at Moscow, both in their ugliness and in their boisterous desire to burst out singing, and, so to speak, to act up to their songs and dances.'

We have made use only of those travellers who were readily available. It is sufficient for us that the *Kouli*, *Kauli-Girbalbendi*, *Kurbati*, the *Suzmani* dancers, *Karači* and *Dummi* constitute that race which in Europe is known under the name of Gypsy. It may be objected that for the identification of the above-named wandering races with Gypsies the opinion of such

¹ Brugsch (*Reise nach Persien*, Leipzig, 1863, ii. 304) also speaks of the Persian dancers *Suzmāni* or *Karēdschi* met with by him in Teheran.

² *Transactions of the Caucasian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*, vol. ix., St. Petersburg, 1875. 'The Travel-journal of E. I. Chirikoff, Russian representative on the Turko-Persian boundary commission,' 1849-1852, pp. 208, 281, 299, 330.

³ *Girbalbend* غربال‌بند actually means *sieve-makers*. We have seen that the Armenian Gypsies call themselves exactly the same in their own language: *Maga-gordz*. *Kauli* does not mean *slaves*, as Chirikoff fancies, confusing this name with the word *Kull* قول; *Kouli*, *Kauli*, *Kabuli* means strictly a *Kabul man*, that is a Gypsy, in which sense the word is met with also in Sharden. Compare also what is said about the Persian Gypsies in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi. pp. 309-311.

travellers—who have only casually met with Gypsies, have not studied their mode of life, and above all were not acquainted with their language—is insufficient. We fully recognise the force of this objection, and therefore for the purpose of this identification we bring forward another argument, namely the language. It is true that we are not in possession of extensive texts of the dialects of the Persian Gypsies, by which it might be possible to decide from all points the question of the kinship of the European with the Persian and the Asiatic Gypsies generally. Willingly or unwillingly, we are limited to the consideration of a single text, ignoring the grammar of the Asiatic Gypsy dialect. But even in this respect we have not very rich materials. From all these Asiatic dialects (*Karači*, *Beluchi*, *Bošà*) there have been collected for us only some two or three hundred words, of which not Gypsy, but local words of those races among whom the Asiatic Gypsies have settled, constitute a large part. It is well known with what readiness Gypsies lose their own words, substituting foreign words. It is therefore not astonishing that only a small portion of the words in our collection are purely Gypsy. Besides, the words collected and written down are not identical in each list, and in most cases they do not give any opportunity for comparison. In one list we find certain words, in another different ones, not analogous in meaning. There remains only one method: to make a complete comparison of the words of each list of Asiatic dialects with European Gypsy words. I have made this comparison of different Asiatic dialects with European Gypsy words in two glossaries of no great size and in a list of Beluchi words. As a result the following appeared: on a superficial comparison in the *Karači* list, out of 245 words more than 35 are found identical with European Gypsy words; in the *Bošà* dialect more than 50 out of 235; in the *Beluchi* dialect 40 out of 214. Many words are found common to two or three dialects. But there are words common to all the dialects known to us, including that of the Syrian Gypsies, and I have selected some of these for examination.

In our transcription it should be noticed that $\check{c} = tche$, $\acute{g} = dj = d\check{z}$. The meaning of the abbreviations K., B., Bl., etc., was given previously.¹

Eye. K. *aki*; B. *aki*; Bl. *akki*; P.A. *aki*; E. *yakh*; Syr. *aki*.

¹ K. = *Karači*; B. = *Bošà*; Bl. = *Beluchistan Gypsy*; E. = *European Gypsy*; Syr. = *Syrian Gypsy*; P.A. = *Paspati's Asiatic Gypsy*; Aeg. = *Newbold's Egyptian Gypsy*. See vol. i. p. 250.

Water. K. *bani, pani*; B. *pani*; Bl. *pani*; E. *pani*; Syr. *páni*; Aeg. *pani*.

Much. K. *buhu*; B. *buhu*; Bl. *bahu*; E. *but, buhu*; Luri. *buchub*; Syr. *bhugih*.

Fish. K. *mača*; B. *mančav*; Bl. *mači*; E. *mačo*; P.A. *matcha*; Syr. *macha*.

Grass. K. *gas*; B. *khas*; Bl. *gha*; P.A. *ghas*; E. *khas*.

Barley. K. *gaver*; B. *gav*; P.A. *djev*; Bl. *džou* = 'seed,' 'corn'; Syr. *dschóu*; E. *djov*.

Hot. K. *tata, dada*; P.A. *tatei*; Bl. *tátty*; E. *tato*; Syr. *tatái, tatá* = 'heat.'

Sheep. K. *bakra*; P.A. *bakara*; Bl. *bakro* = 'goat'; E. *bakro*; Syr. *bakra*.

Silver. K. *urp*; P.A. *orp*; Bl. *rupa*; E. *rup*; Syr. *urrb*.

Hair. P.A. *val*; B. *valis*; Bl. *val*; E. *bal*; Syr. *wahl*.

Nose. K. *nak, nank*; B. *lanq*; Bl. *nak*; E. *nak*; Syr. *nak*.

Bread. K. *minus, menav*; B. *malaf, malav*; P.T. *malav*; Syr. *mana*; Aeg. *marey*; E. *manro, maro*.

Sun. K. *qam, gam*; P.A. *gam*; Bl. *gharmi*; Syr. *gam, gemm*; Aeg. *kam*; E. *kham*.

Thus, with the scanty materials at our disposal, there appear a certain number of words common to races separated from one another by many ages and vast expanses of territory. Added to the other indications above-mentioned, such an identity of words, though selected from an insufficient list, cannot but have a certain weight in deciding the question of the kinship of certain races. Our complete ignorance of the grammatical construction of the language of the Asiatic Gypsies prevents the expression of a more decided opinion. In connection with this it will not be useless to keep the following points in view. Beames, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India*, enumerates seven new-Indian dialects of Arian root, namely: Hindi, Mahrathi, Pandžabi, Sindhi, Gudžarâti, Bengali, Orija. To these Miklosich adds the Gypsy language as an eighth (*Über die Mundarten*, iii.). It is therefore quite natural to find in the language of our own Gypsies words common to other Gypsy-like races. The decisive voice on the question of the kinship of the Gypsy races with one another and with certain of the Indian races belongs, therefore, to those having a knowledge of the Gypsy language and of new-Indian dialects: they alone, after examining the grammar and texts of these languages, can say with certainty which of

the words peculiar to the Gypsy race are not met with in the other new-Indian dialects. Let us see what Leland says about the Doms. 'The Doms, a Gypsy race, are found in the district between Central India and its northern borders. In *The People of India*, published by Watson and Key, it is said that the Gypsies in appearance and mode of life differ markedly from the nations among whom they live (in Bekhara). The Indians admit their great antiquity. In the Shasters they are called *soruckh*, that is "dog-eaters." They love wandering, make baskets and mats, and are much given to drinking, on which they spend all their earnings. They have a monopoly of the burning of bodies, and of the ceremonies connected with dead bodies. They eat all kinds of animals which have died from natural causes, and specially enjoy dead swine. In spite of their dissolute habits, many of them attain an age of eighty or ninety years, and it only is at sixty or sixty-five that their hair begins to turn grey. The Doms are mountaineers, wanderers, herdsmen, and robbers. Travellers consider them as Gypsies. The list of *dom* words which we possess can be understood by any English Gypsy, and might be called present-day Romany. A Dom ordinarily calls himself *Dom*, his wife *Domni*, and Gypsyhood *Domnipana*. The letter *d* in the Hindustani dialects is changed into *r* in the English Gypsy language, for example *doi*, "a wooden spoon," in Europe appears under the form *roi*. With us the Romani, even in London, commonly call themselves, a Gypsy man—*Rom*; a Gypsy woman—*Romni*; Gypsyhood—*Romnipen*.'

I have quoted this passage, not to demonstrate the kinship of the Gypsies with the Doms of India, but as the opinion of a man with a good knowledge of the Gypsy language. At any rate, it is not by chance that the Gypsies of Persia, Syria, and other parts of Asia call themselves *dum*, *dom*. The Gypsies of the Transcaucasus, as the reader sees, also call themselves *dom*: *dum astum*, 'I am a Gypsy; *domaha*, 'Gypsies'; *qithi dum astaq*, 'how many Gypsies are there here?' Considering that on one side the Kauli in various parts of Persia call themselves *dum*, *duman*; Karaçi in the Transcaucasus *dom*, *dum*; a part of the Syrian Gypsies *dum*, *duman*; we think that the opinion of Leland and Brockhaus as to the kinship of the Persian Gypsy-doms with the Doms of India has no slight foundation. We have seen that the European Gypsies call themselves *Rom*; the Bošà of Asia Minor and Armenia *Lomm*; the Karaçi of Persia *Dom*. In view

of the manifest unity of language of all three groups, European, Asiatic-Turkish, and Persian, this difference in the first letter of the name given by the Gypsies to themselves must be taken to refer to a dialectical peculiarity of their languages. In this manner all existing data do not contradict the conclusion that the European Romany-Gypsies, the Bošà-Loms of Asia Minor, and the Persian Karači-Doms are either one and the same race on historic grounds, but separated into various groups, or have preserved from time immemorial the present dialectical peculiarities in their own dialects. (An interesting paper of A. M. Wilkins (*Anthrop. Rev.*, iii. 1, 1882) supplies much new material respecting the Gypsies of Central Asia, in which are set out interesting particulars of the Gypsy-like races of Turkestan, *Luli* and *Beludji*. I shall find it necessary sometimes to make extracts from this paper, and sometimes to give its contents in a shortened form, preserving so far as possible the author's statements.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Gypsies were already known in the Transoxus district under the name of *Luli* (cf. *Abu'l-ghâzî, Histoire des Mongols, par Desmaisons*, pp. 258, 259, 276, 282). In all the more populous towns of Turkestan there are found the so-called *Luli*, a people of whom the Sarts speak only with a contemptuous smile. In appearance the *Luli* differ hardly at all from the Sarts themselves, they wear the same kind of clothes, except that the women do not cover their faces, and like them they profess Islam. Part of the *Luli* live in towns, others wander about. The town *Luli* live a settled life in their own huts. The occupation of the men is the making of wooden articles: they make sieves, shovels, troughs, wooden spoons. The women are principally occupied in begging, the more intelligent in fortune-telling. Some of the *Luli* have their own arable land and garden, but they do not till them themselves, but lease them out to a Sart, since the *Luli* despise agricultural work. In March the *Luli* who have wintered in the town pack up their tents and other furniture on lean jades, seat their wives and children on top of them, and set off, themselves following on foot. The whole family lives mainly by begging: beyond this the chief search for daily bread falls to the lot of the women. The *Luli* are seldom contented with one wife: they have two, three, or even more. To a question addressed to a ragged *Luli* how he, a beggar already having two wives, could be preparing to take still a third, the fellow answered with a smile: 'The

more wives I have the more alms they will bring in, and the better it will be for the family.' The encampment only stays two or three days in one place; the native villagers do not love the Luli, fearing robbery. Then, having gone round all the huts, collecting alms and telling the fortune of any one who wants it, the encampment moves from that place and wanders on to another, where the restless goings and comings of bare-footed beggars, clad in indescribable rags, begins all over again. If there are any pretty girls in the camp, this is a more certain source of revenue. The native village aristocracy does not disdain their society, willingly treats them to tea and sweets, and gives them a trifle of money. According to the general report of the Sarts the Luli girls are of irreproachable morals, but the married women are less strict. How lightly the Luli regard the externals of the religion which they profess (Islam) is shown by this, that when the Luli of Tashkend are asking alms from Russians, they sign themselves with the cross, and continually cry 'For Christ's sake.'

The Luli are much intermixed with the Sarts. This crossing is difficult to understand if we consider that marriage between the Sarts and Luli women is rare, and that the Luli are not given to prostitution; it must be explained by the long period of time during which these races have been in contact. The Sarts unanimously assert that the Luli came from Hindustan. The wandering Luli call themselves *Multani*, from their original dwelling-place in the valley of the Indus; the settled call themselves *Kasibi*, which means 'workman,' 'artisan.' Only on one occasion did the author chance to hear, from a Kasiba-luli, that in the town of Kokand the race calls itself *Sigan*. On another occasion a young *Baludji*, being asked whether their youths married Luli girls, answered: 'No, they are another race; we are *Baludji*, they are *Sigani*, and our law does not allow us to wed a woman not of our race.' But with regard to this name, which is so like *Tsigan*, we must consider carefully whether the Luli did not borrow it from the Russians.

At the present day the Luli have nothing left of their own language to give a clear explanation of this word. They speak Sart. Of 220 words a Luli can possibly speak three or four purely Gypsy: *doda*, 'mother'; in European Gypsy, *dai*; in Bošà, *deth*; *buchub*, 'much,' E. *buhu*; *muš*, 'mouse,' E. *muš*; *nahanà*, 'not,' E. *nane*.

Of the Luli words the derivation of which is unknown to me and which have no similarity with Gypsy words,¹ we may note:—

<i>majób</i> , 'water.'	<i>šambul</i> , 'food.'
<i>majobi</i> , 'water-melon.'	<i>chila</i> , 'gun-powder.'
<i>chogál</i> , 'bull.'	<i>chila-gar</i> , 'physician.'
<i>chogali-džoši</i> , 'cow.'	<i>dowa</i> , 'horse.'
<i>lift</i> , 'camel.'	<i>machkaz</i> , 'young man.'
<i>gudžmak</i> , 'vine.'	<i>dugut</i> , 'meat.'
<i>nughur</i> , 'eye.'	<i>chodur</i> , 'to beg.'
<i>rostoï</i> , 'head.'	<i>fing</i> , <i>pfing</i> , 'nose.'
<i>mugúz</i> , 'town.'	<i>pur</i> , 'blanket.'
<i>tarik</i> , 'door.'	<i>ghádar</i> , 'donkey.'
<i>mantoz</i> , 'child.'	<i>dila</i> , 'tent,' 'dwelling.'
<i>badyk</i> , 'melon.'	<i>dowá-tarb</i> , 'whip.'
<i>landži</i> , 'ugly,' 'bad.'	<i>warsit</i> , 'to come,' 'arrive.'
<i>dalchoč</i> , 'little girl.'	<i>kokan</i> , 'mouth.'
<i>danam</i> , 'woman.'	<i>jakan</i> , 'silver,' 'money.'
<i>kuman</i> , 'name.'	<i>soghud</i> , 'old man.'
<i>monzila</i> , 'mare.'	<i>kalandža</i> , 'old woman.'
<i>nogozý</i> , 'carpet,' 'felt.'	<i>sung</i> , 'axe.'
<i>džiz</i> , 'goat.'	<i>kiiny</i> , 'dressing-gown.'
<i>mandžar</i> , 'kettle.'	<i>charsit</i> , 'bread.'
<i>gul</i> , 'hen.'	<i>dagh</i> , 'good.'
<i>chor-ì-gul</i> , 'egg.'	<i>chaurik</i> , <i>ghastok</i> , 'man.'
<i>tanà-gul</i> , 'partridge.'	<i>dulunga</i> , 'trousers.'
<i>šamul</i> , 'food.'	and many others.

¹ Nine of these words were explained by Sinclair, *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 209, and Dr. G. S. A. Ranking suggests the following parallels:—

chogál, = *ku*, (?) meaningless prefix, + *gāe*.

kuman, = *ku* + *mān* (= *nām* reversed).

tarik, ?  *darak*, 'little door.'

nogozý, ? *namadī*, 'felt.'

ghádar, = H. *gadhā*.

dila, = H. *dera*.

warsit, = P. *rasīdan*.

dulunga, = H. *do-lung*, 'double loin-cloth.'

The meaningless prefixes, *ku*-, *dak*-, etc., are constantly used by Nāts and other wandering tribes before ordinary vernacular words with the object of confusing strangers. Similarly, among the pronouns, *dak*, meaningless prefix, + Persian *-m*, *-t*, and (third person) *wai*, 'he,' and *ma*, *ho-mo* (= Persian *shumā*) and (third person plural) *hā*.

The pronouns given by the author in the language of the Luli strike one by their peculiarity:—

I, <i>dakim</i> .	our, <i>any-dakim'a</i> .
thou, <i>dakit</i> .	your, <i>any-dakit-an</i> .
he, <i>uajdaki</i> .	to me, <i>dakim-a, dakimba</i> .
we, <i>dakim'a</i> .	to you, <i>dakit-wa</i> .
ye, <i>daki-ho-mo (ma)</i> .	to him, <i>uajdaki-wa</i> .
they, <i>uajdaki-ho (ha)</i> .	to us, <i>daki-ha-mo (ma)</i> .
my, <i>any-dakim</i> .	to you, <i>daki-ho-mo-wa</i> .
thy, <i>any-dakit</i> .	to them, <i>uajdaki-ha-wa</i> .
his, <i>any-uaidaki</i> .	.

Another Gypsy-like race is met with in Central Asia. The Luli and Sarts distinguish these people by the names *Kara-Luli* (black Luli), *Afghan-Luli*, *Hindustan-Luli*, *Monkey-Luli*. These names show both the principal occupation of these dark-skinned people and the place they inhabited before entering Turkestan. They themselves do not like these names, and reckon them as a kind of insult, because they do not acknowledge themselves as Luli. They generally call themselves Hindustani, but their race *Baludji*. The Afghans say that among them such people are called *Jatt*. Like the Luli, the Baludji in winter go into the towns, but in warm weather they wander. The men are occupied in training beasts: bears, monkeys, goats; the women beg, peddle cosmetics, and practise leechcraft, but do not tell fortunes. Very timid in their intercourse with Russians, the Baludji are simple and trusting as children. The author never once noticed in any of them a desire to deceive. The women go with uncovered faces, they are clothed in white Sart gowns, and love to wear several ear-rings. The Fergansk Baludji do not love the Luli, and bear themselves haughtily towards them, reckoning themselves much superior. They do not consider themselves akin to the Luli, while these latter consider the Baludji also as Luli, only of another race or branch.

Comparing all the information collected by the author about the Baludji with what is known to us about the Gypsies, an opinion may be formed as to the kinship of these two races between themselves: the language of the Baludji is very near that of the Gypsies; the mode of life and some characteristic traits of the Gypsies are met with also in the Baludji; the grace and agility of the Gypsies which is known to all is very typical

also of the modern emigrants from the ancient Gedrozia. The dark skin of the Gypsies, retained in spite of long generations born in our latitudes, shows that they have sprung from very dark-skinned ancestors. Generally speaking, the author's observations on the Luli of Fergansk have led him to two conclusions: (1) the Luli mixed with the people of Central Asia represent one of the branches of the Baludji race; (2) the kinship of the Baludji with the Gypsies is very apparent.

Having set forth the chief points of the interesting paper of Mr. Wilkins, with the omission of his craniological measurements, I propose to make only one unimportant observation. The author has drawn his conclusions about the Luli from a knowledge limited to a few Turkestan representatives of this race, not taking into consideration other tribes of Luli dispersed in different parts of Iran. On this account the conclusions of the author as to the connection of the Luli with the Gypsy race seem somewhat forced. The absence of words in common, the complete dissimilarity of their personal pronouns from those in all existing Gypsy dialects, do not justify the author in identifying the Luli with Gypsies, even though other details which are not given in the article may not contradict the conclusion at which the author has arrived. Moreover, it is not quite clear from the article what is strictly to be understood by the expression *Baludji*: whether it is one of the native Beluchi tribes which are distinguished by their rapacious and plundering dispositions, or an Indian (Gypsy) race which migrated ages ago to Beluchistan, and in a foreign land calls itself *Baludji*, in the same way as another section allied to them calls itself *Kauli* or *Kabuli* because it once lived in Kabul. These remarks of ours are not made with any view of diminishing the importance of Mr. Wilkins's paper.

As regards the list of Baludji words (214) given in the paper, we, like the author, find in them a considerable percentage of pure Gypsy words (more than 40). It is remarkable in what purity the Gypsy and Baluchi words have kept their similarity, in spite of their distance from one another, and the length of time since they separated. These are the words:—

bi, 'without.' E. *bi*.

pani, 'water.' K. *pani*; B. *bani*; E. *pani*.

val, 'hair.' A.P. *val*; B. *valis*; E. *bal*.

akki, 'eye.' B. *aki*; K. *aki*; E. *jakh*; Syr. *aki*, *akkih*.

- chatt*, 'arm,' 'hand.' B. *hath*, *at*.
ghar, 'house.' E. *khar*; B. *gar*; K. *qar*.
ran, 'married woman.' E. *rani*.
čandal, 'poor.' Cf. *čandi*, 'a rag' (Mikl.).
sary, 'all.' E. *saró*, *schare*.
sir, 'head.' E. *šeró*, *seró*, *ser*; Syr. *szerinns*.
gura, 'horse.' K. *agura*.
kakvi, *lakevi*, 'kettle.' E. *kakavi* (If this is Greek *κακκάβη*, how did it come to the Baludji in Turkestan? Cf. Pott, *Zigeuner*, ii. 93).
nava, 'new.' E. *nevo*.
mu, 'mouth.' E. *muj*, *mui*.
gha, 'grass.' P.A. *ghas*.
vattá, 'stone.' P.A. *vat*; K. *battä*; Syr. *wutt*.
bakri, 'she-goat.' E. *bakri*, 'sheep'; K. *bakra*.
bakro, 'he-goat.' E. *bakro*, 'ram'.
sunra, 'pretty.' K. *sona*.
loa, 'iron.' K. *lüh*; P.A. *lui*; Syr. *lehly*.
rat, 'blood.' E. *rat*.
kukkyr, 'hen,' 'bird.' K. *kukar*; P.A. *gukari*, 'cock'.
doj, 'spoon.' E. *roj*; cf. in Leland (*The Gypsies*, 334) in the language of the Doms, *doi*.
ryč, 'a bear.' E. *ryč*.
dud, 'milk.' E. *thud*; B. *lud*.
nak, 'nose.' E. *nak*; K. *nak*; Syr. *nak*.
ráty, 'night.' E. *rat*; K. *arat*.
ag, 'fire.' E. *jag*; K. *ak*.
bahu, 'much.' E.B.K. *buhu*, 'much,' 'many'; Luli, *buchub*.
angli, 'finger.' K. *angul*.
čur, 'robber.' E. *čor*, 'thief'.
mači, 'fish.' E. *mačo*; K. *mača*; B. *mančav*.
rupa, 'silver.' E. *rup*; P.A. *orp*; K. *urp*; Syr. *urrb*.
bibi, 'sister.' E. *bibi*, 'aunt'.
čanri, 'sieve.' B. *gaihri*, *gahri*; K. *čani*.
lun, 'salt.' P.A. *lon*; Syr. *lony*; E. *lon*.
džau, 'grain,' 'seed.' E. *džav*.
tatty, 'hot.' E. *tato*; K. *tata*, *dada*; P.A. *tatei*.
kala, 'black.' E. *kalo*; K. *kala*.
ana, 'egg.' E. *anro*; B. *anu*.
dib, 'tongue,' 'language.' E. *čib*.
di, 'day.' P.A. *dis*; E. *dives*.
adi, 'to-day.' E. *avdies*, *ades*; P.A. *edjé*; Mikl. *adjé*.

There are many other words the derivation of which is unknown,¹ and which are not met with in other Gypsy dialects:—

<i>dari</i> , 'beard.'	<i>vadd</i> , 'farmer,' 'ploughman.'
<i>dañ</i> , <i>dañd</i> , 'bull.'	<i>nâ</i> , 'snake.'
<i>riski</i> , 'to see.'	<i>gan</i> , 'cow.'
<i>laj</i> , 'clay.'	<i>tam</i> , 'roof.'
<i>vasti</i> , 'village.'	<i>nlki</i> , 'little.'
<i>lakýr</i> , 'tree.'	<i>banur</i> , 'monkey.'
<i>mi</i> , 'rain.'	<i>piu</i> , 'father.'
<i>larai</i> , 'to fight.'	<i>lain</i> , 'devil.'
<i>ghâ</i> , 'ugly.'	and many others.

I have only been able to find specimens of the language of Syrian Gypsies in three lists of words of no great extent written down by the travellers here named:—

The American missionary Eli Smith, in the year 1842, wrote down 30 words and a few grammatical forms from the language of Syrian Gypsies in the outskirts of Beyrout. This list, being sent to Professor Pott, supplied him with materials for his article, 'Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien,' published in *Hoefer's Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, vol. i. pp. 175-186: Berlin.

The traveller Seetzen, in 1806, met in Syria not far from Nablous a camp of local Gypsies, known in the place under the name *El-Nury* or *El-Nauar*. He was able to write down about 400 words of their language, for the most part Arabic. His journey is published by Professor Kruse under the title *U. I. Seetzen's Reisen*, Berlin, 1854, vol. ii. pp. 182-190. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. xvi., 1856, pp. 299-312) are found a few notes under the title 'The Gypsies of Syria,' in which the author [Newbold] gives some interesting particulars about the local Gypsies, and also a list of more than 150 words in the dialect of two Gypsy tribes, Kurbat and Duman.

We have made use of all these vocabularies for elucidating Karači and Bošà words. They are distinguished in our list by the contraction *Syr*.

¹ Dr. G. S. A. Ranking suggests the following derivations:—

<i>dari</i> = H. <i>darhî</i> , 'beard.'	<i>nâ</i> = H. <i>nâg</i> , 'snake,' 'cobra.'
<i>riski</i> = H. <i>dikhnâ</i> , 'to see.'	<i>gan</i> = H. <i>gâo</i> , <i>gâe</i> , 'cow.'
<i>vasti</i> = H. <i>bastî</i> , 'village.'	<i>banur</i> = H. <i>bandar</i> , 'monkey.'
<i>lakýr</i> = H. <i>lakrî</i> , 'stick.'	<i>piu</i> = S. <i>pitâ</i> .
<i>mi</i> = H. <i>miüh</i> , 'rain.'	<i>lain</i> = لعين <i>la'in</i> , 'the accursed one.'
<i>larai</i> = H. <i>larâi</i> , 'fighting.'	

For the sake of completeness we ought also to mention the Gypsies of Egypt, about whom we find particulars in 'The Gypsies of Egypt,' by Captain Newbold (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1856, xvi, pp. 285-312). The remarks about the Syrian Gypsies which are made above form part of this paper. The author finds in Egypt two sorts of Gypsies, *Helebi* and *Ghajar* or *Ghajar* (غجارج). After communicating what he knew about the laws, customs, and number of the Egyptian Gypsies, the author passes on to their language; he gives numerals, and in addition more than 100 words from the dialects of the Helebi, Ghajar, and Nawar. The dialect of the Ghajar, who, indeed, entered Egypt later than the others, is the nearest to the language of the European Gypsies. The identity of the word for 'nine'—*enna*—with the Greek and the words peculiar to European Gypsies: *balamu*, 'a Christian'; *chavi*, 'a girl'; *lasho*, 'good,' 'pretty'; *bhut*, 'much'; *kaghnieh*, 'hen,' and others, point to their near relationship to European Gypsies. For the purpose of comparison we have marked words of the Ghajar dialect by the contraction *Aeg*.

We must now, however, turn to the phrases and words of the Karači dialect.

PHRASES ¹

1. *Salamalikim, baro, qefoj kybra?* Welcome, brother, how are you?
2. *Gassuluj astoj?* Whence do you come?
3. *Guj geštoj?* Where are you going?
4. *Dehlu astum, geštum vatavi agura lafgynam.* I come from the village, I am going to the town to sell horses.
5. *Agura astagoj?* Have you any horses?
6. *Ja agurum astagum.* I have one horse.
7. *Ja gajru kohvu astaq?* What else have you?
8. *Doj mangaf, ja mangaf, pang guzij, dah bakra, tryn kukyry, deh pang gimari, tryn kukar, ördaq, qaz, ja mejmun.*
Two bulls, one cow, five she-goats, ten sheep, three dogs, fifteen hens, three cocks, ducks, geese, and one monkey.

¹ In the transcription of words of the *Bošà* and *Karači* attention should be paid to the pronunciation of the following letters:—

ch=guttural *ch*, as in 'loch.'

q=*kh*=aspirated *k*, as in in(kh)orn.

ph=aspirated *p*, not *f*, as in li(ph)ook.

ġ=*dj*.

č=*ch* soft.

š=*sh*.

ž=*ts*.

y=*wi*.

9. *Qasta mašghul astoj?* What is your occupation?
10. *Ma dom astum.* I am a Gypsy.
11. *Qithi dum astaq?* Are there many Gypsies here?
12. *Nafsol, vali qiaqama.* No, very few.
13. *Hue [?] buhu astaq?* Where are there many? [should it not be *gue* instead of *hue*?].
14. *Hue har gu qutie.* They are everywhere.
15. *Tera babuj, daji, marus, chuldari astaq?* Have you a father, mother, wife, children?
16. *Babum, dajum na'a, ama chuldarum, marus, barun astaq.* I have no father or mother, but I have children, a wife, and brothers.
17. *Tera astaq qyrmyzi mahudi?* Have you red cloth?
18. *Masan astaq qyrmyzi, kara, zardavi, gög, iaşyl mahudi.* I have red, black, yellow, blue, green cloth.
19. *Ma qaşdum lipara sona agurahi.* I want to buy a fine horse.
20. *Lipar lolda anguşdari.* Buy a gold ring.
21. *Ha qan sona barq bat a?* What is this hard beautiful stone?
22. *Dime ğaniqqa dyrgha manisa?* Do you know this great man?
23. *Hu sona aqylla manis a.* He is a very clever man.
24. *Ma ğanişdeğ ğuna manisa.* I know a man of no great stature.
25. *Chujia na manqışda pis manis.* God loves not bad people.
26. *Sona manisas sy manqışdad.* Every one loves good people.
27. *Ha bani şor a.* This water is salt.
28. *Qa gavia gas a.* What bitter grass.
29. *Gand gulda hi.* Sugar is sweet.
30. *Tu ne gaja qata seb.* You did not eat sour apples.
31. *Bdeh ha gri deş tera baruğ.* Give back this sharp knife to thy brother.
32. *Qaçach vana khyrsiqi qalaz mejsiq?* When will you bring me the bear's skin?
33. *Ma vanam teziqa maraliqi qalaz, logva, quqaz, şiriqi.* I will bring you the skin of a deer, fox, wolf, lion.
34. *Gişuaz minus ğavar minasta sonah aj.* Wheaten bread is better than barley.
35. *Meri benam nejsusa oppal anguşdari.* My sister lost a silver ring.

36. *Mera chalun buqandas echras lüh govalasan.* My uncle dug a ditch with an iron spade.
37. *Ha dar agura haj.* This tree is crooked.
38. *Hu kašta taza masi.* He eats fresh meat.
39. *Hye duhend banđi khasta sona silda baniasan.* They washed their hands with clean, cold water.
40. *Asan gam buhu dada hi.* This day (sun ?) is very hot.
41. *Qa klav mangaf ġerimda.* What a fat bull is grazing (in the meadow).
42. *Hy chàa bojamyšgoz zard ranqasan.* He dyed the egg a yellow colour.
43. *Ku kajduz teri qabar.* Who stole your rug ?
44. *Qubu qaba ?* Which rug ?
45. *Dyrgha, i.* The long one.
46. *Ame (mejsi) bešdenge čajmy.* We were sitting in a shady place.
47. *Čyghyrmyš chuti naziq sosasa.* Cry out with a shrill voice.
48. *Varsindasi guri qisia.* Our tent was soaked with rain.
49. *Ame pišdenq archi bani.* We drink river water.
50. *Aqisan hanaq miqa.* Do not play with fire.
51. *Ġiviha rušdind.* The women weep.
52. *Chuldara chazišdind.* The children are laughing.
53. *Kukyryha hafišdind.* The dogs bark.
54. *Pišiq nižu myšu.* The cat caught a mouse.
55. *Silala bafyr varsa.* In winter snow comes [falls].
56. *Hu sona gočach manis a.* He is a brave man.
57. *Ohe akilli ġivi a.* She is a clever woman.
58. *Mansaz ruhuz ná mia.* The soul of man does not die.
59. *Qa soni išyk arat a.* What a beautiful moonlight night.
60. *Ġalamyn tu miqa.* Do not swim in the well.
61. *Ma bahandum bahrast.* I fastened the doors.
62. *Tu liparum guzi.* You bought a young lamb.
63. *Hu qia meša.* He went into the wood.
64. *Ame dikom teri laftihi.* We saw your daughter.
65. *Hye qie vatavi.* They rode into the town.
66. *Ma geštum sotiam.* I am going to sleep.
67. *Tu niom mača.* You catch a fish.
68. *Hu choġnaend plov.* He is boiling pilaf for us.
69. *Qire lifa.* Sing me a song.
70. *Qire feišd na ġanišdum.* I do not know any songs.
71. *Ame gelišding.* We shall dance.

72. *Dime vašnaiš ġara.* You light a candle.
73. *Hye arisi ġašdind.* They are preparing a wedding.
74. *Tu saġa na vitištuj.* You say what is not true.
75. *Ma saġa vitištuj.* I speak truth.
76. *Ġuj chošduj.* Where you live.
77. *Mera qarum ġutie.* My home is everywhere.
78. *Ma thisan ġeštum deh.* I will go into the village with you.
79. *Qačach ġeštuj.* When will you go?
80. *Duj hafta phaġa viġanq.* In about two weeks.
81. *Amari dehe tala paġis a.* Our villages are behind the hill.
82. *Amari dehe nega meša astaq.* There is a wood near our villages.
83. *Talas sirasta bafyr.* Snow lies on the mountain. (?) *Sir*, head, mountain? [The sentence is wrongly divided by Patkanoff. It should be *Talas sir asta bafyr.* On hill head is snow.]
84. *Ma nigyldum ġuriagi.* I went out from the tent.
85. *Tu išdišdoj mira vahrim.* You stand before me.
86. *Hu išdišdoz (tiha) qaraz ortami.* He stood in the middle of the house.
87. *Mira bahnym agura astaq.* The horse is under me.
[(?) The horse is my sister's.]
88. *Chuja biafti, bdeh mera qavrum.* For God's sake give me my money.
89. *Tera ġiti jašoġ astaq.* How old are you?
90. *Qurd na sigišda buhu-buhu baġišda naista.* What a Kurd cannot take away, that he gives away (?).
91. *Ata ġhairi manisasi a, myši eqaqan (?) laġisdiq.* It is other folk's meal, but the mice fight.
92. *Pišiqi naros myš nišdaq.* What is born of a cat catches mice.
93. *Dostasan qamy lapi va sovdasyz ġaryšmyš my ġa.* Eat and drink with a friend, but do not do business with him.
94. *Ku qamaz varahqam na dikus, čajymy na pijus.* He who did not work in the sun, did not eat or drink in the shade (?)
95. *Davasi kona tuz, ġi ġirġiazi tuz choj.* Supposing the camel himself were straight, would his neck be straight?
96. *Sona banir a, ama kukyri bafis a.* Good is cheese, but in a dog's mouth.
97. *Giengo sukuma šach lapelan, nejsusen baŋġi qanuma.* Having set out to make himself horns, he lost even his ears.

98. *Mund sirqa gabas nafsol qašda.* Strong vinegar spoils the dish.
99. *Faqyr manis dykyna ja lühva chuj, ja mismar.* The wind-fall of a beggar is either a horse-shoe or a nail.
100. *Sebki mahus sona hi, amma mančus ganila chahi.* The apple is beautiful outside, but rotten within.
101. *Guldi ġibisa sapas ėijasi apelank.* With a sweet tongue one wiles a snake from its hole.

Arata; duj doma gešdind vatavi It was evening; two Gypsies
čani lafgyni (vygynyš). *Vani* went to the town to sell sieves.
vahriz qar vygija, lyčaenda In front of them went an ass
lazym ġurabaġura ġiaqan. laden with necessities. The
Domaha mahni chania neiqa, Gypsies stopped at a spring,
pienth taza silda bani, ġie they drank fresh cold water,
huthaj. Qa čachki tarkicha, and went on. When it grew
domaha čuntite ġuriaha bala- dark, the Gypsies pitched a
genda, ak vašnaend, atasi puš- small tent, lighted a fire, and
urik choġnaend. Minas arata made porridge of meal. After
goennan pača, hye deršeche syte, supper they lay down to sleep,
sabahasi lašde bandaqi. but the next day they continued
 their journey.

So far as we can judge from the phrases given above, the forms of the dialect of the Karači (that is to say, in the Transcaucasus, since we have no data as to the grammatical side of this dialect in Persia) has in a notable manner lost its original form, this being supplied by Persian equivalents. But, nevertheless, more is retained than in the dialect of the Boša.

In a few adjectives traces of origin are preserved in *a* for the masculine and *i* for the feminine gender: *aqilla manus*, 'clever man'; *aqilli ġivi*, 'clever woman'; *gand gulda*, 'sweet sugar'; *guldi ġib*, 'sweet tongue'; *meri benam*, 'my sister'; *mera qarum*, 'my house'; *teri qābar*, 'your rug,' etc.

Of the cases the following show most plainly: instrumental singular in *sa* (*isa, asa*) or *san* (*isan, asan*): *sosasa*, 'with the voice'; *ġibisa*, 'with the tongue'; *ġovalasan*, 'with a spade'; *ranqasan*, 'with colour'; *dostasan*, 'with a friend'; *baniasan*, 'with water'; *aqisan*, 'with fire,' etc. The originative gives the following examples: *dehlu*, 'from the village'; (to this also must apparently be referred *gassuluġ*, 'whence'); *minasta*, 'from bread'; *ġuriaqi*, 'from the tent'; *atass*, 'from meal'; *varsindasi*, 'from

rain'; *čyasi*, 'from a hole,' etc. In three instances the ending *as* serves as an accusative: *sona manisas sy manqišdad*, 'every one loves good men'; *mera chalun bugandus čuchras*, 'my uncle dug a ditch'; *guldi ġibisa sapas čijasi apelank*, 'with a sweet tongue you can wile a snake from its hole.'

The ending *az* serves two purposes, the genitive case or an adjective: *quq*, 'wolf'; *quqaz*, 'of a wolf' or 'wolfish'; *ġišu*, 'wheat'; *ġišuaz*, 'of wheat' or 'wheaten.' Words take this suffix before certain prepositions: *qam*, 'sun'; *qamaz varahqam*, 'in the sun'; *qar*, 'house'; *qaraz ortami*, 'in the midst of the house or room.'

The nominative plural ends in *ha* like the Persian: *ġiviha*, 'married women'; *domaha*, 'Gypsies'; *kukyryha*, 'dogs'; *ġuriahha*, 'tents.' I have not been able to find examples of other cases.

A few adjectives (perhaps in the genitive case) are formed from substantives, taking the ending *iqi*: *maraliqi*, *širiqi*, *chyrsiqi*, from *maral*, *šir*, *chyr*.

Numerals: one, *ja*; two, *duj*, *doj*; three, *tryn*; four, *išthar*; five, *panġ*; ten, *dah*; fifteen, *deh panġ*. The other numerals are not met with in the examples.

Personal pronouns: I, *ma*; thou, *tu*, *toj*; he, *hy*, *hu*; she, *ohe*; we, *ame*; ye, *dime*; they, *hue*, *hye*. In the dialect of the Syrian Gypsies also, *ma*, *tu*, *hu*.

The oblique cases of the personal pronouns are used also as possessives, as is plain from the examples: *mira vahrin*, 'before me'; *a mira qarum*, 'my house'; *tera astaq*, 'you have'; *a tera baruġ*, 'to thy brother'; *amare dehe*, 'our village'; *masan astaq*, 'I have.' Other cases: *thisan*, 'with thee'; *meisiqa vana*, 'he brings me'; *teisiqa vanam*, 'I will bring you.' The traces of other pronouns are not altogether clear: *ha*, 'this'; *appal*, 'one's own' (?); *lapelan*, 'to one's self' (?); *qasta*, 'with what'; *banġi*, 'one's own.'

The verbs present a great variety of form, and only in some instances, which are nearer the Persian form, can any regularity of ending be found.

PRESENT OR FUTURE—SINGULAR NUMBER

Auxiliary Verb—

astum, 'I am'; *astoj*, 'thou art'; third person: *astaq*, *asta*; also *a*, *aġ*, *haġ*, *hi*.

Other verbs—

1. *astagum, geštum, vanam, ġanišdum, and ġanišdeg.*
2. *astagoj, geštoj, chašduj.*
3. *sirasta, geštīd, nišdaq, varsa, manqišdad, and na manqišda.*

PLURAL

1. *gelišding, pišdenq.*
2. *vašnaieh, ġaniqqa.*
3. *vašnaiend, rušdind, gašdind, choġnaend.*

In the same tense are found the forms: *nīom*, 'thou seizest'; *mīa*, 'he dies.'

PAST TENSE—SINGULAR NUMBER

1. *bahandum, nigyldum.*
2. *gaja, liparun.*
3. *išdišdoz, kajduz, bugandus, nejsusa, qia.*

PLURAL

1. *bešdenge, dikom.*
- 2.
3. *choġnaend, duhend, vašnaend, nejsusen, gešdind, qie, giengo.*

The following examples of the imperative are met with: *bdeh*, 'give'; *lipar*, 'buy,' 'buy ye'; *lifa*, 'sing'; *lapi*, 'drink'; *biafti*, 'fear.' In Paspatis's vocabulary, pp. 332-333, there are found in the dialect of the Asiatic Gypsies above ten words, which in the imperative prefix the syllable *le* (from *láva*). The same is found in our list in the words *lafgynam* and *lepi*, although they are not in the imperative.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEWS

Grammaire du Tchingané ou langue des Bohémiens errants.

Par J. A. DECOURDEMANCHE. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908.
384 S.

DECOURDEMANCHE'S Buch ist keine Beschreibung eines bisher unbekannt gebliebenen Zigeunerdialekts, auch keine zusammenfassende Darstellung aller oder doch der wichtigsten Mundarten. Es beruht hinsichtlich des Stoffs fast ganz auf den Angaben von Paspati (*Études sur les Tchingianés ou Bohémiens de l'empire Ottoman*) und Vaillant (*Grammaire dialogues et vocabulaire de la langue des Bohémiens ou Cigains*), stellt aber den allerdings neuen, ja sogar überraschenden Versuch dar, die bekannten Formen sämtlich auf ihre letzten Elemente zurückzuführen und darin weit über alles bisher Geleistete hinauszugehn. Und dieser etwas kühne Versuch wird nicht etwa in erster Linie zum Zweck der Aufhellung des Zigeunerischen unternommen, sondern, um an dieser für eine solche Analyse angeblich ganz besonders geeigneten Sprache eine vorbildliche Arbeit für die vergleichende Grammatik des Indogermanischen überhaupt vorzunehmen. Man habe festgestellt, erklärt Decourdemanche in seiner Vorrede, dass die indogermanischen Wörter in Wurzeln und Affixe zu zerlegen seien, habe die dieser Beobachtung entsprechende Arbeit auch im Einzelnen ausgeführt, dann aber von einem Versuch, nun die Wurzeln noch einer weiteren Analyse zu unterwerfen ohne Grund Abstand genommen. Denn die Möglichkeit einer derartig weitgehenden Zerlegung werde eben durch das im vorliegenden Buche gegebene Beispiel, die Zurückführung des Zigeunerischen auf einige wenige Elemente, seine Erklärung aus den Band I, S. 390, dieses Journals schon angeführten fünf Prinzipien zur Genüge bewiesen.

Da der Verfasser des vorliegenden Buches die Elemente, in die er die zigeunerischen Wörter zerlegt, offenbar nicht für blosse Abstraktionem hält, sondern ihnen eine einst selbständige Existenz zuschreibt, so muss es, scheint mir, nicht wenige überraschen, dass in dem ganzen Buche auch nicht ein einziges Mal der Versuch gemacht wird, das moderne Zigeunerwort zunächst einmal auf eine ältere, uns überlieferte Form zurückzuführen, um von da aus dann weiter in die Urzeit zu schweifen. Infolge dieses Mangels geschichtlicher Betrachtung treten denn auch Decourdemanche's Wortzerlegungen zu dem von fast allen Sprachforschern für richtig oder doch wenigstens wahrscheinlich Erachteten in den meisten Fällen recht schroff in Widerspruch. So zerlegt sich das Wort *trašul* 'Kreuz,' das fraglos wie das von Pott (*Die Zigeuner*, II, 293) und Miklosich (*Die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, VIII, 87) angeführte und auch richtig gedeutete *trušul* auf das altindische *triṣūlam* 'Dreizack' zurückgeht, nach Decourdemanche (S. 169) in *tras*, einen Instrumentalis zu *tra* 'ausserhalb' mit der Bedeutung 'jenseits, sehr hoch' und ein possessives Element *l*, so dass *trašul* also ursprüngliche 'in' oder 'mit der grossen Erhöhung' geheissen haben müsste. So soll *bav* 'Fuss' (S. 229) in *ba* aus *pa* 'niedrig' und *v* 'sich aufhaltend' zerfallen, obwohl das doch ersichtlich zugrunde liegende mittelindische *pāu* wohl nach sämtlicher Indologen Ansicht nicht vom altindischen *padam* getrennt werden kann, das *v* also gar nicht ursprünglich ist. So wird bei der Zerlegung von *tut* 'Milch' in *tu* 'Flüssigkeit, Schleim' und *t* 'mit' (S. 291) gar keine Notiz davon genommen, dass die zugrunde liegende mittelindische Form *dudham* auf eine altindische zurückgeht, die noch ein bei der Analyse nicht berücksichtigtes *g* aufweist, nämlich auf *dugdham*. Das doch wohl kaum vom altindischen *nāsikā* zu trennende *nak* 'Nase' zerfällt nach Decour-

demanche (S. 342 in *na* 'Person Leib' und *k* 'herausgehend,' das zigeunerische *ruk* 'Baum' aus mittelindischem *rukkho* aus altindischem *rukṣaḥ* soll aus *ru* 'Saft' mit einem possessiven *k* bestehn (S. 289); das aus dem griechischen *δρόμος* verkürzte *drum* 'Weg' (S. 170) wird in *dru* statt *dur* 'fern' und *m* 'bleibend' aufgelöst; das Wort *momeli* 'Kerze,' dessen Ableitung von dem aus dem Armenischen entlehnten *mom* 'Wachs' nur von Leuten angefochten werden kann, die das ganz geläufige Grundwort nicht kennen oder so organisiert sind, dass eine Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen unausführbar wird, ist angeblich (S. 292) in *mo* 'viel,' *me* 'Schleim' und *li* 'habend' aufzulösen. Und so geht's fort, fast das ganze Buch hindurch. Ich will nicht versäumen, ausdrücklich zu erklären, dass Decourdemanche's Werk auch einiges enthält, was zwar nicht neu, aber doch mindestens nicht falsch ist. Neu und richtig zugleich ist aber wohl nichts von dem, was es bietet, es sei denn das im Anhang mitgeteilte, freilich verdächtig absonderliche Männer-, Weiber- und Kinderalphabet, über das ich nicht urteilen kann, hinsichtlich dessen der Berichterstatter aber doch wohl gut getan hätte zu sagen, woher ihm die Kenntnis desselben gekommen.

F. N. FINCK.

Die Zigeuner und der deutsche Staat. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftlichen Doktorwürde der K. Bayer. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, vorgelegt von RICHARD BREITHAUPt aus Kassel. Würzburg, C. J. Becker's Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1907. pp. 87.

Nearly two hundred and fifty years ago a German dissertation inaugurated the scientific treatment of the history and ethnography of the Gypsies. But if any one looks to Breithaupt's dissertation in hopes of finding a new Thomasius, I fear he will be disappointed. Indeed, though the freedom of choice of a subject permitted to students in German universities is no doubt a tax on the professors' omniscience, it is difficult to see how a thesis, whose author has ignored all the most important new works on the subject of which he treats, can have been held sufficiently creditable to pass muster as a learned work. Surely to write a chapter on the fifteenth-century immigration of the Gypsies without reference to Bataillard, Miklosich, de Goeje, or even Hopf, is to show a lamentable ignorance of the literature on the point. To put forward Grellmann's Tamerlane theory as the accepted explanation of their coming, and to reject the twelfth-century German monk's reference to *Kaltschmiede* without discussion of the slightly later evidence of Symon Simeonis and the host of other evidence which has been adduced to prove beyond any doubt that Gypsies were known in the south-east of Europe some centuries before 1417, merely because it conflicts with that theory, is to prove oneself quite sixty years behind the times. Yet even so, if Breithaupt had fulfilled his promise and given a thorough and painstaking collection of the early authorities for that immigration, and had really saved one the 'trouble of referring to the sources,' one might reasonably be thankful to him. But here again I fear he proves little better than a broken reed. Of the three persons who spoke of the invasion as eye-witnesses or at least contemporaries he omits two, Körner and Rufus. Of the two chroniclers who date the appearance of bands of those uninvited guests before the year 1417 he does not condescend to quote Fabricius. Nor can one rely with confidence on the accuracy of the passages which he does quote, if the first of them is a fair sample of the rest. A glance at the quotation from

Krantz will convince any one that either Krantz or the man who copied him was surprisingly ignorant of Latin, and a collation of the text with the edition which it professes to follow, proves that Krantz was not the offender. In five-and-twenty lines there are at least as many mistakes, many of them entirely upsetting the grammar (e.g. *Tartarus vulgus appellat* for *Tartaros*) or the sense of the passage (e.g. *nullum agnoscens* for *nullam agnoscens patriam*). Even the simple tricks of ancient typography, such as the representation of *m* or *n* by a stroke over a vowel, are mysteries which Breithaupt has failed to penetrate. It is obvious that one cannot look for either thoroughness or accuracy in an author who is guilty of sins such as these, and, not to keep on carping, it is perhaps best to notice only the few points of interest in his summary account of the subsequent history of German Gypsies.

The importance of the Gypsies, he says, lay in the influence they had on the large body of national wanderers. In Germany, as in England, it would seem that the Gypsies suggested to them the introduction of what they had formerly lacked, organisation. He points out that in the eighteenth century these organised bands of outcasts became a real danger in Germany, and that the Gypsies were associated with them, though admittedly in an inferior capacity, never as leaders in any desperate enterprise. Then, after a digression on the Friedrichslohra attempt at inducing them to settle, he gives some newspaper reports, written in an hysterical style with which any one who happened to be in a district through which our recent 'German Gypsy' visitors passed will be familiar, on the doings of the bands of Gypsies who were wandering about Germany at the same time. If, as one rather infers, his purpose is to prove that the Gypsies are a real danger to Germany still, it is surely a strange confession of national incompetence. The German police administration must be far less efficient than a casual visitor to that country would infer, if brigandage can be considered as an even remotely possible contingency in these days.

One is comforted to find that in serious Germany there are some who raise a voice in defence of the unconstitutional free life of the Gypsies. Rotering, recognising their inborn penchant to wandering, claims it for them as a right and pleads for a 'Schweigen des Gesetzgebers.' Breithaupt will hear none of it, indeed he shows more than the usual normal man's lack of sympathy with eccentricity. Speaking of a noted child-murderer, he seems to rather regret that a severer sentence was not passed on his first crime because the circumstances of it showed a natural chronic tendency towards that particular form of crime. He seems to fail to see that those selfsame circumstances showed that the man was not fully responsible for his actions. Nor, if wandering and occasional petty pilferings are crimes, can the Gypsy be rightly counted responsible for his actions. The habit, as Rotering argues, is ingrained and irresistible. Breithaupt has another and a much stranger argument for refusing them special privileges as wanderers, that there are often some *gájos* among them. By the same reasoning it would follow that bees are not worth carefully hiving because there are often some drones among them.

But he has at least the sense to realise that 'getting at them through their children' has not succeeded, and is not likely to succeed; nor yet are attempts at inducing them to settle. To the latter he demurs, too, on the ground that the consequent intermarriage with Germans would be detrimental to the German race. If he were not prejudiced he might have inferred from the Meckese, whom he mentions as undesirable *poshrats* at the settlement at Wittgenstein, that it would be equally detrimental to the Gypsy type. For the rest, his suggested legal reforms do not seem either very new or very startling. He would have a strict law passed that all begging, even if carried on under cover of hawking, should be punished, and that practising a wandering trade without a pass should be counted as *Landstreicherei*. Of German law I know nothing, and very little of German customs;

so this may all be new and original. But when in Germany, I so often saw 'Hausieren ist verboten' posted up on houses that I was led to suppose that the mere act of hawking, even if unaccompanied by begging, was almost a criminal act; and Flynt's experiences among the German beggars prove clearly that the *Putz* (policeman) kept a pretty sharp eye on a wanderer's *Flebbe* (passport).¹ If the laws exist, and are not properly enforced, it is hardly fair to blame the Gypsies.

Offenders he threatens with the *Arbeitshaus*—the very place, to judge by its name, which a conscientious Gypsy would try to avoid—and if they are foreigners, with banishment. Finally, considering the comfortable circumstances of many of them, he would have them taxed. I am afraid he hardly realises that the comfortable circumstances are generally due to the little perquisites which he wishes to deny them by stricter legislation; and if he did realise it he would rail the louder against those perquisites. Yet are Gypsies the only persons whose unearned increments escape the tax-gatherer? In Germany, as well as elsewhere, one meets with many outstretched hands, and they do not all bear the Gypsy thumbmark.² If a hotel-porter and other servants may grow rich on hoarded tips, for which the tipper often receives but scant civility, why should a Gypsy dame be grudged her little gleanings won by transporting a credulous lover into the seventh heaven by her prophecies? If a 'gentleman's gentleman' may superciliously refuse anything less than paper from a departing guest, why should a Gypsy not be allowed to shower blessings on one's head for a few halfpence, some cast-off clothes, or other unconsidered trifles? Heaven help half the world if they are to subsist on what they can honestly claim to have earned by the sweat of their brows!

Incidentally Breithaupt (p. 44) introduces us to an interesting personality, if his careless informant, who quotes no authority for his statement, is not in error,—one Hans Waldmann, Bürgermeister of Zürich and King of the Swiss Tinkers. Breithaupt scouts the idea that a gentleman who loved to entertain nobility could have been boon companion with the most abandoned rascals in history. To a law-abiding mind like his doubtless the two ideas are incompatible. But Deacon Brodie did not find such a double life impossible, and the worthy Bürgermeister may have been a man of the same kidney. If he were, one would be glad to hear more of him.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ Cf. Flynt, *Tramping with Tramps* (London, 1900), p. 178 *et seq.*

² Cf. E. Bisland, *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (London, 1906), vol. i. p. 5.

RECENT WORKS ON THE GYPSIES

MISS LUCY ETHELDRED BROADWOOD. *English Traditional Songs and Carols*. London and New York (Boosey and Co.), 1908. Price 2s. 6d. net. Two of these songs were obtained by Miss Broadwood from a Gypsy family of the name of Goby, wanderers in Sussex and Surrey,—the ancient and noble 'King Pharim sat a-musing,' to which a learned historical note is attached, and the sombre carol, 'The moon shines bright.'

HEINRICH VON WLISLOCKI. *The Story of the Gipsies. Habits and Customs of a Wandering People*. In the *Harmsworth History of the World*, part 24 (vol. iv., pp. 3104-3112). Price 7d. net. Seems to have been somewhat carelessly written, and extremely carelessly translated and edited by the three 'associate editors'—still, it costs only 7d., and is ornamented with five illustrations.

ALBERT THOMAS SINCLAIR. *Gypsy and Oriental Musical Instruments*. Reprinted from *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi. April-September, 1908, No. lxxxi., pp. 205-221. In this paper Mr. Sinclair 'throws out hints' as to the part Gypsies may have played in bringing the Tzimbala, Pan's pipe and Bagpipe from Asia to Europe.

NOTES AND QUERIES

17.—GYPSY PARLIAMENTS

CROFTON in his 'Early Annals of the Gypsies in England' (*J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. p. 8) quotes S[amuel] R[id]'s *Art of Juggling* (1612) as the first or only authority for facts about Giles Hather, the early king of the Gypsies, and for a yearly Gypsy Parliament either at Divels-Arse-in-Peak in Derbyshire or at Ketbrooke near Blackheath. There is, however, an earlier authority from whom Samuel Rid seems to have borrowed both statements—S[amuel] R[owlands]' *Martin Mark-all* (1610). The second part of that work, entitled *The Runnagates Race or the Originall of Regiment of Rogues*, traces the history of the fraternity of Vagabonds from their origin in Jack Cade's rebellion to the time of their sixth commander Cock Lorell, who met and conferred with the Gypsies under Giles Hather. In Jack Cade's army, as officers, were two unruly fellows Bluebeard and Hugh Roberts. Bluebeard first aspired to kingship and was elected, but got himself hanged before he entered on the office. After the failure of the rebellion, Roberts and his band fled back to Blackheath and took to the woods, and when things grew quieter these 'Robert-men,' as they were called, separated, agreeing to meet once every three years at the same place. On the death of King Roberts, Jenkin Cowdiddle was elected, and when he fell at the battle of Tewkesbury one Spising succeeded. His end was the 'nubbing cheat,' and the next three kings, Puffing Dicke, Laurence Crosbiter, and Skelton, met a like or worse fate. Then followed Cocke Lorrell, a tinker and 'the most notorious knave that ever lived'; and in his days came the Gypsies.

'In the northerne partes another sort of Vagabonds (at the divels-arse-a-peake in Darbishire) began a new regiment, calling themselves by the name of Egiptians: These were a sort of rogues, that lived and do yet live by cousening and deceit, practising the arte called legerdemaine, or fast and loose, whereby they got themselves no small credite among the Countrey people by their deepe dissembling and deceitfull practises, feeding the common people, wholly addicted and given to novelties, toyes and new fangles delighting them with the strangenesse of the attire of their heads, and practising palmistry to such as would know their fortunes.

'The first that invented this new fellowship was one Giles Hather: he carried about with him his whore called (Kyt Calot)² which was termed the Queene of

¹ That two different writers bearing the initials S. R., and giving much the same information, should have written within two years of each other, strikes one as strange. Have bibliographers resolved the initials correctly?

² There is much doubt, as I learn from some unpublished notes of our new president, whether this name can be taken seriously as a proper name. *Callet* or *calot* is an old English term of abuse, though the derivation is exceedingly uncertain. Murray's Dictionary states that the French *caillette* (a little quail, a fool), or *calotte* (a peculiar kind of cap), and Gaelic and Irish *caille* (girl), have been suggested, but seems to think them all improbable. The earliest authority there cited is *Cock Lorelles Ballad* (circ. 1500): 'Yf he call her calat, she calleth hym knave agayne.' Skelton writing in the very year here given as the date of the first appearance of Giles Hather's band, uses the same word: 'Then Elynour said, ye callettes, I shall break your pallettes' (*Elynoure Rummyng*, 347); and a quotation from More, *Confutation of Tindale* (1532), shows that Kate Calot was a generic term for a strumpet: 'Frere Luther and Cate calate his nunne, lye luskying together in lechery.' There I will leave them, merely noting that the same word (*Callot*) was in use in France, denoting a particular class of Abraham-men and women, *teigneux véritable ou*

Egypties ; they goe alwaies never under an hundred men or women, causing their faces to be made blacke, as if they were Egyptians ; they wander up and down the Country as it pleaseth them best, with their horses to carry their bastards and baggage with them : and when they come into any countrey towne, they pittifully couzen the poore countrey girles both of money, silver and the best linnen onely in hope to heare their good fortunes tould them.

'After a certaine time that these up-start Lossels had got unto a head : the two chief Commaunders of both these regiments met at the Diuels-arse-a-peake, there to parle and intreate of matters that might tend to the establishing of this their new found Government' (Rowlands, *Martin Mark-all*, sig. G 4).

Concerning Giles Hather Rowlands tells us on the next page : 'Captaine Giles Hather first beganne in A.D. 1528, concerning whom there is nothing made mention of, but of his cousonage and deceit, for these kinde of people lived more quietly and out of harme in respect of the other sort, making themselves as strangers, and would never put forth themselves in any tumult or Commotion, as the other sort did ; but what vice they exercised not one way, they were not inferior to them in the like, or rather worse another way, so that what betweene them both, they were two pestiferous members in a Commonwealth.'

This description leaves little doubt that Giles Hather and his band were genuine Gypsies, though the story of their meeting and consorting with the 'canting Caterpillars' may be purely imaginary. That, however, they did consort with them, the Scottish Tinklers are a living proof, so that the tale is not utterly impossible. Assuming that such a parliament was held, was it a new invention ? or was it rather, as Leland, who refers to Rowlands in the introduction to his *Slang Dictionary* seems to think, a Gypsy custom adopted by the maunders ? Samuel Rid's statement that the Gypsies met once a yeare, sometimes at the quaintly-named spot in Derbyshire, and 'otherwhiles at Ketbrooke' by Blackheath is, I fear, no evidence at all ; for, except for the mention of Ketbrooke, which may perhaps have been a noted Gypsy locality, it seems to be borrowed from Rowlands. The meeting at Blackheath is, as I have already mentioned, referred by him to the early Robert-men, and at the beginning of *Martin Mark-all* he again refers to the meeting of Cock Lorell and Giles Hather in Derbyshire, adding a note that they, the 'canting Caterpillars,' still meet there once every three years. Probably Samuel Rid combined the two statements, altering three years to one, and referred them to the Gypsies.

There is, however, other evidence for the existence of such parliaments in quite recent times, as may be seen from the following extract from *The Times*, January 27, 1872, p. 5, col. 3, 'A Gipsy Parliament. The great Parliament of the Gipsies, which is held once every seven years, will be held this year on the second of February, at Canstadt, in Germany, out of deference for King Joseph Reinhard,¹ who is ninety-eight years of age, and not able to undertake any long journey. Delegates of all Gipsy tribes will attend the Parliament to deliberate on common interests.' The mere difficulty of convoking a pan-Gypsy conference is sufficient to throw doubt on the contributor's credibility. No doubt he misunderstood his informant, who was merely referring to a gathering of German Gypsies such as that in which Gilliat-Smith's Rhenish friends threatened to discuss his sin in eating horse-flesh (*J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 138). Such gatherings are held once every

faux. Cf. Lacroix, *Mœurs, usages et coutumes au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1871), p. 500. A more probable derivation of the word is suggested by Dr. A. Kluyver, who connects it with the German Gypsy word *chellädi*, 'die Geliebte.' The Turkish Gypsy form is *kelavdi*, 'meretrix.' Cf. A. E. H. Swaen, 'Callet Minx, Gixie' in *Englische Studien*, xxi. (Leipzig, 1895), p. 325.

¹ For Reinhard as a German Gypsy name, cf. Liebich, p. 90 ; Heister, p. 149 ; and *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 353.

seven years, according to Liebich (p. 40), and take place at Easter. There would seem occasionally to be large meetings at other times too. Compare the notice of a meeting of 1000 Gypsies at Halensee, Sept. 11, 1890, 'to celebrate the end of their summer campaign before going south' (*J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, ii. 252, from the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Sept. 12, 1890).

Another congress is noticed in *The Times* just seven years later (September 29, 1879, p. 7, col. 6). There we are informed on the authority of the *Pester Lloyd* that a congress of Hungarian Gypsies was held in the early days of September at Kirfalu, near Kaschau; and that the principal subject of deliberation was 'the common interests of Gypsies everywhere'—a sufficiently vague topic, hardly rendered more definite by the information that there was a lively debate on 'heart alliances,'¹ which 'are frequently contracted at such meetings.' This assembly apparently made no pretence at being a pan-Gypsy conference for all its broad discussions; but even such partial parliaments are rather surprising. Does anything of the kind exist in England? Among the Turkish Gypsies there seem to be large gatherings in the spring at the feast of the *Kakkavá* (cauldrons), but whether they discuss anything but good cheer I cannot tell. From the description in L. M. S. Garnett's *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore* (London 1891), vol. ii. p. 362, it would seem that they pay their taxes to the *tchéríbashi* to settle tribal affairs besides making themselves merry, and this is borne out by Paspatis in his *Études sur les Tchinghianés* (Constantinople, 1870), page 27.² But festivities seem to be their main object if their behaviour is similar to that of the Servian Gypsies.³

Assemblies are apparently held in America, too, for the benefit of Gorgios, as, according to the *Xenia* (Ohio) *Gazette*, 16th June 1899, a 'national convention' was to be held at Chicago in the latter part of the month, and a king was to be elected. Not that there was any dearth of kings; it was 'King' Jaffrey who was there advertising for his son, 'Prince Henry Jaffrey,' aged 18 or 19, who was to have been proposed for the office, if he had not bolted with a horse and buggy belonging to his father. In any case, if forthcoming, he would be crowned king of the Jaffrey tribe, on coming of age, whether his father were alive or not! (Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 9th ser., vol. iv., 1899, p. 182.)

Smaller tribal meetings are testified to in Armenia: 'Neither in Turkish nor in Russian Armenia, do they bring their disputes before the state tribunals, but before the council of their elders, presided over by the Althopakal . . .; in Russian Armenia he is associated with an Ustadar or secular caste-chieftain.'⁴ But this is parallel to the trials among English Gypsies spoken of in my note on expulsions rather than to actual parliaments, and such meetings for judicial or

¹ Doubtless the same as the 'Wahlbruderschaft,' on which Gjorgjević has much to say. Cf. *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, Teil i. p. 59. This affords an additional proof that it is not a Servian custom adopted by Servian Gypsies, as Gjorgjević at first supposed.

² Possibly it was on some such occasion that 40,000 Gypsies encamped near Belgrade in 1867 (cf. Lucas, *Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, p. 135). But that number must surely have been unusually large.

³ Cf. Gjorgjević, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, Teil i. (Budapest, 1903) p. 76, where there is a full description of the festivities on St. George's day. As that festival falls on the 23rd of April, like the *Kakkavá* feast and the Turkish Erdeleze, he infers that the practices of the Turkish Gypsies are similar to those of the latest comers in Servia on St. George's day. It is noticeable that Easter is a time of special festivity and importance among the German Gypsies too (cf. Liebich, p. 48). All these festivals fall at about the time of the breaking-up of the winter camp among wandering Gypsies; and it seems probable that they are an expression of joy at the coming of the springtime, when they can indulge their Wanderlust again, rather than a mark of attention to any Gorgio saints.

⁴ Whislocki in *Harmsworth History of the World*, pt. 24, p. 3106 (London, 1908).

other purposes were probably universal and common among the Gypsies up to a recent date : indeed, they may yet exist in lands much nearer than Armenia.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

18.—GYPSY COSTUME

A promising source of information about Gypsy costume is indicated by Dr. A. Lechner in his article on 'Gaunerlisten des 16. Jahrhunderts aus Neuveville' (*Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Zwölfter Jahrgang, 1908, Heft 2, p. 135). These manuscript lists were the predecessors of the printed 'Listen von Zigeunern, Räubern und Mördern,' which were circulated in the eighteenth century, and the three which Dr. Lechner reproduces deal with bands which infested Switzerland in 1565. Each tramp is identified by his Christian name, place of origin, mode of operations, and conspicuous bodily peculiarities ; but it is the description of the clothing which gives the catalogue its extraordinary interest.

The following is, unfortunately, the only direct reference to a Gypsy, and he seems to have been a 'counterfeit Egyptian' :—'Marx von Frankfurt thut sich für ein Mören uss, sige schwartz, trag ein dicken wie die heyden, sig under innenn gewandlett, hab ein büchss unnd ein gwer.'

19.—GYPSIES IN EUROPE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The following extracts on Gypsies in Europe in the fourteenth century are taken from a short article, 'Die Zigeuner Musik in Ungarn,' by Ludwig Fökövi (*Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte*. 30. Jahrgang, pp. 145-148, Leipzig, 1898). The quotation is from pp. 146-147. The matter seems worthy of further research.

'Nach einer bisher allgemeinen Annahme kamen die Zigeuner ungefähr um 1417 zur Zeit der Regierung des Königs Sigmund nach Ungarn. Eine Abteilung zog unter ihrem Ladislaus benannten Wojwoden in die Zips, und da gab ihnen König Sigmund um 1423 zu Szepesváralja einen Freiheitsbrief. Später bekamen sie auch unter Wladislaw II. ein ähnliches Diplom, und auch Sigmund Báthony gab ihnen ein solches. Jedoch nach neueren Nachforschungen mussten sie schon im 14. Jahrhunderte hier gewesen sein. Wie könnte man es auch sonst erklären, dass es in unserem Vaterlande schon um diese Zeit nicht nur mehrere 'Zigány' genannte edle und begüterte Familien, sondern auch im Comitate Zemplén 'Zigány' benannte völkerreiche Dörfer gab. Das beweist Lehoczky (Szazdok, 1894er Jahrgang) durch zwei im Archive des Lelesz-er Konvents aufgefundene Dokumente. In dem einem, datiert 1373 zu Visegrád, befiehlt Palatin Emerich dem Lelesz-er Konvente, dass man in der Angelegenheit des Sohnes des Dominik Zigány Untersuchung führen solle ; in dem andern, aus dem Jahre 1377, erlässt König Ludwig der Grosse einen Befehl an den Lelesz-er Konvent, dass er die Angelegenheit des Ladislaus Zigány untersuchen soll. Diese Beweise zeigen, dass im 14. Jahrhunderte eine Zigány genannte Edelfamilie blühte, die sich wenigstens ein Jahrhundert früher niedergelassen haben musste, in welcher Zeit sie die Verdienste zur Erlangung des adeligen Titels erwerben konnte.

In der Dokumenten-Sammlung der Anjou-Zeit (ii. B. 244. S.) ist ein Dokument veröffentlicht, datiert 'Visegrád 16. Mai, 1326.' König Karl I. befiehlt den Kapiteln und Konventen, dass sie die dem Palatine gebührenden Geldstrafen eintreiben sollen. Hier kommt ein Edelman Domenik Czigáni (oder Czigandi ; Kis- und Nagy Czigánd in Bodrogköz) vor, der in dem Dokumente als homo regius fungiert. Der name Zigány wird in alten Dokumenten auch anderen Ortschaften beigelegt und unterstützt die oben ausgesprochene Annahme.'

GEO. F. BLACK.

20.—THE SOOZMĀNEE: ARE THEY GYPSIES?

Professor W. I. Knapp has been kind enough to send for publication in the Journal the following letter from his collection of George Borrow's correspondence:—

TEHRAN, April 4, 1844. [Recd. May 31, '44 in Oulton.]

'DEAR SIR,—Having had occasion to visit during the last year (in my capacity of Attaché to Her Majesty's Mission) the Province of Ardelan, which is inhabited by the Persian Koords, I then had an opportunity of seeing some individuals belonging to the singular tribe named Soozmānee or Soosmānee, which has been, I believe, from time immemorial established in that district. From what I had previously learned I inferred that the Soosmānee belonged to the Gipsy race, and as there are certain points in the character and habits of this tribe which differ essentially from those you have observed elsewhere [*Zincali*, 1841], and also from those of the Karachee or Caboolee, the ordinary Gipsy race of Persia, it appeared to me that a short account even of the little which I saw of them might not be uninteresting to you, in case you had not previously been acquainted with the tribe. I may mention that the word by which they express "water" is *pānee*, which you give as a test-word of the Gipsy language. They also use the word *lao*, 'bring,' but as I have no knowledge of the language of India, I am unable to say if there are other words employed by them of Hindoostanee origin. I annex, however, a few words of their language, which were noted down as nearly as possible in the manner they were pronounced. [*List wanting.*] It is probable that these may be more or less a corruption of Koordish, but of this you will be better able to judge. It is perhaps possible that this tribe, though of Indian origin, may have been first established for a long period at Soos, or in that neighbourhood, from whence after their emigration from that place they had derived their present name of *Soos-mān*. They themselves have some faint tradition of their having come originally from India, and even now among the women there are many with features, figures, and complexions which would denote Indian descent; but the greater portion of those I saw, who were principally women, have the fair complexions, and the firm and strongly developed form of the Koordish race. Unlike their European brethren and even the other Gipsies of Persia, they are not a tented and wandering tribe, but inhabit the town of Senna and the villages adjacent to it. Their attachment also to the soil of that district is a circumstance worthy of note. Many attempts have been made by Persians to induce the women in particular to accompany them to other districts of Persia, but these have always failed when their absence from Koordistan was to be permanent; and even in other cases when force and persuasion have induced them to leave it for a short time, they have always returned to their native place as soon as an opportunity occurred, and that too, with the sacrifice of to them large sums of money which they were procuring by dancing at Tehran. The occupation of the women is that of dancing, while the men act as musicians. Their profligacy as a tribe is perhaps unmatched in any part of the globe. It is usual, I am told, and the people themselves do not deny it, for a man who marries a virgin to let her out on hire to some Koord for a certain space of time and for a certain sum, and after the expiration of the time agreed upon the girl is usually returned to the husband. It is also said that no man of the Soosmānee tribe ever cohabits with his wife until after she has been thus disposed of. Even afterwards, on the arrival of a stranger at a village inhabited by them, the women come attended by their husbands or brothers and commence singing and dancing, which is continued until the hour of sleep, when the husband leaves his wife or daughter, as the case may be, and retires, leaving it to them to arrange the wages of their prostitution. If a Soosmānee woman should produce a male child, there is no festivity upon the occasion; but if

it be a female, it is a source of rejoicing both to the mother and her husband. So open and undisguisedly do they carry on their profligacy, that a woman, when asked before her husband who is the father of the child whom she may have in her arms, will reply—such an Aghá, or such a Beg, or such a Khan. I believe, however, there is some sense of chastity [!] remaining in them, for it is said that a woman who has engaged for a week, a month, a year, or any fixed period, to live in concubinage with a man not of her own tribe, is strictly chaste during that period. Outwardly they profess the Mahomedan faith, swearing by Mahomed and Mahomedan saints, but in answer to my inquiries on this subject, they said they had no belief whatever in him or even in God. Instances innumerable of their profligacy might be given, but as my object was merely to instance the two great points in which they differ from Gypsies elsewhere, that is, in their profligacy, of which I fear there is no doubt, their attachment to a particular and confined district, and their non-nomadic life, it is unnecessary for me to trouble you by entering into a more detailed account.—I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

WM. TAYLOUR THOMSON.'

21.—A NÜRNBERG PROCLAMATION, 1699

If it is proposed to publish gradually in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* a series of enactments relating to the Gypsies, the following proclamation, which I bought lately from a German bookseller, may be of interest.

F. C. WELLSTOOD.

Dennach Fürsten und Stände des löbl. Fränc-
ischen Craißes schon von geraumer Zeit wahr genommen / was
massen in dero Landen und Gebieten sich eine grosse Anzahl starker
Gartbrüder / Herumvagirender Zügeiner und viel andern Herrn=losen Gesindleins
ohne Paß und Urkund / was ihr eigentliches Thun und Lassen / Handel oder
Wandel seye / zu Beunruhig=Beschwer= und Aengstigung des vorhin betraugten
und vom letztern Kriegs=Wesen annoch entkräfteten armen Untertkans und
Landmanns / hier und dar betretten lasse / wegen deren Ausschaff= und Zerstreuung /
als Gemein=schädlicher Leute / von denen man sich nichts gutes zu versehen / sondern
vielmehr Ausschundschaftung des Landes / Unsicherheit der Strassen / auch
Zerrütt= und Hinderung der Commerciens zu befahren habe / die heilsame Reichs=
Constitutiones / deutlichen Inhalt nach / Rath / Zihl und Maß / auch Zug und
Gewalt an Händen geben / mithin aber sich veranlasset befunden / dero zu
Besuchung des auff den $\frac{27}{17}$ Aprilis lauffenden 1699. Jahrs / nacher des Heiligen
Reichs=Stadt Nürnberg ausgeschriebenen allgemeinen Craiß=Convents abgeschickten
Rätthen / Botschaften und Gesandten / zur Berathschlagung gleichförmiger
dienlicher Anstalt / auch würcklicher executions=Beförderung special=Befehl und
Instruction zu ertheilen ; Also ist / nach vorhergegangener reiffer Erwegung / zu
Gemeinsamen Schluß kommen / auch solchen / vermittelt dessen / auf offener Sankel
in deren allerseitigen Pfarr=Spielen / zu jedermans Nachricht und Wissenschaft /
verlesen / oder sonst / auf andere gewöhnliche Artz und Weiß / affigiren und
durchgehends publiciren zu lassen / für gut erachtet worden / daß sie die obernannte
Gartbrüdere / Zügeiner und Herrn=loses Gesindlein inner 14. Tagen / nach
Verkündigung dessen / die Fräncische Lande gänzlich raumen und meiden / sich
auch darinnen fürs künfftig nicht mehr betretten lassen / und / daß sürohin kein
Fremder / welcher keinen authentischen Paß und Urkund von seiner ordentlichen

Obrigkeit vorzuweisen hat / oder sich sonst / seiner Handlung / Handels und Wandels halben nicht genugsam legitimiren kan / weder gedultet noch passirt / sondern / weilen zugleich auch / nach verfloffenen obgedachten 14. Tügen / einen General=Streiff auf einmahl in allen Fränkischen Herrschafften und Aemtern vorzunehmen / beliebt worden / der= oder dieselbe / welche von obgemeldter Gattung als dann entweder noch ergriffen oder hiernächst sich ohne glaubwürd gen Paß und genugsame legitimation über ihren ehrlichen Handel und Wandel betreten lassen würden / angehalten / auch / befindenden Dingen und Umständen nach / zur exemplarischen Straff gezogen / zur Schantz= oder andern Arbeit applicirt / des Lands und Graiffes öffentlich verwiesen und wohl gar auf die Galeren oder Grenzg=Bestungen gegen den Türcken versendet / oder weiters also mit ihnen / wie es einem jeden Fürsten und Stand (in dessen Landen sie angetroffen werden) gefällig und am rätlichstn zu seyn beduncken wird / verfahren werden solle : Indeme aber / dem gemeinen Sprich=Wort nach / der Stehler zuweilen nicht seyn wurde / wann der Fehler nicht wäre / und sich aus der bisherigen Erfahrung gezeigt / daß dergleichen obeingangs berührte Leute fast noch aller Orten / absonderlich aber in denen schlechten Wirths=armen und Hirten= Häusern / Schäfereyen / einglich=gelegenen Höfen / auch wol gar bey Wasenmeistern Hender= und Scherch= Gesind ihren Aufenthalt und Unterschlaiff gefunden / die dann und wann selbst mit unter der Decke gelegen / und dannenhero billich ein wachtsames Aug auf sie zu schlagen ist ; als wird deren receptation / Beherbergung und Aufnahm / bey Vermeidung ernstlichen Obrigkeitlichen Einsehens / und oberzehnten= auch noch mehr andern schweren willkürlichen Straffen / ingleichen Durchgehends und gänglich verbotten / wornach sich zu achten. Signatum Nürnberg bey annoch versammeltem allgemeinen Fränkischen Graiß=Convent. Den $\frac{5}{25}$ May 1699. (L.S.) (L.S.) (L.S.) (L.S.)

TRANSLATION.

WHEREAS the Princes and deputies of the honourable Frankish circuit have already for a long while observed how a great number of sturdy beggars, vagrant Gypsies and many other masterless men have here and there invaded their lands and territories without pass and document certifying their occupation, trade or traffic, to the disquiet and grievous oppression of their poor subjects and countrymen, already afflicted and weakened by the late war, for their expulsion and dispersion as public nuisances from whom one can expect to get no good, but rather spying out of the land, unsafety of the roads, and disturbance and hindrance of trade, the salutary statutes according to their clear content give advice, limitation, authority and force, but besides they have found themselves forced at their visit on the 27 April of the current year 1699, afterwards to impart to the councillors and representatives of the statutory General Assembly, special commands and instructions for a consultation about uniform practicable measures and active execution : Wherefore after preliminary ripe consideration it was generally resolved also to have them read hereby openly in their different parish games for every one's information and instruction, or else posted up in any other ordinary way and thoroughly published, that it is resolved that the aforementioned beggars, Gypsies and masterless men do within 14 days after the proclamation of this, entirely quit and void the Frankish lands and no more enter therein in the future, and that henceforth no stranger who cannot show an authentic pass and document from his proper authorities, or otherwise properly prove his business, trade and traffic, be either suffered or allowed to pass, but since it has been resolved too to make a clean sweep simultaneously in all Frankish dominions and jurisdictions at the end of the

specified 14 days, he or she of the aforesaid class who is then found^dor may shortly hereafter enter without authentic pass and sufficient legitimation of honest trade and traffic, be seized, and, after proving the case and circumstances, be sent to exemplary punishment, set to labour in the trenches or other work, openly banished the land and circuit, and even sent to the galleys or outposts against the Turks, or be otherwise treated as shall please and seem most wise to each prince and deputy, in whose land they are found : but since, according to the common proverb, there would oft be no stealer, if there were no concealer, and it has been shown by past experience that the persons alluded to at the beginning have found lodging and harbourage in almost all places, but especially in low inns, peasants' and shepherds' houses, sheep-cotes, lonely country houses, and even with public flayers, hangmen and catchpoles, who occasionally have themselves slept with them, and therefore it is reasonable to keep a sharp eye on them ; since the receipt, harbourage and sheltering of them is likewise fully and utterly forbidden on pain of serious attention from the authorities and the aforementioned punishments and more heavy punishments too if desired : wherefore beware.

Signed at Nürnberg at the assembled general Frankish assembly, the ^{5 May}_{5 April} 1699.

22.—GYPSIES IN BOHEMIA IN ELEVENTH CENTURY(?)

'Bretislav, eldest son of the late King Vratislav, took formal possession of the Crown in September 1092. The commencement of his reign, after the customary public election, enthronization and festivities, was marked by a singular decree expelling from Bohemia the unwelcome people described as "soothsayers, sorcerers, and cheats" (Betruger), who had acquired much influence over the simple folk by pretended divining arts in groves and woods. They were expelled from the country ; and their haunts burned. These people were probably a tribe of gypsies who had associated their practices of stealing and fortune-telling with the remnants of the old paganism. These wanderers came into prominence early in the fifteenth century ; but bands of them had been found in Hungary, Poland, and Northern Greece long previous to that time. Their patois language was composed of Hungarian, Slavonian, and Greek words ; and some German was added at a later period. Even in the eleventh century their origin had been forgotten. Possibly the decease of the dreaded King Vratislav encouraged a migration into Bohemia. Their native place must have been east of Hungary.'—Robert H. Vickers, *History of Bohemia*, p. 125. Chicago, 1894. 8vo.

23.—TENT OR WORKHOUSE

The following anecdote from the *Nineteenth Annual Report*, 1907-1908, of the New Forest Gipsy Mission must have given less pleasure to the subscribers than it will to most members of the G. L. S. :—

'A very old Gipsy woman is in the Union—she went there on account of illness. . . . The last time I saw her she was better in health and well cared for. The nurse and other friends were very kind, and hoped she would remain there. But I could see she was restless, and asked a reason for it. She soon told me that her children were in the Forest, and she liked being with them, and thought she had been in that place long enough ; she liked living out-of-doors best. "I won't bide here much longer," she said, just before I left ; *but we trust she will.*'

The Missionary, Mr. G. R. Shaw of Ashurst, Lyndhurst, R.S.O., Hants, is however kinder than his principles, for though he complains that 'it is most difficult to get Gipsies to give up their tent-life—they seem to love the open air

and their freedom,' and is 'sorry that some of the Gipsies have left their cottages for the tent, and that none have left their tent for a cottage,' yet it is evident that a part of his ministrations consists in supplying new tent-covers, hawkers' licences, wedding-rings, and even donkeys to his parishioners.

24.—A GYPSY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RACE

In the Rev. T. W. Norwood's note-books many pages are filled with vocabularies and facts which he obtained from Mr. Goddard Johnson of East Dereham, Norfolk. Among these is a series of answers to questions similar to those which Hoyland asked in the circular dated quaintly '5th Month, 16th, 1815,' which he 'sent into most of the Counties of England with a view to ascertain their [the Gypsies'] state.' As Hoyland's book was published in 1816, William Bos's answers cannot have been taken into consideration in drafting the report which appears on page 165.

William Bos, a Gipsy, answered thus 3 July 1822.

(1.) That they bury always in consecrated ground. Several of his family lie at Rounds [Rawnds] Church, Northamptonshire. If any place is desired by the dying, they convey the corpse to it.

(2.) They mostly have their children christened, and get a certificate of it. Many, however, do not so.

(3.) We have no Gipsy prayers: we say the Lord's Prayer and Belief. There are records belonging to certain families, but not to all.

(4.) I have no notion whence we came; nor what number we are now in England; nor how many gangs we have. I never heard of Faw's gang, Borthwick's gang, etc.

(5.) We travel in Norfolk and Suffolk, but are not limited. Sometimes we go farther; but do best where we are known. In winter we lodge in Yarmouth or Norwich.

(6.) We sometimes meet together with those we know for drinking, feasting, dancing, and music. I do not know how numerous we are in Norfolk.

(7.) Children are of the same trades as their parents mostly. The women wash, mend, beg old clothes, and tell fortunes.

(8.) We come our rounds to certain places regularly.

(9.) We camp in the same places as others, and do not know who has preceded us.

(10.) All Gipsies use the same language; and my Father is one of the few who can write. Our Society has no regular laws, nor king.

(11.) My family marries at Church by licence; but not one couple in 50 is so married. Very few can read. Most of us 'house' in winter.

(12.) I could not be happy if any of my children were taken from me; so they are not taught. We have many forms of *Patran* to show the way to stragglers.

On the same page are the following notes, the first of which is attached to Answer 12 above:—

'James Brown explained this to Mr. Johnson, 14 April, 1826, and called it *Patrin-ing*.'

'Mr. England, a Quaker of Sheffield, is a Gipsy student.'

'Reynold Hearn travelling at E. Dereham in 1823 fasted on Good Friday and the four Fridays next after from flesh, in consideration of the five wounds of Christ.'

'Norfolk names—Hearne, Brown, Young, Boss, Smith.'

HELEN GROSVENOR.

25.—GYPSY GLAMOUR

The following instance of Gypsy glamour, written, apparently about 1860, in the Rev. T. W. Norwood's *Romany* note-book, may be compared with the well-known case of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton (see *J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, iii. 219) :—

'The Gipsies have often told me the following story, which is undoubtedly true :—Some ten years ago a Mr. Birch (himself described as a clergyman), the son of a Mr. Birch, clergyman of Little Marlow, wandered with the Gipsies and shared their hard life. He fed as they did, wandered with blistered feet, and slept in the tent or open hedges. In no way does he seem to have shunned their mode of living. Mrs. Cooper tells me that it was for the love of . . . Cooper, a very handsome Gypsy girl, her husband's brother's daughter, then about sixteen years of age.

'Birch is said to be now married and settled ; so also his *innamorata*, who married a fellow of her own caste and went to America. Each has now several children. On looking in the Clergy List for 1843 I see that the Rev. Samuel Birch, D.D., was then Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, and Vicar of Little Marlow, Bucks. He resolutely set his face, so says the Gipsy, against the marriage of his son with the sorceress.'

The Rev. Samuel Birch, D.D., was vicar of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurch Haw in 1808, prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1819, and vicar of Little Marlow, Bucks., from 1834 until his death there on June 24, 1848. If, therefore, the last sentence of Mr. Norwood's note be true, the escapade must have occurred before the last date. Samuel, the eldest brother of the hero, was one of the earliest British Egyptologists and Cypriote scholars, a celebrated archaeologist, and head of a department in the British Museum.

HELEN GROSVENOR.

26.—SERVIAN GYPSIES IN SCOTLAND

As Provost M'Cormick and I were walking along the high road in East Lothian yesterday, after an interesting visit to a tinkler camp in a certain loaning not far off, we became aware of a dark-faced youth, accompanied by a monkey, who was making his way toward us. He seemed so obviously a Gypsy that we naturally waited for him to come nearer, and we were not surprised when he asked permission to make his monkey (or *maimoun*, as he afterwards called it) execute a dance for our pleasure. The youth, who spoke French fluently, with a little English, informed us that he was fifteen years of age, was born in France of Servian parents, had been only two months in Great Britain, and had never followed any other occupation than his present one. On being interrogated in French and Romani, he denied all knowledge of the latter language, and stated that he was not a *Tsigane* but a Servian, born in France. He was a handsome lad, with black hair and dark eyes. Any possible doubt as to his race was settled when he told us that his kinsfolk were following behind, indicating at the same time a most promising group now visible in the distance, advancing along the highway. After dropping some coppers into the tambourine which had helped to inspire the *maimoun's* saltations, and bidding his master goodbye, we turned to meet the main body. Before reaching them, however, we encountered a dark girl of about ten bearing a tambourine, who also announced herself to be a Servian, ignorant of Romani, although she failed to conceal a look of intelligence when we addressed her in that language. She, however, confined herself to French. We now turned to the main procession, which was close at hand. It consisted of two caravans containing women and children, two or three small boys marching in front, leading a young bear, and two men and a woman who, with a full-grown bear, brought up the rear. When we accosted the men in Romani they at once replied in the same speech, without the

slightest reservation. In our brief interview they exhibited the usual pleased perplexity at discovering *gadje* who were acquainted with their language. Beyond adding that all the group were thoroughbred Romané, of Servian origin, I need not enlarge here upon this interesting encounter. These, however, were not the last of the band, for, bringing up the rear, at some considerable distance, was a girl of eighteen leading a large baboon, which gravely trod a measure for our amusement to her chant of *ma maimouna*, with tambourine accompaniment. This girl, like her young kinsfolk of the *avant-garde*, disclaimed all knowledge of Romani, and announced herself to be a Servian. She spoke in French. The really noteworthy feature of this whole incident was that the young people, no doubt acting under previous instructions, repudiated the idea that they were Gypsies; whereas their elders made no attempt at concealment. Moreover, there was no direct begging; for, like true *jongleurs*, all offered some form of entertainment before asking for recompense. Finally, we were impressed by the physical beauty of many of them, and by their well-fed appearance and general air of contentment.

Edinburgh, 27th August 1908.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

27.—BUXLŌ, 'WIDE

The adjective *buxlō*, 'wide,' has been preserved by the Welsh Gypsies in the phrase *buxlō tan*, applied to wide, waste, bleak, bare, unsheltered places—*buxlō šilalō tan sī*, 'it's a bare bleak place': *buxlō tan sī dovā, na 'čas akai kek*, 'that's a bare place, we won't stop here.'

This explains an error in Borrow's *Lavo-Lil*, due to his confusion of *buklo* with *bokalo*; cp. *Romano Lavo-Lil*, p. 26:—

'*Buklo*, a. Hungry: *buklo tan*, hungry spot, a common. *Hun Gyp Buklo tan* (a wilderness).'

'*Boccalo*, a. Hungry: *boccalé pers*, hungry bellies.'

For Continental Romani variants, see Miklosich, vii. 24, Pott, II. 399; Paspatis has *bughlō tan*, 'lieu spacieux.'

JOHN SAMFSON.

28.—A WRITER ON WELSH GYPSIES

Attached to the word *sano* in the third verse of Darlington's 'O Naslo Rom, An Original Romany Ballad,' is the following footnote: 'Kek jinova kava lav mi kokero: latchdum lesti dray lillaw, ta o rei so kairdas o lil pendas lesti sas kooshto Romano lav adray o Watchines-rokerin' tem. Mé jinova dusta Romani-chals adray doova tem, ta shunova booti lavyaw odoi so Romani folki adray o Lavines rokerin' tem kek jinenna: kek shunova *sano*: chivdum lesti adray kovaw gilli to kel o lavyaw jal tatcho—Bivvan Kosh.' The writer of the book was probably Leland, who used the word in his *English Gypsies*, whence it was quoted by Smart and Crofton; but it may have been a certain Seymour who is reported to have written on Gypsy families in Wales. Who was Seymour, and where was his work published?

29.—WESTERIANA

Scholar Gypsies who knew Sylvester Boswell in the flesh (which was of a fine mahogany colour), or in that large portion of his spirit embalmed for us by our president in his *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, may be interested in reading what was probably the last Gypsy letter written by that venerable *Romani čal*. I myself am among the number who can boast 'Vergilium vidi tantum.' When as a youth moved by the spirit of romance I sought the society of the Gypsies it was from a grand-daughter of Sylvester that I learnt the elements of the language, and shortly after I became a pupil of the famous man himself.

I can remember the feeling of awe and veneration with which I first approached

his little tent at Seacombe, as a humble seeker after truth might have drawn near the portal of Plato. Should I find him brooding over the decay of the Romani race of which he considered himself the only worthy survivor, or translating the scriptures into a Biblical Romani adorned by pleasing forms, such as '*delleth*' and '*lelleth*,' or perhaps inditing one of those moral poems in the composition of which he was understood to employ his last years? I recalled his moving lines:—

‘After many roming years
How sweet it is to be
In peace and love and kindness
With all I see.’

But how contrary to expectation things sometimes turn out! With mind attuned to the solemnity of the occasion I crossed the field to his camping place, arriving just in time to witness the last round of a hammer-and-tongs combat between the patriarch—then three years past the allotted span—and his son Bruce, who had apparently been guilty of some unfilial misdemeanour. Wester, members will be pleased to hear, was the victor, and he emphasised his victory by jumping nimbly on to a tree stump, flapping his arms like wings, and uttering three admirable imitations of the crow of a triumphant fighting cock, while the abased Bruce sullenly resumed his work at the clothes pegs.

From this introduction dated a friendship which continued to the end of Wester's life. On the death of his son Byron, Wester, according to the invariable Romany custom, left his old camp for ever and removed to Walton where this letter, intended by him for insertion in the local papers, was taken down by me at his dictation.

Komelo Giliéngri Rai,—‘*Kova sī te muk tut jin, ta sor mendi raiā, mandī shom ō purrodérest Romni-chel jido konā, adrē Angiterra ō sor-kon temā, ta kenā te vel lachno aprē puv adrē o nevo gav, Buko-pānigav. Vaniso-komini te vel te dik ō roker mansa, yon lachēna adōi palla Tarbuck kichima.*

‘*Vaniso jinomēsti rai komēla jin trustal o bīnamos romni-chalā, vel kater mandī, pukerōva me trustal lendi.*

‘*Mandī shom ō kokero mush kenā, muklo jido adrē ō tem, te pukerova tumēndi ō tacho kova.*

Shom mē ō purrodēro

Westárros.’

[‘DEAR NEWSPAPER SIR,—This is to let you, and all our gentlemen, know that I am the oldest Gypsy now living in England or any country, and now to be found on the field in the new village [near] Liverpool. Any one who comes to see or talk to me, they will find [me] there behind the Tarbuck Inn.

‘Any learned gentleman [that] wants to know about the origin of the Romani-chals, let him come to me, I will tell [him] about them.

‘I am the only man now, left alive in the world, to tell ye the truth.—I am the ancient

SYLVESTER.]

Here I might add an anecdote of Wester's last years. Passing the Gypsy field at Sleeper's Hill late one evening I came up to his tent and called out, ‘*Westárus, šan tu adrē?*’ There was no answer. ‘*Westárus šan tu adrē?*’ A quavering and agitated voice inquired, ‘*Kon si duva?*’ ‘*O Romano Rai.*’ The old man came bustling out at once, evidently greatly relieved, and explained that when at first he heard himself called he had taken me to be ‘*yek o mi duveléskē gērē*’ (‘one of my God's angels’), whom the Lord had sent to fetch him.

After his death a treasure horde of watches, chains, rings, and other jewelry was found by his family buried in the ground underneath his tent. Wishing to purchase one of these as a keepsake I applied to Kenza, who told me that it was impossible. ‘How is that?’ ‘Well, *rai*, I took the boat from the Landing Stage to Birkenhead, and dropped them all into the river.’

JOHN SAMPSON.

30.—GYPSIES, OR 'POTTERS,' OF NATLAND, NEAR KENDAL

(Cf. Hoyland, 1816, pp. 94, 99; Simson, *Hist. of the Gypsies*, p. 246)

The *Lonsdale Magazine*, in 1821 (vol. ii. pp. 343-7), contained 'a short account of the Potters of Natland, a retired village near Kendal, by one who had had some opportunities of acquainting himself with the habits of a certain class of people which takes up its winter quarters there.' The writer suggests (p. 345), that when Gypsies were proscribed by Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth, many escaped to Scotland, 'where they were tolerated,' and when the Acts were repealed in the reign of George III., 'about that time they first appeared at Natland.' The potters of Natland are called 'the Fa gang'¹ by the old inhabitants of the township, and agree with that strolling people. 'I suspect they are of their fraternity and originally Gipsies.'

Every year about Easter those capable of travelling leave the village, with a tea-kettle, pan, a few spoons, knives and forks, and a few blankets. The families have generally two good horses and carts with two or three asses, to convey their wares and children. Their first direction is to Burslem for a supply of pottery ware. This they vend in counties remote from Staffordshire. They mostly beg as well as expose their wares for sale. From what I have seen and known of them, real poverty is not the motive for begging. They encamp every night near some village or farmhouse. They select more especially the angle, where two or more roads meet. They rest their carts horizontally upon two props attached to the shafts, and light a fire. Over this they erect three poles, joined together at their summits, and separated at their feet, and then suspend from them a chain with a hook for their kettle or pan. Stones serve as seats. They commonly introduce their horses and asses for the night into some neighbouring pasture. They spread straw beneath their carts and cover it with blankets, etc.

About Michaelmas they return loaded with pots to Natland. The winter serves the men for ease and the women hawk their pots. The circuits they take with the weights in baskets upon their heads are almost incredible. Between the villages they sing in tones all full and forcible. In the villages they tell all the news they know and collect all they can and quaff off volumes of smoke from short tobacco pipes no longer than their noses. The young girls as soon as strong enough to travel a 'round' and 'hug' a basket accompany their mothers. The women, mostly tall, rough, and masculine, are crowned with an enormous basket of pots carefully poised. Under the basket is an old hat, and beneath that a coloured kerchief.

A long, gaudy, figured gown contracted from the waist into a narrow lobe

¹ Wright's *Provincial Dictionary* defines *Faw* as an itinerant tinker, potter, etc. Halliwell's *Archaic Dictionary* gives *Faw-gang* as a Cumberland term. The *Gazetteer of Scotland*, 1847, s.v. 'Kirk Yetholm,' says: 'Nearly the whole of them are "muggers," wandering dealers in earthenware.' (MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, pp. 13-16.)

The *Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1817, p. 157, says: 'Their common appellation is Muggers, or what pleases them better, Potters. They purchase, at a cheap rate, the cast or faulty articles, at the different manufactories of earthenware, which they carry for sale all over the country.'

When Wordsworth describes the Gypsy comrades of his 'Female Vagrant,' he says that 'they, with their pannier'd asses, semblance made of potters, wandering on from door to door.' (MacRitchie, p. 47.)

The *Quarterly Review* (1867), ii. 378, says the 'potters' of Westmorland were a kind of indigenous Gypsies, often curiously bearing the names of the great Northern families.

Notes and Queries (1885), 6th Series, i. 49, says: 'The potters and muggers of the Northern Counties are almost certainly of Gypsy origin.'

behind and a blue flannel petticoat complete the figure. With folded arms and careless gait moves the female potter. By her side trots the youngster with head and legs exposed to wind and weather. Her hair flows upon her shoulders and keeps time in dangling to her movements. On one arm a basket of pots resting upon her hip, her head inclined, to maintain equilibrium. They ramble on till they step into their graves. When old age has impaired their vigour they can ill brook the dull, confined prospects of their smoky huts. They know nothing but the obsolete affairs of the past generation, and their only creed, if they have one, is that after death, if they still exist, their state will be a happy one.

They exult in their pretensions to an intimate acquaintance with the arcana of futurity. Saturday with them is the propitious day. Then the demons of fortune-telling have peculiar sway.

Collecting rags, horse-hair, cow-hair, hare skins, and rabbit skins is a pretext for the old and infirm to indulge their dispositions.

The men are a completely useless set. The best of them break down the hedges for fuel, and poach game and fish out of season. During the day they lounge round their carts. The only exertion they use is that of forming an otter, badger, or martin hunt of their own, with dogs which they keep for that purpose.

The women are the entire supporters of their families. Their masculine habits give their muscles such power that they are both masters and mistresses, and if offended chastise their husbands with great severity.

The fecundity of the females is great almost to a proverb. Married or unmarried, when the age arrives, most of the females bear children. All the illegitimate with the maintenance of the mothers and offspring during the infant state are thrown upon the township. I could enumerate instances of wantonness so extravagant that they might be deemed impossible. (Compare MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies*, p. 18 and note.)

The physiognomy of this people is as distinct as their manners. Their faces are round, eyes small, noses broad, and complexion sallow. Their expression indicates art and mystery. Their marriages are always between parties of their own tribe or some other tribe similar. Their marriages are invariably attended with the utmost festivity, kept up as long as any can produce a clink. I once witnessed a marriage feast, with dancing, singing, smoking, and drinking night and day for the greatest part of a fortnight. The old men, fathers of the married, were one day hugging each other, the next fighting, and on the third showing each other their treasures, chiefly guineas or half-crowns told into certain sums, each sum deposited separately in a stocking foot. In one of their drunken humours these 'purses' were used as footballs till one gave way.

Notwithstanding their hospitality and attachment towards their own tribe and the tribes in general, their meetings are often subject to quarrelling. The battle is mostly a general one before its termination, but if a neighbour attempt to reconcile their dispute it is ten to one their whole fury falls upon him, particularly of the female part. Their enmity subsists no longer than their irritation. Their quarrels with others are the business of the whole tribe to avenge, either openly or by stratagem.

The education of their children till of late years was, I believe, totally neglected. A free provision in the village school is now open to them, to the honour of a family whose humane exertions have distinguished it in the neighbourhood. Notwithstanding the pearl has been cast before swine. No kindness scarcely can thaw their superstition and prejudice. If the children go it is well, if not it is well. The children, left to their own inclinations, go anywhere but to the school.

They pass nationally for Christians, while individually they are heathens, barbarians.

H. T. CROFTON.

31.—NATLAND GYPSY FORTUNE-TELLING

The same writer, *Πολυπράγμων*, in vol. iii. (pp. 64-6) describes the Sleeping Powder (or Love philtre) sold by these Natland Potters. 'About eighteen years ago the range of buildings in which the Natland Potters then resided was burnt down and the families dispersed into different parts of the village. During one winter, from the house occupied by one of the old and most suspicious families a beating sound issued. The next-door neighbour set himself to pry into the matter, and beheld the whole family pounding peats and wrapping up the powder in small quantities in paper. As they never played their Gipsy pranks near home, the old man was at a loss to guess for what this powder could be intended. One of these papers was sometime after offered in sale to a farmer's wife so near Natland as the Hay-fell-side. While the old Gip was describing its properties and relating its origin (that it was discovered by her husband's brother, the seventh son of a Jew), and that it usually sold at half-a-crown but the good wife might have it for a shilling, in pops the husband who handed the Gip to the door!

When the Gips want hats, coats, stockings, etc., they frequently lower the price of their powder, or persuade the girls to give them such things instead of money, as their dreams will be more to their satisfaction in consequence.

To answer enquiries as to disposition and habits of the future husband, one of the clan has a wonderful mermaid. A piece of catgut or some such hygro-metrical substance is cut into the shape of a mermaid. This is laid flat upon the palm of the female's hand. Move some part it will. If its head, he will be passionate; if its fins, quarrelsome; if its body, he will be idle, drunken, worthless, and will starve her; if its legs, he will run away and leave her; if its feet, he will kick her; if it lies almost still, he will soon die, etc. etc.

Many a long stocking foot has been filled with 'Geordies' [sovereigns], as a recompense for their services.

'As fortune-tellers, however, Natland Gipseys do not solely shine. They are eminent as quacks, and prescribe as eminent pharmacy. If modesty would allow, I could favour your readers with many secrets in their *Materia Medica*.'

H. T. CROFTON.

32.—GYPSY LANGUAGE AND ORIGIN

Professor A. C. Woolner, Principal of the Oriental College, and Registrar of the Punjab University, Lahore, India, has most kindly sent the following important account of his views on the problem of Gypsy Origin:—

'On coming to India about six years ago I hoped to find the Romanichel at home, and that a comparison of European Romani with Indian Romani would help to elucidate the former, and that a comparison of Romani with other Indian vernaculars would indicate the origin of the race. But such investigations as I could make gave only negative results.

'In the first place nomad or *jangli* tribes of apparently very different nationalities were alluded to as "Gypsies"; and secondly, from all accounts it seemed clear that the dialects of none of these tribes (nor of the Jat peasants suspected by de Goeje) resembled Romani more than Hindustani does.

'This of course was disappointing: but after all, if one considers the history of the Indian languages, was anything else likely in any case? Suppose we assume

'(1) that the ancestors of the European Gypsies were at some time in India, say 800 A.D., and that they then spoke an Indian dialect: and

'(2) that a number of these original Romanies left India, and a number remained.

'The exiles would take their dialect with them at the stage of development reached in India by the time of their departure. Any future development could

arise only from within itself, by further action of phonetic decay, false analogy, composition, etc., and from contact with foreign languages. The preservation in some form of the original language, even by isolated bands, would be due partly to movements which were too rapid to allow a new language to be assimilated thoroughly (which would take more than one generation), and partly to the convenience of possessing a secret language, which they had no need to invent but learned from their parents.

‘Those who remained in India, on the other hand, would continue to be influenced by the main current of Indian languages, and their dialect would go on developing on the same lines: there would be no reason to preserve archaisms, they would speak more or less the ordinary language of the district they lived in, and for a secret language they would require something like the “back-slang” that, I think, Rajendra Lala Mitra detected in Bengal.

‘For what then are we to look? One might hope that in songs or peculiar sayings some archaisms might lurk; but, when one considers how much the language of all the Indian popular songs and proverbs has changed since 1000 A.D., even this seems a forlorn hope.

‘Again, if the Romané previous to leaving India had been wanderers, as ever since, would not their dialect have been something of a mixture even before they left? If your Rom is living among non-Indian dialects his language is conspicuous; but among Indian dialects it would become merged in a mass of illiterate patois. Similarly the Gypsy is conspicuous in Europe as an Oriental, and as a nomad; but the further East you get the more ordinary he becomes. Asia still contains many nomads, many people who prefer the open air to a roof, many people who will eat anything, not to speak of fortune-tellers, jugglers, musicians, bear-leaders, horse-fakers, etc., etc., and they can hardly all belong to one tribe. So how are we to detect a Gypsy apart from his speech and habits?

‘It seems to me we need a large series of photographs and measurements, and I hope Pittard’s suggestion will be taken up. From the Indian side the best thing to do would be to prepare such a series for any tribe or caste suspected of being Gypsies. A comparison of these with a collection from Europe and the near East would probably acquit a good many of our vagrants of the soft impeachment, and it might strengthen Sinclair’s theory.

‘But, of course, if the Romanies wandered out of India, so may they have wandered into India some centuries before, and like other immigrants have lost their real original language altogether! Language may point to North-West India as the original home of the Gypsies, as in the case of Singhalese, another Indian language developing on peculiar lines outside India; but North-West India has in the course of centuries given a home and a new language to a variety of invaders.

‘He is certainly an elusive fellow, this Gypsy, and I can only suggest as a desperate resort that we measure his skull. How far West can he squat on his heels?’

33.—GYPSY MESMERISM

In discussing the Gypsies as ‘*commessi viaggiatori delle scienze occulte*, Colocci (*Gli Zingari*, p. 72) conjectures that ‘*Qualche nozione d’ipnotismo e certi fenomeni mesmerici dovuti ai contatti chiroscopici anticipavano forse in loro i successi dei Cagliostro e dei Rosenkreuzer.*’ He does not, however, quote any authorities, and it may therefore be worth while to reprint the passage from Glanvill’s *Vanity of Dogmatizing*¹ on which Matthew Arnold based his poem

¹ This book must not be confused with the same author’s ‘*Scepsis Scientifica: Or, Confest Ignorance, the way to Science*; In an *Essay of The Vanity of Dogmatizing*,’ etc. The full title of the work which contains the episode of the Scholar-Gypsy is ‘*The Vanity of | Dogmatizing: | Or | Confidence in Opinions | Manifested in a*

The Scholar-Gipsy, although it is well known for its beauty to many *Romane Raia*.

'That one man should be able to bind the thoughts of another, and determine them to their particular objects; will be reckon'd in the first rank of *Impossibles*: Yet by the power of advanc'd *Imagination* it may very probably be effected; and *story* abounds with Instances. I'll trouble the Reader but with one; and the hands from which I had it, make me secure of the truth on't. There was very lately a Lad in the *University of Oxford*, who being of very pregnant and ready parts, and yet wanting the encouragement of preferment; was by his poverty forc'd to leave his studies there, and to cast himself upon the wide world for a livelihood. Now, his necessities growing dayly on him, and wanting the help of friends to relieve him; he was at last forced to joyn himself to a company of *Vagabond Gypsies*, whom occasionally he met with, and to follow their Trade for a maintenance. Among these extravagant people, by the insinuating subtilty of his carriage, he quickly got so much of their love, and esteem; as that they discover'd to him their *Mystery*: in the practice of which, by the pregnancy of his wit and partz he soon grew so good a proficient, as to be able to out-do his Instructours. After he had been a pretty while well exercis'd in the Trade; there chanc'd to ride by a couple of *Scholars* who had formerly bin of his acquaintance. The *Scholars* had quickly spyed out their old friend, among the *Gypsies*; and their amazement to see him among such society, had well-nigh discover'd him: but by a sign he prevented their owning him before that Crew: and taking one of them aside privately, desired him with his friend to go to an *Inn*, not far distant thence, promising there to come to them. They accordingly went thither, and he follows: after their first salutations, his friends enquire how he came to lead so odd a life as that was, and to joyn himself with such a *cheating beggerly* company. The *Scholar-Gypsy* having given them an account of the necessity, which drove him to that kind of life; told them, that the people he went with were not such *Impostours* as they were taken for, but that they had a *traditional* kind of *learning* among them, and could do wonders by the power of *Imagination*, and that himself had learnt much of their Art, and improved it further then themselves could. And to evince the truth of what he told them, he said, he'd remove into another room, leaving them to discourse together; and upon his return tell them the sum of what they had talked of: which accordingly he perform'd, giving them a full account of what had pass'd between them in his absence. The *Scholars* being amaz'd at so unexpected a discovery, earnestly desir'd him to unriddle the *mystery*. In which he gave them satisfaction, by telling them, that what he did was by the power of *Imagination*, his Phancy *binding* theirs; and that himself had dictated to them the discourse, they held together, while he was from them: That there were warrantable wayes of heightening the *Imagination* to that pitch, as to bind others; and that when he had compass'd the whole *secret*, some parts of which he said he was yet ignorant of, he intended to leave their company, and give the world an account of what he had learned.'

34.—THE STANLEYS' FORFEITED ESTATES

This story may or may not throw a light on the difficult and involved question as to how the Stanleys came by their name.

It was told me, two or three years ago, by two members of the Stanley tribe, both being grandmothers of over sixty.

| Discourse | of The | *Shortness* and *Uncertainty* | of our | Knowledge, | And its Causes; | With some | Reflexions on *Peripateticism*; | And | An *Apology* for Philosophy | [rule] | By Jos. Glanvill, M.A. | [rule] | London, Printed by B. C. for Henry Eversden at the Grey- | Hound in St. Pauls-Church-Yard. 1661.' [The whole within double rules.] 8vo. The passage quoted begins on page 195.

According to their statement, Sir Sloane Stanley of Ower, Hants, bought the lands, wealth, and title that by rights belonged to their own tribe. For their 'grandfather's big grandfather' was at that time shown a flaw in the will by the family lawyer, and was told that he could, by taking advantage of this flaw, gain the whole estate, on condition that he shared it with the lawyer! But their great-great-grandfather, being a 'God-fearing kind of man,' made answer to the lawyer in this wise:—

'No! I won't sell my breakfast to buy myself a dinner!'

Therefore the Stanley tribe has remained poor, proud, and independent unto this day.

But 'the other side of that gateway to the Stanley mansion was carved all over the stone'—so they'd heard—'with pictures of Gypsies, their tents, their trade implements, and their three-legged cooking pots.'

Did the Stanleys get their name from their trade (according to Borrow) of stone-masons? Or did they transpose the Gájo name of Stanley or Stony Lea, which they claim as theirs by inheritance, into the Romani *Baremescri*? It is a riddle which only themselves may solve.

ALICE E. GILLINGTON.

35.—'AN EGYPTIAN IN THE HOUSE'

The manuscripts of the Rev. Oliver Heywood, one of the ejected ministers of 1662, have been edited by Mr. J. Horsfall Turner, and contain some very curious matter. Here is a passage which will be found at p. 99 of the third volume:—

'There was one Samuel Mitchel drinking in Halifax, April 11, 1667, at Mr. Wades, there came a man and woman to Mr. Wade desiring them to tel them where to find something they had lost, for they took him for a conjurer, he said he could not tel but he had an Egiptian in the house that could, they together came to Sam Mitchel, he blubbered that no body could tel what he sd. Wade was his interpreter, and gave them instructions about the lost thing, they were satisfied and gave him three shillings for his paines, they drunk that merrily, but upon munday after this Mitchel dyed. . . . He threatened his wife (as tis said) the day before he dyed that if she went not to wak. [Wakefield] and swore that the inventory was lesse of her former husbands goods he would kill her—but God took him away.'

Does this mean that Mitchell was a Gypsy, or that Wade called him an 'Egiptian' because he dealt in fortune-telling?

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

36.—CEREMONIAL PURITY

Mrs. L. J. Miln's *Wooings and Weddings in many Climes* (London, 1900) contains a special chapter (chap. xxviii.) on the Gypsies, in which it is stated that 'Among the German Gypsies a woman may do no cooking, nor touch the food of another, while she has a child of less than five months or is expecting the birth of a child' (p. 383).

E. O. WINSTEDT.

37.—TWO PENCE HALF PENNY

Happening to glance at Miss Garnett's *Women of Turkey and their Folklore* (London, 1891, vol. i. p. 165), I notice that she has a Greek *παραμύθιον*, taken from *Les Littératures Populaires*, vol. xxviii. p. 75, called 'The three wonderful dresses,' which is very similar to Mr. Sampson's 'Twopence Halfpenny' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 144). There are three brothers who are sent to kill a monster, in which they fail, though the youngest wounds him. There is the same descent of a well; the bringing back of three damsels; and, after continued underground adventures of the hero, the same incident of cutting off a piece of his flesh to satisfy the agent (an eagle) which brings him up to earth; and finally, marriage with the chosen damsel.

E. O. WINSTEDT.



Yours very truly

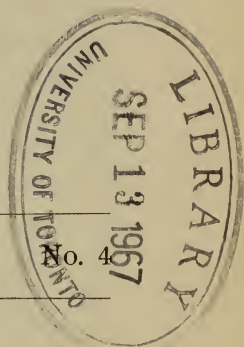
R. Fischel.

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I.—RICHARD PISCHEL: EIN NACHRUF

Von FRANZ NIKOLAUS FINCK

KURZ vor dem Ablauf des vergangenen Jahres hat unsere Gesellschaft durch den Tod eines ihrer Mitglieder einen aussergewöhnlichen, in seiner Tragweite vielleicht kaum abzuschätzenden Verlust erlitten. Richard Pischel ist um die Weihnachtszeit nach schwerem Leiden in Madras verschieden, an der Schwelle des Landes, das er nach ungewöhnlicher Vorbereitung zu seiner Würdigung in Erfüllung eines ehrenvollen Auftrags betreten hatte. Einer Einladung der indischen Regierung folgend, hatte er im November des Jahres 1908 die Reise nach Kalkutta angetreten, um dort in einem Kreise einheimischer Gelehrten Vorträge über die Sprachen des indischen Mittelalters zu halten. Der Tod hat ihn daran gehindert, dieses Werk auszuführen, ein Werk, das die berechtigte Schätzung deutscher Forschung sicherlich noch beträchtlich erhöht haben würde. Der Tod hat ihn aber auch daran gehindert, seine schon hochbedeutende Kenntnis indischer Kultur durch den ihm bis dahin nicht vergönnt gewesenen *anschaulichen* Einblick in das Land seiner Träume zu einer *einzigen* zu gestalten.

Es sind nur wenige Abhandlungen verhältnismässig geringen Umfangs, die der dahingeschiedene Gelehrte der von unserer Gesellschaft vertretenen Zigeunerphilologie gewidmet hat. Wenn

man aber auch nicht die *Zahl* dieser Schriften zum Massstabe der Wertung macht, sondern sie—wie es sich gebührt—zu *wägen* versucht, auch dann wird man noch zugeben müssen, dass andere für diesen Teil der Indologie wohl mehr geleistet haben. Und doch hat unsere Gesellschaft in ihm Einen verloren, den in absehbarer Zeit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach kein anderer wird ersetzen können. Dass Richard Pischel weit mehr war als nur ein freilich auch als solcher schon Achtung gebietender Zigeunerphilologe; dass er sogar noch beträchtlich mehr war als die Gesamtheit seiner Werke: das ist's, was auch in seinen Arbeiten auf dem verhältnismässig engbegrenzten Gebiete deutlich zutage tritt, was diesen ihren eigenartigen Wert verleiht. So lassen sich denn auch diese kleineren Arbeiten kaum verstehen und ganz gewiss nicht würdigen, wenn man nicht die *gesamte* Wirksamkeit des dahingeshiedenen Gelehrten ins Auge fasst, wenn man nicht ausser dem *Forscher* auch noch den *Menschen* zu begreifen versucht.

Sein Lebenslauf ist die Entwicklung eines arbeitsamen, zu selbständiger Auffassung befähigten jungen Mannes zu einem grossen Gelehrten, etwas scheinbar Einfaches, aber etwas, was doch gerade durch diese Einfachheit treffend gekennzeichnet wird. Nie hat Richard Pischel etwas hervorgebracht, was blendete; aber vieles hat er geschaffen, was erleuchtete. Ein grosses Wohlwollen war ihm eigen; aber nie schreckte er davor zurück, um der Sache willen auch scharf zu verletzen. Ein tapferer Streiter für die Wahrheit betrat er die Bahn. Mit Kampfesfreudigkeit ging er unentwegt voran und meist zum Sieg.

Gründlich geschult, habilitierte er sich im Jahre 1874, nach längerem Aufenthalt in London und Oxford, an der Universität seiner Heimatstadt Breslau. Schon nach einem Jahre siedelte er als ausserordentlicher Professor nach Kiel über. Nach zwei weiteren Jahren wurde er ordentlicher Professor in Halle, und im Jahre 1902 folgte er einem Rufe nach Berlin, zu einer Wirksamkeit bestimmt, die ihm und der Berliner Universität in gleichem Masse zur Ehre gereichen sollte.

Der Ausgangspunkt seiner Forschung war das Studium des klassischen Sanskrit gewesen, imbesonderen das des indischen Dramas. Als er seine Tätigkeit in Berlin begann, war er jedoch schon weit über dieses engere Gebiet hinausgegangen. Schon seine grundlegende Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, deren erstaunliche Bewältigung eines ungeheuer reichen Stoffs andern Forschern

Jahre, wenn nicht gar Jahrzehnte eigener Arbeit erspart, würde genügen, um dies zu beweisen. Aber dieses grosse Werk stand schon damals keineswegs allein da. Die *Gesamtheit* indischer Kultur war es, auf deren Erforschung Pischels Wille gerichtet, deren Klarlegung seinem Geiste schon zu einem grossen Teile gelungen war. Dieses Streben nach Universalität ist jedoch nicht nur in seinen Schriften verschiedenster Art zum Ausdruck gelangt. Es hat auch seiner über diese hinausgehenden Tätigkeit ihr Gepräge verliehen. Freilich ist es ihm nie um eine zu unserer Zeit auch wohl nicht mehr erreichbare Universalität zu tun gewesen, die *alles* Erkennbare zu einem einheitlichen System zu verarbeiten strebt. Und selbst das hat er nicht versucht, wenigstens die ganze Welt der *Sprachen* oder *litterarischen Erzeugnisse* wie mit *einem* Blick zu überschauen. Nur *indisches* Geistesleben ist bis zum Abschlusse seiner ganzen Wirksamkeit das eigentliche Object seiner Forschung geblieben. Aber diese indische Kultur hat er im *weitesten* Sinne zu erfassen, in *all* ihren *Ausläufern* zu verfolgen gesucht. In diesem Geiste hat er auch seine Schüler heranzubilden getrachtet, hat er die Blicke jüngerer Forscher auf China und Tibet gelenkt und auch den Lehrkörper der Universität zu ergänzen gestrebt. Wenn ein jäher Tod ihn uns nicht entrissen hätte, würde er seinen Einfluss auch wohl noch über das schon Errungene hinaus geltend gemacht, und es vielleicht auch erreicht haben, für die Universität, die so eng mit Wilhelm von Humboldts Wirksamkeit verknüpft ist, eine Kraft heranzubilden, die, auf dessen grösstem Werke weiterbauend, auch die geistige Welt des indischen Archipels würde erschliessen können.

Dieses Bild des Dahingeshiedenen müssen wir uns fest einprägen, um verstehen zu können, wieviel auch *unsere* Gesellschaft an ihm verloren hat. Nicht nur die Folgerichtigkeit eines nach Universalität strebenden Indologen ist es gewesen, die ihn auch zur Erforschung des Zigeunerischen gedrängt hat. Auch sein ihn als Menschen auszeichnendes *Wohlwollen*, sein rein *menschlicher* Anteil an den Parias Europas hat sicherlich mitgewirkt. Denn wenn auch Pischels Bedeutung nicht auf seinen Zigeunerstudien beruht, so sind sie ihm doch, wie alle wissen, die ihm haben näher stehen dürfen, ganz besonders *lieb* gewesen; und er würde auch für eine weitere Ausgestaltung dieser Studien durch andere nicht nur aus Pflichtgefühl, sondern mit fast *innigem* Anteil gewirkt haben.

Wenn man aber auch von diesem Anteil des Gemütes absieht, dem er, aller pathetischen Rede abhold, in seinen Abhandlungen über die Zigeuner keinen besonderen Ausdruck verliehen hat, so bleibt diesen doch noch ein gar seltener Vorzug. Sie erscheinen nicht als Darlegungen einer mehr oder weniger zufällig erworbenen, bruchstückartigen Erkenntnis, sondern als lichtvolle Klarstellung eines Stücks Geisteslebens, das mit künstlerisch anschaulicher Kraft in seinem *wirklichen Zusammenhang* erfasst ist. Das ist's, scheint mir, was auch diesen kleineren Erzeugnissen aus des grossen Gelehrten Werkstatt einen dauernden Wert verleiht.

II.—THE HOME OF THE GYPSIES¹

By the late Geheimrat Professor R. PISCHEL

Translated from the German by DORA E. YATES

IN the year 1417 there suddenly appeared in Europe a race of wanderers, strange in appearance and customs, who ever since have roamed restlessly from spot to spot, hating all men and hated by all. Subjected as they were to almost inhuman persecution at the hand of magistrate, peasant, and citizen, they have succeeded in bidding defiance to every danger; and the harshest laws have affected them least. These people were the Gypsies. Wherever they are found they are always the same. And they are to be found everywhere. One comes across their travelling caravans in Siberia as well as in Algiers; Gypsy bands wander on the banks of both the Indus and the Mississippi, and there is no single country in Europe which the Gypsy has not visited. With a wretched van and horse he travels from Hungary to Jutland, from Scotland to Poland, indifferent to wind and weather, ragged and dirty, everywhere an unwelcome guest. Everywhere a stranger, he is everywhere at home. Scattered as they are throughout the world the nomad Gypsies are nevertheless a united body, an independent race, at the present day, for they have preserved for themselves that closest bond of nationality—a mother-tongue handed down from past ages. Misfortune has linked this people together, and a record of misery fills many pages in their history. Even the Church rejected them. The

¹ *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. 36, 1883, pp. 353-75.

sixth and last of the Articles which Laurentius Petri, the first Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala, published with the King's permission in June 1560, states briefly and bluntly *Med Tartare skal Prästen sig intet befatta, hvarken jorda theras lik eller Christna theras barn*¹ (No priest shall have any intercourse with Gypsies, nor bury their dead nor baptize their children). Even in 1787 the Lithuanian minister Zippel pronounced this harsh judgment on them: 'Gypsies in a well-ordered state at the present day are like vermin on an animal's body.'² In every state the number of decrees passed against them is extraordinarily great, and not a few resemble the edict of Frederick William I., Oct. 5, 1725, which enacts that 'All Gypsies of male or female sex, found within the Prussian states, shall, if they are above the age of 18 years, be hung without any mercy, whether they have already been punished by branding, flogging, or banishment, or have entered the country for the first time, singly or in bands, or have been able to produce passports or not.'³

But stringent laws of this nature have done them far less harm than decrees which attempted to put an end to their wandering life by granting them certain privileges on condition of settling. These laws have undermined their national characteristics, and have brought about that decay of the old genuine Gypsyism which is everywhere visible to-day. The Gypsies readily acknowledge this fact themselves. '*El krallis ha nicobado la liri de los cālés* (The king has destroyed the law of the Gypsies); we are no longer the people we were once, when we lived amongst the sierras and deserts, and kept aloof from the Busné,' a Spanish Gypsy once said complainingly to Borrow the missionary.⁴ He was referring to Charles III.'s law, Sept. 19, 1783, which allowed the Gypsies to enter any profession or business. *Yon venna sor reiaw ta raunia konáw* (they are all become gentlemen and ladies now),⁵ declared an English Gypsy about his companions. And both are right. The Gypsy ceases to be a Gypsy as soon as he is domiciled and follows some trade; in the course of time he even forgets his mother-tongue, and uses only the language of the nation in whose midst he is living. The Gypsies who have settled in Constantinople have almost entirely forgotten

¹ F. Dyrland, *Tatere og Natmandsfolk i Danmark*, p. 13. Copenhagen, 1872.

² *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 1793, vol. xxi. p. 148.

³ *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 1793, vol. xxi. p. 110.

⁴ Borrow, *The Zincali*, 1843, i. p. 218.

⁵ Smart and Crofton, *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, 1875, p. 236.

their mother-tongue, and their children only understand Turkish. The so-called Turkish Gypsies (*turški cigani*) who live in the cities of Servia are Mohammedans, dress like Bosnians, and speak Servian. Spanish Gypsies have given their verb the terminations of the Spanish verb, while the English have robbed theirs of all its suffixes and simplified it according to the English pattern. Moreover, the Spanish Gypsies use to a very large extent Spanish endings, the British English, and the Norwegian Danish, so that it is especially in Spain, England, and Norway that the Romani vocabulary has been greatly influenced by the vernacular. But the same is true of all the other European countries. All the European Gypsy dialects contain Armenian, and in greater number Greek words, and also, according to the individual country, Rumanian, Hungarian, Slavic, German and French elements, quite irrespective of the special local colour of each separate dialect. These foreign elements are of the utmost importance, for they alone supply us with a clue by which we may determine the road taken by the Gypsies on their immigration into Europe.

The Romani dialects, therefore, present a highly coloured language-picture which deteriorates year by year, as knowledge of the old dialect diminishes. A single example will show how powerful the influence of the vernacular already is in our own day. In the old dialect of the English Gypsies the sentence, 'I wish to go to Heaven (the Gypsy says, 'God's house') when I die,' used to run, *komóva te jal adré mi Duvelésko kēri kana meróva*; in the modern dialect it is, 'I'd *kom* to *jal adré mi Duvel's kēr* when *mandi mers*.' Here the old terminations have been abandoned in avour of English constructions.¹ Sundt relates that on one occasion a Gypsy woman came to a Norwegian farm, and there, with a perfect torrent of words, practised the art of begging. When the farmer rebuked her for it, she gave him this historic answer: *Devel har ci dela mander pu at cera pré*; *saa maa mander cera med möien for at le kaben til cavoane meros* (God has given me no land to till; so I must work with my mouth to get food for my children).² The words and suffixes in Roman type are Danish. Without any hesitation a German Gypsy woman translated the sentence, 'Er hat einen spitzigen Schnabel' (It

¹ In all foreign words *c* and *j* are to be pronounced *tsch* and *dsch* respectively.

² Sundt, *Beretning om Fante- eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge*, p. 167. Christiania, 1852.

has a pointed beak) by *les hi yek schpitzigu schnäbluo*.¹ An example of the Spanish dialect has been given above. It is high time to collect what can still be saved. The number of Gypsies who can still speak Romani in a comparatively pure form is steadily decreasing, so that Norway is not the only country where Gypsies are found who sing old songs, whose words, it is true, they still remember, but whose meaning they can no longer clearly explain.

Within the last ten years,² then, such keen interest has been shown in the field of Gypsy lore that it is permissible to speak with Bataillard of a 'Philologie Bohémienne.' The credit for this is due in no small degree to Miklosich, whose excellent work on the Gypsies of Europe³ has had a highly stimulating influence. Miklosich has attempted to determine the exact origin of the Gypsies by the evidence of abundant linguistic materials. To state the problem as it stands to-day, and to show how far Miklosich's view is supported by the latest researches in the field of Indian folk-lore, is the aim of the following pages.

I

The oldest theory (which has not completely disappeared even at the present day) as to the origin of the Gypsies, is that they came from Egypt. Conrad Justinger, in his *Berner Chronik* for the year 1419, was the first to express this view in his remark about the Gypsies who came in that year to Basle, Zürich, Berne, Soleure: 'Warent von egyptenland, ungeschaffen, swartz, ellend lüte, mit wiben und kinden' (They were from Egypt, pitiful, black, miserable, with women and children). It was also held by Geibel, whose 'band of wandering Gypsies' were 'suckled on the banks of the sacred river Nile.' This theory was supported by the statements of the Gypsies themselves, who, soon after their first appearance in central Europe, declared 'Little Egypt' to be their fatherland. Their leaders, who were mounted and richly dressed, called themselves 'Kings' or 'Dukes' or 'Counts of Little Egypt,' and the band obeyed their behests. They professed to be on a seven years' pilgrimage imposed on them by their bishops as a penance, because they had lapsed from Christianity into heathen-

¹ Rüdiger, *Neuester Zuwachs der deutschen, fremden und allgemeinen Sprachkunde, erstes Stück*, p. 68. Leipzig, 1782.

² This was written in 1883.

³ *Mundarten*, Vienna, 1872-80, and *Beiträge*, Vienna, 1874-8.

dom. The band which appeared before Bologna in 1422 was under a certain *Duca di Egitto* named Andreas, who had taken up his quarters in the *albergo del Re*, while the bulk of his people lodged themselves inside and outside the city gate. Duke Andreas declared that he had abandoned Christianity, whereupon the King of Hungary had plundered his land and taken him prisoner. He had then been baptized anew with four thousand of his subjects, and the King of Hungary had imposed a seven years' pilgrimage on them, and commanded them to go to the Pope at Rome. A different version of this same tale was told by the Gypsies at Paris in 1427, while in other places they served up the legend of a ceaseless wandering without rest or respite, because their ancestors in Egypt had refused to receive Joseph and Mary and the Child Christ when they fled from Herod. Others again declared that they had left Little Egypt on account of the barrenness of the land. These stories were at first believed. Much sympathy was shown to the Gypsies, and at the outset they were received with hospitality and gifts. Thus in the book of accounts of the city of Frankfurt-am-Main we find an entry of four pounds and four shillings for bread and meat to be given 'den elendigen luden usz dem cleynen Egypten' (to the poor people from Little Egypt). In 1429 the city of Arnheim (Guelders) gave 'den greve van Klijn-Egipten met synne geselschap in die eer Gaids' (to the Earl of Little Egypt with his company to the honour of God), six florins of Arnheim. 'Item, to the same earl and to the heathen women, to the honour of God, half a muid of wheaten bread costing one florin of Arnheim and two blanks. Item, to the same, a barrel of hops costing forty blanks. Item, again to the same, a barrel of herrings, costing fifty blanks.' In Zutphen, presents were made in 1459 to the 'Koninck van Clijn-Egypten,' and in 1496 Duke Karl of Egmont, the warlike prince of Guelderland, gave 'Grafen Martyn Gnougy, gebooren van Klijn-Egypten' a passport through his country, because he was on a pilgrimage; however, the Count and his people were not to stay longer than three days in any one place. There are other records elsewhere of presents and letters of protection to Gypsies, as in the case of the band which appeared in 1417 in the Hanseatic towns, and then advanced into Switzerland and Italy, and produced a letter of protection from the Emperor Sigismund. Isolated bands at first advanced quietly, and this fact, together with the high-sounding titles assumed by their leaders, gave rise to the statement, which has long been believed,

that these first Gypsies were radically different from those who followed them, and from the Gypsies of to-day. Kings, Dukes, and Counts of Little Egypt are frequently mentioned in old Dutch and German records, as also in those of other countries. Martin Crusius in his *Annales Suevici* speaks of a monument near Steinbach erected in honour of 'the Right Honourable Lord, Lord Panuel, Duke of Little Egypt and Lord of Hirschhorn in the same country,' with the Duke's coat of arms, while in 1498 'Freigraf' John of Little Egypt was buried at Pforzheim.

Little Egypt may possibly stand for the Peloponnesus, which we must regard as the first European home of the Gypsies. They were undoubtedly settled there in the second half of the fourteenth century, for in 1398, as Hopf has shown, Ottaviano Buono, the Venetian Stadtholder of Nauplion, confirmed to the Gypsies in that neighbourhood, and especially to their captain, John, the privileges which his predecessors had granted them.¹ At the close of the fifteenth century German travellers make mention of a Gypsy colony consisting of from two hundred to three hundred huts at the foot of Mount Gype near Modon. Arnold von Harff even speaks of a country called Gyppe which, he said, was the original home of the Gypsies and about forty miles distant from Modon, while, according to the Count Palatine, Alexander von Veldenz, the Venetians translated Gype by Little Egypt. Whether this be correct, or whether Little Egypt be a country like Aristophanes' Nephelococcygia, the fact remains that until the close of the last century, the Egyptian origin of the Gypsies was universally accepted as correct, and by it alone can we explain the presence of names, reminiscent of Egypt, still borne in certain countries by Gypsies of to-day. In Spain they were called in olden times *Egypticianos* or *Egipcianos*, and similarly at the present day *Gitanos*, as in Portugal. In England in the sixteenth century they were *Egipcions*, and to-day *Gypsies*. In old Dutch records they are called *Egyptiërs*, *Egiptenaren*, *Egyptenaers*, *Giptenaers* side by side with *Heidenen*, *Heidens* [heathens], their sole appellation to-day. The French formerly called them *Égyptiens*, and now *Bohémiens*, possibly because they produced letters of protection from the King of Hungary and Bohemia, or came direct from Bohemia; the Greeks name them Γύφτοι (*Gifti*), and the Albanese *Evgit*. In a Slavonic record of the year 1698 they were

¹ Carl Hopf, *Die Einwanderung der Zigeuner in Europa*, pp. 11 sqq. Gotha, 1870.

termed *gens Pharaica*, and in Hungary they were also formerly called *Pharao népek* (Pharaoh's people), or *Pharao nemzetség* (Pharaoh's race). Indeed, Thomasius has made even the impossible possible by deriving our word *Zigeuner* direct from *Aegyptiani* by these stages: Aegyptianer, Gypcianer, Zianer, Ziganer, Zigener ('like *Italiani* to *Italiener*'), Zigeuner ('because we in South Germany love diphthongs'), an etymology which even at this date has won the support of Avé-Lallemant.¹ Christian von Hofmannswaldau seems to have had some such etymology in his mind when he composed the following epitaph on a '*Ziegeiner*.'

'In stern wanderings I spent my life;
Two lines will teach you who I've been.
Egypt, Hungary, Switzerland, Beelzebub and Swabia,
Have named, reared, fed, slain and buried me.'

As the Gypsies first came to Germany from Hungary it can be easily understood that Hofmannswaldau considered Hungary to be their fatherland, as Presbyter Andreas of Regensburg had done before him. The latter entered St. Augustine's Monastery at Regensburg in 1410, and in his *Diarium sexennale* says of the Gypsies in the year 1424, 'this race came from the region of Hungary.' Thurnmayr von Abensburg, better known by his Latin name Aventinus (*ob.* 1534), calls the Gypsies in his *Annales Bojorum* 'a pack of knaves, a gang scraped together from the borders of Hungary and Turkey'; and in Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein, and probably also in other North German countries, they were frequently called 'Hungarian' in former days. In the records of the city of Frankfurt-am-Main they are likewise called *Beheimen*, that is, Bohemians, as in France. But the true Low German name of the Gypsies is *Tätern*, and at the present day they are still so called with slight dialectical differences throughout the region where Low German is spoken, and also in Denmark and Sweden. *Hei is sau gël as 'n Täter* (He is as yellow as a Tartar) is a common saying in North Germany, where some small districts even bear names compounded with *Täter*. Thus in Hanover, before the city gates and on boundary landmarks, the name *Täternpāl* (Gypsy-post) frequently appears, while parts of the boundaries are called *Täterpāle*, although to-day there is no longer any post left standing. But in former times posts actually did stand there—in fact, these *Täternpöele* (Gypsy-poles) were nominally supposed to

¹ Thomasius, *Dissertatio philosophica de Cingaris*, § 9. Leipzig, 1677; Avé-Lallemant, *Das Deutsche Gaunerthum*, i. p. 10.

mark the limit beyond which Gypsies might not approach a town. In Holstein there is a *Täternloch* in Schnellmark forest near Eckenförde, and a place called *Täterbusch* in the parish of Hohenfeld.

When the Gypsies first appeared in Germany, the common folk thought that the Tartars had returned, and transferred this name to them. The Dominican monk, Hermann Korner, who lived in the days of the Emperor Sigismund, describes them as 'horrible in appearance and black as Tartars.' Albert Krantz in his *Saxonia* (Cologne, 1520) expressly states that the common people called them Tartars, and Rufus in his *Lübeck Chronicle* says of them, 'desse guemen ute Tartarien' ('These came out of Tartary'). The Tartar, like the Egyptian theory, has also found supporters, and thus, side by side with the name *Tätern*, attention was given to the *Dsungarei*, a word which has been connected with *Zingari* (*Zigeuner*). It was believed that the Gypsies were originally Tartar hordes who, about 1400, had separated from Timur's army. The name *Zigeuner*, like *Tatern*, has been equally misapplied, in order to determine the fatherland of this race. Hasse asserted their identity with the *Sigynnae* of Herodotus—a theory which has recently been again advanced and defended by Bataillard, who also maintains that Homer's *Sinties* on Lemnos were Gypsies.

All attempts to discover the origin of the Gypsies must necessarily fail, so long as they are based on purely external assonance in names.¹ With a race like the Gypsies, which has no old traditions, there is only one way of discovering its origin—by studying its language. Of course, at first it was essential to determine exactly what was the language of the Gypsies. At the close of the seventeenth century Wagenseil, Professor of Jurisprudence and of Oriental Languages at the once celebrated University of Altdorf, professed to have arrived at the origin of the Gypsies through the gateway of language. But what he considered to be *Romani* was German thieves' slang or *Rotwelsch*; and, as he found many Hebrew elements in it, Wagenseil declared that Gypsies were German Jews. But as soon as true Gypsy was examined the problem was solved. Two men—Rüdiger in 1777 (published 1782) and Grellmann in 1783, simultaneously and quite independently,

¹ Numerous other theories are specified by Grellmann in his work—still valuable to-day—*Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner*, second edition, pp. 228 *sqq.* Göttingen, 1787.

by chance rather than through a deep study of the tongue—reached the same result, in both cases based on totally inadequate materials and a very imperfect knowledge of the language. What these two men, who were soon followed by others, merely suggested, Pott proved with scientific precision. His great work, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien* (Halle, 1844-5), put an end to every possible doubt that might still exist, and from that date it has been a universally known and incontrovertible fact that the original home of the Gypsies is India, and their language an Indian one.

Now there are few countries in the world in which such an immense variety of languages exists as in India. Nations which are not even remotely related have settled here side by side, and even within the same race-groups the number of dialects is extraordinarily large. There are four race-groups in particular, which from the earliest times have been sharply separated. To the south of the Vindhya Mountains in the Deccan there dwell the Dravidians, in the Vindhya range itself and the surrounding district the Nishāda races, while a great part of the north has been settled by races of Thibetan origin. The centre of the country—Hindustan—is peopled by our blood-relations the Indo-Aryans. But the Marāthī in the Deccan are likewise Indo-Aryan, as are also the ruling races in the north from Nepal to Kafiristan, and by far the greater number of the tribes of the Hindū Kūsh, as we first learned two years ago from Major Biddulph's excellent work.¹ Even if we take only the chief Aryan dialects into consideration their number is extraordinarily great. In the east, from north to south successively, we have Asāmī, Bangālī, Oriyā; in the north, from east to west, Nēpālī, Kāmaōnī, Garhwālī, Dogrī, Kashmīrī, Dārdū, Kāfirī; on the west, from south to north, Marāthī, Gujarātī, Sindhī, Multānī, Panjābī; in the centre Hindī predominates perhaps as far as Benares, and from there Bihārī, while Urdū or Hindūstānī is used throughout the greater part of India as the *lingua franca*. But all these languages are subdivided into numerous dialects which frequently differ so greatly *inter se*, that tribes who live only a few miles apart are unable to understand one another. Even in so comparatively small a province as Kafiristan the difference in dialect is so great that, as Biddulph remarks, many tribes can have no mutual intercourse on that account. It is to this Indo-Aryan family, then, that Gypsies also belong, but the utmost diversity of opinion still

¹ Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*. Calcutta, 1880.

exists as to which district of India should be regarded as their fatherland.

II

Since the Gypsies call themselves *Sinte* or *Sinde*, Sindh was alleged to be their original home. But the two names have no connection, and there is absolutely no trace of any near relationship between Sindhī and Romani. Bacmeister, to whom Rüdiger in 1777 communicated his discovery of the Indian origin of the Gypsies, replied that he found that Romani 'agreed with the dialect of Multān, a province situated in the south-west of India, but with no other of the numerous Caucasian tongues.' Bacmeister undoubtedly meant Panjābī, for he could hardly have acquired any knowledge of Multānī. Büttner considered that Romani resembled Afghan, and Ascoli suggested the possibility that the Gypsies were Sindhians who had resided for a long time among the Afghans. The fatherland of the Gypsies, then, has been unanimously transferred to the west of India, and here, it is thought, we shall be able to prove that their history began.

The great Persian epic poet Firdūsī, who lived about the year 1000 A.D., relates in his *Shāh-Nāme* how the Persian king Bahrām-Gūr (about 420 A.D.) requested the Indian king Shankal of Kanōj to send him ten thousand Lūrīs, to delight his poor subjects by their skilful lute-playing. Bahrām-Gūr granted them a dwelling-place of their own, gave each a donkey and a cow, besides a liberal supply of wheat for sowing, and made them choose a king. But the Lūrīs made short work of their wheat and cows, and at the end of the year were quite destitute. The king, exasperated at their thriftlessness, now commanded them to load the asses with their possessions, and earn their bread by songs and instrumental music; every year they must travel through his country and rejoice rich and poor with their songs. The Lūrīs, says Firdūsī, in accordance with this command wander about the world, seeking work, associate with dogs and wolves, and rob day and night on the highway.

The same story is told by other Persian writers, and one of them especially emphasises the fact that the Persian Lūrīs of to-day are descended from those Lūrīs. Moreover, Lūrī or Lūlī is the name which by choice the Gypsies still bear to-day in Persia, and, however much Firdūsī has embroidered his tale with romance, there is no adequate reason whatever to doubt the fact itself, that

in the first half of the fifth century a considerable number of Gypsies migrated from India to Persia—which, however, by no means implies that these Gypsies were the ancestors of the European Gypsies. This tale of Firdūsī's is also found in the Arab historian Hamza of Ispahan, who lived half a century before Firdūsī. Hamza calls these Indian musicians Zott, and from Arabic vocabularies we know that this word is arabicised from Jat and can also be pronounced Zatt. Further, we hear that these Jats dwelt in Sindh and Multān, and were split up into several tribes, of whom the Bodha supported themselves by camel-rearing, and dwelt in huts like nomads, while the most northerly tribe, the Kikān, were celebrated for their horse-breeding. The tribe which lived on the southern sea-coast adopted the trade of piracy, and in 768 plundered Jedda, the port of Mecca. Bataillard in 1849, as a result of this information about the Arabs, first identified the Gypsies with the Indian Jats, and twenty-five years afterwards the learned Dutch Arabist De Goeje, who accepted the Zott legend,¹ independently arrived at the same conclusion. We learn through him that in the seventh century a large number of Zotts served in the Persian army, and when defeat threatened the Persians, deserted to the Arabs, embraced Islam, and settled for the most part on the banks of the Shat-el-Arab in Basra. Mention is also made of sedentary Zotts in other parts of the Euphrates district, who in this case were not only soldiers, but whole families with their goods and chattels. In 669 or 670 the Khalif Moāwia settled a number of Zotts in Antioch and other seaports of Syria. When the Arabs began their incursions into India the Zotts in that district at first resisted them, but later joined them as allies; but they were so untrustworthy that the Arabs resolved to transport a great number of them. They were sent with their women, children, and buffaloes to Kaskar, in the marshes near the Tigris, and later some of them were transported to Syria. Those who remained behind in Kaskar took advantage of the disturbances which broke out after Hārūn-al-Rashīd's death to seize the chief power in that city. Reinforced by runaway slaves and malcontents, they seized the highroads and waterways, plundered caravans and ships as well as the granaries of Kaskar, and brought matters to such a pass that in 820 no one dared to cross their territory, and the regular transport ships from Basra to Bagdad could no longer run. Several

¹ De Goeje, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Zigeuners*. Amsterdam, 1875.

attempts to subdue the Zotts failed, and it was not till 834, after an obstinate resistance, that they were overcome and led in triumph to Bagdad. They made their entrance into that city in national costume, and were publicly displayed to the people on three successive days and then transported to Syria, to whose inhabitants they caused much trouble. In 855 the Byzantines made an attack on Syria and carried off to Byzantium the Zotts, with their women, children, and buffaloes. When the rebellion in Kaskar had been crushed the Zotts in India were also subdued, and severely punished. Later they again got the upper hand, and in consequence of their plundering raids became such a terrible pest that in 1025 Mahmūd of Ghazni, whose army they attacked, took severe measures, and Timūr in 1398 led an army in person against them, killed two thousand, and carried off immense booty in cattle and captive women and children. Soon afterwards he marched against Delhi, and before the decisive battle which gained for him the ascendancy of India, he ordered all the prisoners of war whom he had captured since his arrival in India to be slaughtered in a single day. Their numbers are said to have exceeded a hundred thousand. That the captive Zotts were among the number cannot be doubted, for they were the very men whom Timūr had least reason to spare. There is only one supposition, as de Goeje aptly remarks, which could refute the theory that the Gypsies came to Europe with Timūr's army—namely that the Zotts may not have been Gypsies. And were they Gypsies? The fact is universally believed. The only man who has hitherto expressed a doubt on the matter is Bataillard, who, as mentioned above, had himself declared in an earlier work that the Jats were identical with the Gypsies. Bataillard could not solve the problem because at that date (1875) adequate linguistic material was not forthcoming; for here again language alone can supply conclusive evidence.

But since that date O'Brien's work in 1881¹ has given us a fuller knowledge of the Jat dialect, Jatakī or Multānī, and a comparison with Romani proves that the languages are essentially different. On a single point in phonetics—the partial preservation of *r* after consonants—they certainly do agree; but otherwise they radically differ in phonetics, inflection, and vocabulary. Of course one might assert that here, as elsewhere, the Gypsies forgot their language after their settlement and were absorbed by the people

¹ O'Brien, *Glossary of the Multani Language*. Lahore, 1881.

of the land. But this theory is utterly untenable. For some of the Jats still live to-day by camel-rearing, travel far into Persia and to Damascus, where they are still called *Zutt*, and can be easily distinguished from the Gypsies, who are called *Nawar*.

Undoubtedly the Jats are the oldest nation of the southern Panjāb; in former days they had their own princes and a native nobility, and in their songs and legends have preserved the memory of better times. At the present day they are somewhat despised and are looked upon as rough ignorant fellows. Their language is neither Panjābi nor Sindhi, but an independent dialect between the two, and it is not within the bounds of possibility to suppose that they only adopted it at a recent date. It is rather their old mother-tongue. If our Gypsies were the descendants of those Zotts who in 855 were transported to Byzantium, it follows that we must necessarily find numerous Arabic and Syrian words in the European Romani dialects. The Romani dialects of Europe, as I have already briefly mentioned, contain numerous loan-words from the languages of the various countries in which the Gypsies stayed for any length of time; in all, therefore, there ought to be a considerable number of Arabic and Syrian elements. But this is not the case. De Goeje has certainly pronounced ten Romani words to be Arabic, but quite erroneously, as Miklosich has proved.¹ Miklosich's researches definitely establish the fact that the route taken by the Gypsies from India to Europe, after passing through Persia, was not south by Arabia, but north by Armenia. Miklosich, however, admits the possibility of Gypsy bands having also marched south and re-united later with the northern hordes in Greece. But even in that case we should find Arabic elements in the European Gypsy dialects, and Miklosich only formulated this theory because, like De Goeje, he considers that the Zotts were Gypsies. By reason of our newly acquired linguistic knowledge, we can now definitely assert that the information which De Goeje has given us from Arabic sources is the history, not of the Gypsies, but of the Jats.² The fact that the Arabs also call the Gypsies Zotts must by no means be denied—is, indeed, undeniable. But it proves nothing further than that the Arabs transferred to the Gypsies the name of the Indian race with whom they had most frequently come into contact, because the Gypsies also came from India. Those who allege the identity of Gypsies with Jats on these grounds might equally well identify them

¹ Cp. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 15, note 2. ² *Ibid.*, i. 14, note 6, and ii. 216, note.

with Bohemians because the French called them *Bohémiens*, or with Hungarians because they are so called by the North Germans, or with the Greeks because they bear that name in the constitutions of Catalonia and in Dutch records of 1459 and 1460. Moreover, apart from language, nothing justifies the identification of Zotts and Gypsies. An anonymous writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1878, collected all the evidence which could possibly be produced in its favour, and he is even inclined to trace the migration of the Gypsies from India back to Mahmūd's crushing defeat of the Jats. But among the few points of resemblance there is not a single characteristic one; on the other hand, it is of the utmost importance that the Jats were brave soldiers, which no one can say of the Gypsies. They are, on the contrary, the greatest cowards imaginable. Our information about the Zotts, then, cannot be utilised to prove that the Panjāb was the home of the Gypsies.

On the other hand, this theory is supported by the fact that we find in the Panjāb a wandering tribe who in customs and name are very like the Gypsies. They are the Changar race. Rienzi in 1832 was the first to give us information about the Changars.¹ He calls them *Tzengaris*, which is nothing but Changar as enunciated by the Marāthī, who pronounce the Sanskrit sound *ca* (i.e. *tscha*) like *tsa*. According to Rienzi, on the Concan and Pirate coasts they are also called *Vangaris*, and *Sukatir* on the coast of Malabar. They are Nomads, and are distinguished from the other Indian races by their religion, their institutions, their customs and language. They are, as a rule, of a blackish hue, which justifies the name 'black Hindus' given to them by the Persians. In times of war they plunder, carry supplies to the army, and deluge it with swarms of spies and dancing-girls. In peace they manufacture coarse linen, and trade in rice, butter, salt, intoxicating liquors, opium, perfumes, etc. They carry their wares on oxen from one place to another. Their women are handsome and beautifully formed, but addicted to the most repulsive forms of debauchery. They often steal young girls whom they afterwards sell at need to natives or Europeans. They are also accused of offering human sacrifices to evil spirits, and of cannibalism. Almost everywhere they act as procurers, and the women tell fortunes for money. On these occasions they strike a drum in order to conjure up the evil spirits, utter with the air of a sibyl

¹ Rienzi, in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, tome lvi., pp. 365 *sqq.* Paris, 1832.

and with extraordinary fluency a number of mysterious words, regard the position of the heavens and the lines on the hand of the person consulting them, and then solemnly pronounce his fate. The women also practise the art of tattooing. They draw on the Hindu women's arms stars, flowers and animals, pierce the outline with a needle, and rub the punctures with a certain juice which makes them indelible. Moreover, the Tzengari, on occasion, may practise any craft. They are closely bound together, and live in families; frequently one sees father and daughter, uncle and niece, brother and sister living together, and cohabiting like animals. They are suspicious, liars, gamblers, drunkards, cowards, and totally uneducated. They have no creed but the fear of evil spirits and fate.

Thus far Rienzi's description. He adds that the original home of the Tzengari must be sought in the country of the Marāthī, and that their dispersion was due to Timūr's invasion of India, 1398. He also gives a short vocabulary which is absolutely valueless, as the words are partly Arabic, partly corrupt Sanskrit. It cannot be denied that many of the characteristics emphasised by Rienzi are genuinely Gypsy. Even the kidnapping and cannibalism myths are still believed about Gypsies at the present day. Rienzi's description of the Tzengari agrees pretty closely with Abbé Dubois' sketch (written as early as 1825) of a Deccan tribe, which he calls *Lambadī* or *Sukatir* or *Benjari*; and the two last names prove that he had the same race in mind as Rienzi, for the latter also calls his Tzengari *Sukatir* and *Vangaris*, obviously the same word as *Benjari*. Dubois likewise mistakenly locates their home in the country of the Marāthī, and compares another tribe, closely resembling them, which he calls *Kuraver* or *Kurumaru*, to the European Gypsies.¹ The next to advance our knowledge of the Changars was Trumpp, in 1872. According to Trumpp,² one of our best authorities on North-West India and its dialects, the Changars are the only homeless race who, in fairly large bands, roam along the banks of the great rivers of the Panjāb and through the waste lands which surround them. The Changars build themselves temporary reed huts, and in roughly constructed boats follow the craft of fishing or alligator-hunting. Besides fish,

¹ Dubois: *Mœurs, Institutions, et Cérémonies des Peuples de l'Inde*, i. pp. 74 sqq. Paris, 1825. Cp. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 531. London, 1830.

² *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, ii. p. 294. Vienna, 1872.

alligators and such animals, they also eat carrion (like the Gypsies). They are somewhat unsociable and avoid the neighbourhood of towns and villages (by no means a Gypsy characteristic). According to Trumpp they migrated from Sindh, since they all—without exception—speak either pure Sindhi or a dialect mixed with Panjābī. No trace of religious customs is to be found among them. Trumpp remarks further that they closely resemble our Gypsies in customs as well as in name (Ital. *Zingaro*, *Cingaro*), and that they travel abroad as far as Persia, which would easily explain their emigration to that country.

Finally, Leitner has recently (1880) given us fresh information about this race and its language.¹ According to Leitner the Changars do not call themselves by this name, which seems to have been given them by others not of their race. Among themselves they call one another *Cūbne*, which, according to Leitner is equivalent to 'Beloved.' They are divided into several castes, and are by no means a race of wanderers or professional thieves. The modesty of their women is proverbial; they are tall and dark, and delight in adorning themselves. The Changars have their chief settlement in Lahore; moreover, Changars also live in other towns of the Panjāb, in Peshāwar and 'a station behind Peshāwar.' They know nothing about Sindh and do not speak Sindhi. The Changars mentioned by Trumpp are unknown to them by that name. They call them *Samé* or *Mé*. The Changars in Lahore do not catch fish (except spawn with their hands), and do not eat alligators. According to Leitner the following points confute the identification of Changars and Gypsies:—

- (1) The Changars are not musical, but hire singers and musicians.
- (2) They neither mend kettles nor shoe horses.
- (3) They do not tell fortunes.
- (4) They are not thieves by profession.

Moreover, they are good Mohammedans, and pride themselves on eating no forbidden food. The remainder of Leitner's account of their customs does not concern us here.

These three accounts by Rienzi, Trumpp, and Leitner are so contradictory that it might be considered impossible to reconcile them, and Leitner's definite statements apparently decide the question of identifying the Changars with the Gypsies in the negative. But it is only apparently. To the Gypsy scholar many

¹ Leitner, *A Sketch of the Changars and of their Dialect*. Lahore, 1880.

of these inconsistencies are easily explained. The information given by Leitner about the Changar dialect is unfortunately very scanty, although of immense importance in characterising the race. We have seen that in no country do the Gypsies still speak their language in its purest form, but always interlard it with words from the vernacular of the race with whom they live. Moreover, the Gypsy acquires foreign languages with the greatest ease, and does his best to hide his own tongue as well as his nationality from strangers. He is never at a loss for an answer, and to inquiries as to what this or that is called in his language, he at first either denies that he has a mother-tongue, or he gives words from any foreign dialect which he knows, or finally, with the utmost barefacedness, words from his interrogator's own language. He who wishes to learn anything from the Gypsy must possess two things—knowledge of his tongue and money. Against the latter the Gypsy never holds out, and it was principally by this means that the Greek doctor, Paspatis, succeeded in compiling his exceedingly valuable collections in the language of the Turkish Gypsies. A Gypsy once offered to teach the author of this article his tongue for a hundred Thalers, but soon lowered his demands. Of course exceptions can be found. Thus Sundt discovered in the Gypsy Frederick Larsen Hartmann a willing teacher, and others too have been able to obtain information from Gypsies without any special difficulties. On the whole, however, the Gypsy is reserved and inaccessible. Nevertheless, he who speaks his tongue will soon be able to lull his suspicions. Before he spoke Romani all Sundt's attempts to approach the Gypsies confined in Norwegian reformatories and prisons were in vain; but once he had learned their language he found just the opposite, and says it was often amusing in the extreme to see what a marvellous effect was produced by two or three words of Romani. This I can corroborate from my own experience. Liebich, the police magistrate, a very good Romani scholar, tells a story¹ of a Gypsy named Charles Augustin, brought before the Criminal Court at Lobenstein for begging, who was described as one who obstinately denied his Gypsy origin. Even before Liebich he resolutely lied, although his external appearance left no doubt as to his origin. Then Liebich suddenly addressed him: *Tu hal Rōm, me hōm Rōm, raker cacopen* ('You are a Gypsy, so am I,

¹ Liebich, *Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und ihrer Sprache*, pp. 23 sqq. Leipzig, 1863.

speak the truth'), whereupon the Gypsy, nonplussed, crossed his arms on his chest and replied with a low bow, *Me hōm* ('I am'). Later he gave Liebich some valuable material.

Puchmayer owed his knowledge of Romani to several Gypsy boys.¹ Before he became intimate with them, one of them used to say to the other as soon as he thought a question suspicious, *ma pchen* ('don't tell'). To the question what 'thief' was [in Romani] Puchmayer only got the answer, 'I don't know,' and when later the band was examined at court, one of the older Gypsies replied to the same question: 'We haven't that word in our language.' Others relate similar incidents.

It is not to be expected, therefore, that the Changars, if they are Gypsies, would have given Leitner full information about their language, and it is, further, not surprising that the Changars whom Trumpp describes spoke Sindhī or a dialect mixed with Sindhī or Panjābi. At the same time they may very well have had their own language. Leitner's Changar dialect is, then, a confused medley compounded of Panjābi, Arabic, and a jargon which apparently has often been artificially vamped. No one can seriously believe that the Changars call the moon 'the thing that has risen,' or the elephant 'the big black (animal),' or the hawk 'one who pounces on game and eats it,' and other such examples. These are statements invented by the Changars in order to hide the true terms from their questioners. But even admitting this, and allowing for numerous other mistakes which undoubtedly exist in Leitner's work, there still remains a considerable substratum of words (whose etymology, it is true, is still doubtful), which can neither have been invented nor misunderstood. If they are really Changar words, then the Changars are no Gypsies. But it will always remain a striking fact that the name which the Changars give themselves is apparently a good Romani word, as also their word for one who is not a Changar. The first word is *cūbne*. A Changar is called *cūbna*, a Changar woman *cūbni*. According to Leitner, this is supposed to mean 'beloved,' and it is conceivable that the Changars themselves gave this explanation. But it really means 'the poor,' and is, unless appearances are deceptive, the European-Gypsy word *cūveno* (fem. *cūvni*, pl. *cūvene*), with which the Asiatic-Gypsy word *conī*, 'to become poor,' is connected. The true Gypsy is fond of calling himself *coro rom* or *corelo rom* ('poor man'); the

¹ Pott, *loc. cit.*, i. p. 63, note.

Gypsy women whom Diefenbach questioned called themselves 'poor black people.' It can be easily conceived that the Changars, who had long been sedentary in Lahore, had forgotten the true meaning of the word; perhaps too they intentionally concealed it, although they had no apparent reason for so doing. The second word is *gōca*. A *gōca* is one who is not a Changar. The word is obviously the purely Romani *gajó*, *gājó*, *gacó*, by which term the Gypsy designates all who are not Gypsies. If Leitner means to argue from the occupations of the Gypsies at Lahore that they are not Gypsies, his conclusion will not hold good. It must not be forgotten that the Gypsies in Lahore have long been sedentary, consequently they have lost many of their own peculiarities by their lengthy sojourn among the natives of the Panjāb. A great part of the sedentary Gypsies in Wallachia and Servia, the *Vātrassi* and the so-called Turkish Gypsies, as well as some of the Persian Gypsies, might also, if Leitner's arguments be regarded as conclusive, be considered non-Gypsies. For it is true of them too, that they are not musical, and neither mend kettles, nor shoe horses, nor tell fortunes; nor are they thieves by profession. Rienzi reproaches the Tzengari women for licentiousness, Leitner exalts the Changar women as models of virtue. Equally contradictory are the statements about Gypsy women. While most writers describe them as extremely immoral, Borrow says there are no women in the world more modest than Gypsy women, and Zippel was bound to confess that he did not know a single case of a Gypsy woman who had had an intrigue with a native. Personally they naturally consider themselves very moral:—*nané lubniá li romniá* ('Gypsy women are no harlots'), declared a South Italian Gypsy. At any rate, adultery among Gypsies is very rare, and is severely punished. The man has the joint of his knee or arm shattered by a gun-shot, the woman has her nose cut off or a gash made on her face, generally right across the nose. Towards a stranger, on the contrary, they are often most immodest both in speech and manner, in order to give him pleasure and thereby extort money; but beyond that point, as a rule, they never go. The difference in the food of Trumpp's and Leitner's Changars is easily explained by the totally different conditions under which they live, the former being nomads on the banks of rivers, and the latter residents in towns. Since, moreover, Rienzi's description of the Tzengari throughout exactly fits the Gypsies, the possibility that the Changars are really an Asiatic branch of

the Gypsies, identical with them both in name [and race], cannot be excluded.

But even if this actually were the case, it by no means follows that the Panjāb is the fatherland of the Gypsies. The Changars in Lahore themselves declare that their forefathers came from the mountains of Kashmīr and Afghanistan, and this statement seems to be confirmed by evidence in their dialect. Leitner gives for 'son,' 'male child,' the Changar word *diblā*, and *diblī* for 'daughter,' 'female child.' Burnes quotes the Kāfir words *dabla*, 'son,' *dablī*, 'daughter,' and Lister, with the same meaning, *dāvala*, *dāvalī*. In the Kāfir dialects made known to us by Trumpp and Biddulph these words are not authenticated. But since the number of Kāfir dialects, as I have already mentioned, is very great, there is no reason for questioning Burnes and Lister's statements, especially as they are corroborated by the Changar word. The fatherland of the Changars, then, is the extreme north-west of India. But that is the very district in which Miklosich locates the Gypsies' first home.

III

In short, proof can only be furnished by the language, and this Miklosich has done. He has shown that the Gypsy dialects agree so closely with those of the extreme north-west of India, the languages of the Dārds and Kāfirs, in a number of phonetic peculiarities, and at the same time are so utterly different from all the other Aryan dialects of modern India, that in the present state of our knowledge their close relationship must inevitably be accepted. Only these dialects and Romani still retain in their pure form the old Sanskrit phonetic groups *sta*, *shta*, which all the other modern Indian dialects have changed to *tha*, *thā*. They alone have preserved the *r* after consonants to any great extent, and their vocabularies, as well as their inflections, show many points of similarity. Especially characteristic of the Gypsy dialects is the fact that they substitute the sounds *th*, *ph*, *kh* for Sanskrit *dh*, *bh*, *gh*, and this sound-change, again, is only to be found in the Dārd and Kāfir dialects. That it is peculiar to north-western India is proved by the fact that it occurs in Cūlikā-Paiśācīkā, one of the middle-Indian dialects. But the first home of the Paiśācī languages was in the north-west, and the author of the only work which we know to have been written in Paiśācī was a native of

Kashmīr. On account of its harshness,—perhaps, too, on account of the crudeness of the people whose language well represents them,—the Indians called it the devil's language, for that is the meaning of the word *Paīsācī*.

From the evidence of language alone we might definitely state that the original home of the Gypsies was in the extreme north-west of India, and that they are next of kin to the Dārds and Kāfirs. But there are other supplementary arguments which must be taken into consideration. The Gypsies call themselves by choice *Rom* or *Rōm*; a Gypsy woman is *Romni*, 'gypsy' [adj.] is *rōmano* or *rōmano*. Collectively, they call themselves *Roma* or *Romane cave*, 'Gypsy children.' *Rom* means 'man,' 'person.' Drew had heard that among the castes into which the Dārds are subdivided, there was actually one called *Rom*; but he was not able to obtain more detailed information about them.¹ The name *Rom* goes back to Baltistān. There, at the beginning, or in the middle, of the seventeenth century, a part of the Dārd race of Shīn was scattered in the midst of a race of Thibetan origin which rules the country. These Shīn in Baltistān were contemptuously called by the Baltis *Brōkpā*, or 'Highlanders,' because it fell to their lot to cultivate the high-lying, and therefore barren, districts of the country; they called themselves, however, *Rom*. They are a particularly filthy race. Finally, Leitner,² from two Dārd dialects, gives the signification 'race' for the word *rōm* or *rōm*. One of these dialects Leitner calls *Arnyia*, but according to Biddulph,³ a better name is *Khāuar*, from the tribe *Khō* in Chitrāl. According to Biddulph, moreover, the word is pronounced *rōm* and means a 'flock' [of birds]. The *Khō*, above all other Dārd races, are noted for their large and beautiful eyes, which, as Biddulph says, remind one of the English Gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being clever thieves. Their women are celebrated for their beauty, and in former days were in great request at the slave-markets of Kabul, Peshāwar, and Badakhshan. According to Biddulph the *Khō* are the original inhabitants of Chitrāl, not like the Shīn, who only forced their way later by conquest; they now live in the condition of a conquered people. The language of the *Khō*, about which Biddulph gives us detailed information, presents no evidence, however, of a closer relationship with *Romani*

¹ Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 425 (note). London, 1875.

² Leitner, *Account of Dardistan, Kashmir, Ladakh, etc.*, i. p. 6.

³ Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

than is shown by the Dārd dialects. No conclusion can be drawn from Leland's account ¹ of an Indian nomad tribe, called by the natives *Trablūs* (i.e. 'Tripolis' or Syrians), but among themselves, *Rom*. The statement is much too vague to be of any value.

It should be absolutely impossible to consider any longer that the Dōms or Dūms are Gypsies, as Leland and many others still do, accepting the theory as unquestionable. The Dōms appear in Sanskrit authors under the name *Dōma* or *Dōmba*, as musicians and thieves. They are relegated to the meanest order of mankind, which is called *ṣvapāka* or *ṣvapaca*, 'dog-cooks,' because they ate dog's flesh. In the history of Kashmīr there is a legend that some Dōma maidens so enchanted Cakravarman, the King of Kashmīr, by their beauty, and skill in dancing and singing, that he made them his wives, and was murdered in consequence. The Dōms are to be found in many different parts of India, but most frequently in the west and north-west; in Dārdistān their settlements are chiefly in Yāsin, Nagar, and Chilās, where they form a sixth part of the total population. Tribes of Dōms wander restlessly about with little ragged reed tents, which they pitch outside villages and strike again with marvellous rapidity, after having plundered the village. Others make mats, ropes, fans, and similar articles; in Dārdistān they are musicians, smiths, and leather workers. The nomad Dōms eat carrion without hesitation, and are drunkards. These are all true Gypsy characteristics, and the name *Dōm* may also be explained as identical with the Gypsy name *Rōm*, for the pronunciation of the *D* and *R* are very similar. Thus Brockhaus, as early as 1841, declared that the Dōms were Gypsies. But, in spite of the similarity of their name and customs, it is absolutely erroneous to identify the Dōm with the Rōm. Beames says the Dōms have the peculiarly glassy eyes of the aboriginal Indian, and Gardner emphasises the fact that they differ from the Hindus in their high cheek-bones, smaller but well-built figures, and their greater vivacity. Biddulph describes them as very black, with coarse features and mean appearance, and Drew's description of the Dōms of Jammū leaves no doubt that they belong to a different race from the Aryan people in that country, the Dōgrās. As yet we have no trustworthy information about the Dōm mother-tongue. The Dōms speak the language of the people among whom they live. Decidedly they are not Aryans, and therefore not Gypsies.

¹ Leland, *The Gypsies*, pp. 336 sqq. London, 1882.

Hitherto it has been impossible to establish a closer connection between the Gypsy tongue and any one of the numerous dialects of the Dārds and Kāfirs. Nor must we overlook the fact that all these dialects have been greatly influenced by the languages of neighbouring races, and that in many of them a considerable number not only of Iranian but also of un-Aryan elements is to be found. Since, then, the dialects of European Gypsies have been materially changed by European loan-words, the difference between the two language-groups often appears much greater than it would do if all foreign elements were excluded. We may confidently expect that the relationship will strike us far more forcibly when, on the one hand, we are more intimately acquainted with the languages of the Hindū Kūsh, and on the other with the dialects of the Asiatic Gypsies. Already, even the scanty information Paspatis has given us about the latter reveals considerable antiquity and individuality; and of the Hindū Kūsh dialects, Narisatī and Khāuar, in spite of all discrepancies, exhibit even in details various points of similarity. Miklosich's conclusions can hardly be altered materially; up to the present they have been substantially corroborated by the recent labours of Shaw, Drew, and Biddulph.

But if the first home of the Gypsies is in the extreme north-west of India, then the doubts which Count Gobineau raised about the purity of their Indian origin must vanish. The Persian Gypsies, whom Gobineau interrogated in 1857, declared that their home was in the Kabūl district; they had been expelled from that country and could not return. They unanimously asserted that neither they nor their fathers had ever been in India, nor derived their origin thence. Gobineau considers this to be true, 'because many races have gone to India, but none have ever left it; and further because, on account of the caste-theory, according to which even the most miserable outcast is yet of a higher status than the stranger, there would not be a single Paria who would leave the sacred land where he was assured at his re-birth of reaching a higher caste. Because, moreover, to meet the supposed case of Indian tribes which had resolved to migrate, their peninsula had no dearth of deserted and absolutely free districts; finally, because to carry out such an enterprise, and successfully cross the Indus, and force a way through the tribes who occupied the passes, and then through the Afghans, seems rather at variance with the military resources, courage, and energy of the

Gypsies; and if we imagine a peaceful exodus, their numbers were somewhat too great for people ever to suffer their immigrations willingly.¹

Gobineau's conception of the tribes of western India is here incorrect. Western India has succeeded from the remotest times in escaping the Brahmin influence, and Brahminism in its crude form has never gained a footing there. Our knowledge of the older religion of the Dārd is scanty, but it is certain that it was never Brahminism in its Central Indian form. Whereas the cow is considered a sacred animal by orthodox Hindus, many Dārd races, especially the Shīn of Gilgit, regard it as unclean. They will touch neither cows nor calves, and take neither milk, butter, nor cheese; only quite lately could they be persuaded to wear calf-leather shoes. The Brōkpās in Baltistān outwardly profess Buddhism, but in reality worship demons. That in former times Buddhism was also widespread in Dārdistān is proved by numerous traces of architectural monuments. The last Hindu King of Gilgit was named Śrī Buddhadatta, and unmistakably showed by his name what religion he professed. Other tribes seemed to have worshipped Brahmin gods, if we are justified in forming a conclusion from names of places and rulers. The accounts given by Trumpp, Elphinstone, and Biddulph of the religion of the Kāfirs are in part very contradictory. Biddulph maintains that he has even discovered a kind of Vedic religion among them; in reality it is a crude worship with blood-offerings. These races, therefore, must not be judged by the standard of Brahmin culture and Brahmin religious observances. The assertions of these Persian Gypsies that they came from the Kabūl district may be reconciled with the truth if they are not taken too literally. Such statements from the lips of a race like the Gypsies have very little value, though we must beware of deciding *a priori* that they have no value at all. But, as a rule, they have only very hazy ideas about their original home. The Gypsies of Tokāt, in Asia Minor, declare that their forefathers came from Persia, which may be quite true, without obliging us for that reason to regard Persia as their fatherland. On their first appearance in Europe the Gypsies, as mentioned above, named Little Egypt as their first home. But an exception was made by the band which appeared at Forlì, in Italy, in 1422, some of the members of which said they had come from India, as we are told by Brother Hieronymus in his *Forlì*

¹ *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xi. pp. 689 sqq.

Chronicle. This is our sole direct testimony of this nature, but it is especially valuable on account of its age.

Wlislöcki¹ claims to have found a second. The Transylvanian Gypsies have a ballad, the gist of which is similar to that of Hildebrand's Song. A son slays his father, who is unknown to him, and throws the slaughtered man 'into the holy river' (*ando soman len*). Wlislöcki thinks that the 'holy river' can only mean the Ganges, the holy river of the Indians, and he even goes so far as to believe it probable that the ballad was composed, perhaps, on the banks of the Ganges. An unfortunate misrepresentation of facts!² The Ganges has never been a sacred river to the Gypsies in any higher sense than the Oder or Theiss at the present day. Moreover, the Spanish Gypsies have also a ballad of similar purport. Some Norwegian Gypsies told Sundt that the Romany tongue was brought into Norway two hundred years ago by their sainted ancestors. They had dwelt at first in the city of Assa in Assaria, east of Russia. They had been expelled from there by the Turks many, many years ago, and had therefore scattered as exiles over the whole earth. Sundt is prepared to identify Assaria with the province of Assam, in the extreme north-east of India, which is impossible. Asāmi, the language of Assam, shows no closer connection with Gypsy than any other language in the east, including Bihārī, although Hörnle and Grierson quite recently claim to have found a near relationship between the latter and Romani.³ If the Norwegian Gypsies referred by Assaria to any particular country at all, it must have been in general terms to Asia itself. In a Polish Gypsy song, the Gypsy to whom it is ascribed says of his fatherland that it is far off in a distant country, that it lies beyond the Ægean Sea⁴ [*hinter dem griechischen Meere*]; while there is a legend among Bohemian Gypsies that many hundred years ago their ancestors lived in a great kingdom which was far away in the east.⁵ But the majority have no longer even this common memory of a former home in the east. Some South Italian Gypsies state that they had always been in Neapolitan territory, '*dall' antigo tempo.*' A Gypsy woman emphati-

¹ H. von Wlislöcki, *Eine Hildebrands-Ballade der transilvanischen Zigeuner*, pp. 6, 8. Leipzig, 1880.

² Cp. Wlislöcki's defence in *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, pp. 23-4. Hamburg, 1890.

³ *Prospectus of a Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language*, p. 3. Calcutta, 1882.

⁴ Miklosich, *Mundarten*, iii. p. 31.

⁵ *Mittheilungen aus dem Leben eines Richters*, ii. p. 324. Hamburg, 1840.

cally declared '*Chestu lu regnu nostru,*' while another called herself a *Zingara dell' Egitto*.¹

IV

'What caused the Gypsies to fly from India is a mystery, and we have scarcely any hope of ever unveiling this mystery.' So wrote Miklosich in 1873, and he will probably prove right. To-day we can no longer look to the history of the Zotts for the solution of the problem, nor to the campaigns of Jenghiz Khān or Timūr lēng, but must turn to the history of those countries which we have recognised as the original home of the Gypsies. This history, however, is particularly obscure. The races of the Hindū Kūsh are for the most part quite as uncivilised as the Gypsies, and have no better recollection of their history than the latter. The history of Dārdistān—and this is also true even of separate states—only begins with the introduction of Mohammedanism. Of the line of Princes of Gilgit, who were Hindus, long as it is, only the name of the last has come down to us—the above-mentioned Buddhadatta. According to tradition his kingdom was of vast proportions. His palace was in Gilgit. Buddhadatta was a mighty ruler who caused his subjects grievous suffering. This brought about his downfall. An adventurer named Azru or Azor (according to some of the accounts a brother of the governor of Iskardū) killed him, married his daughter, and became the founder of a new dynasty, the Trakhané. From him the present princes of Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar, trace their descent, and it was he who introduced Mohammedanism. From the genealogy of the three states mentioned above, it seems probable that this event took place at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, if one reckons twenty-five years for each generation as Biddulph does, or a hundred years earlier, if with Cunningham we reckon thirty.

The anniversary of the fall of Buddhadatta is still celebrated to-day by the Dārd. The festival is called *Talēni*, a word that is supposed originally to have meant a bundle of chips, which were fastened together and used as a torch. The *Talēni*-feast takes place on the second day of the New Year's festival, *Nōs*. Two hours before daybreak bonfires are kindled, and everybody hurries with a torch in his hand to the Shawaran, the open square, where

¹ Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*, p. 129.

polo, the national game of the Dārds, is played, which Drew has described for us with such graphic detail. Drums are beaten in order to wake the sleepers, and as soon as day dawns torches are thrown in the direction of Gilgit, or into Gilgit itself when the throwers are able. All day long there is dancing, singing, and polo, and this is repeated with some interruptions for a whole month. In Hunza and Nagar the festival is called *Tum-shelling* (wood-scattering); in Astor, *Lomi*. In the valley between Ponyal and Ghiza, where the population consists almost entirely of Shīn, no language but Shīna may be spoken during the festival, and a kind of demonstration against the neighbouring Khō and the non-Aryan Vurshik takes place. Each family kindles a bonfire of cedar-wood, and somebody calls out, 'To-day let all our enemies in the Highlands remain above, and all in the Lowlands remain below. May those who wear *Kori* (leather boots worn by the Khō) perish, and those who wear *tauti* (a kind of leather boots worn by the Shīn) thrive and flourish!' He who speaks Khāuar or Vurshiki on this day is beaten and ill-treated. In Gilgit there are still four families living who take no part in the *Talēni*-feast, but lock themselves into their houses and consider the feast-days a time of mourning. They declare that their forefathers were Buddhadatta's cooks, an office which guaranteed full exemption from taxes.

That the *Talēni*-feast is celebrated in memory of a highly important event in the history of the Dārds cannot be doubted, and there is just as little reason to question the personality of Buddhadatta. The legend seized upon his personality at the right moment. They believe that he is still living in a district surrounded by glaciers, whence he tries to escape yearly at the time of the winter solstice (which forms the beginning of the Dārd year), but is driven back by the Talēni, because he cannot endure fire. Biddulph declares that in the *Talēni*-feast we see the last remains of the fire-worship of Zoroaster, a theory which can easily be disproved by the fact that in Chitrāl, Chilās, and Dārel bonfires are nowhere lighted, and therefore do not constitute an essential part of the festival. The threats against the Khō point in an entirely different direction. Buddhadatta's fall must certainly have been followed by battles, and it is possible that the Khō took up his cause, and that the oppression to which (as I mentioned above) they are subjected to-day dates from that time.

It is a remarkable coincidence that, so far as we yet know, the migration of the Gypsies from India must have occurred at exactly the same time as these struggles between the Dārd tribes, namely, at the end of the twelfth or thirteenth century. If, as I believe in opposition to Hopf, the people mentioned in the *Itinerarium Symonis Simeonis* in Crete, in 1322, as being 'of the race of Chaym' (*i.e.* Ham), were Gypsies (Hopf makes the highly improbable suggestion that they were Coptic negroes), that would be the earliest mention of the Gypsies on their road to Europe. In any case they undoubtedly settled in Corfu before 1346, and were established in Wallachia about 1370. Almost all their own accounts state that they did not voluntarily migrate from their home, and that is quite credible. Hitherto chronology has raised no objections to the theory that their expulsion is connected with the great revolutions which were the outcome of the rise of a new Mohammedan dynasty in Gilgit.

The Bohemian Gypsies, to whom I have already referred, stated that many hundred years ago their ancestors lived in a huge kingdom far away in the East under a certain King Sin. Several neighbouring princes were suitors for the hand of Sin's beautiful daughter, and among them was the great king Talani. The princess, however, rejected his suit, as she had already decided in favour of another young prince. Then Talani, highly incensed, made hot war upon Sin, defeated him, took the princess captive, cut off her and her bridegroom's nose and ears, and led them away as slaves. He then harried the land so terribly by plundering and burning that no one could live there any longer. Many hundred thousands of men, women, and children emigrated, and rejoined their fugitive king, who led them to the West, where he expected to conquer a great kingdom. A second great battle soon took place which Sin lost, together with his life. The whole army was cut to pieces, and the scattered troops, having thrown away their weapons, now marched in large or small bands with their women and children farther and farther west, and settled wherever they were tolerated. They called themselves *Sinde* after their unfortunate king.¹

King Sin owes his origin to the desire to explain the folk-name *Sinde*; the word *Talani* reminds the judge, to whom we owe the record of this legend, of Tamerlaine (Timūr lēng), an impossible conjecture. He who trusts the siren of assonance, and does not

¹ *Mittheilungen aus dem Leben eines Richters*, ii. pp. 324, sqq.

shrink at daring combinations, may connect the Gypsy legend of the cruel King Talani with the Dārd festival *Talēni*, which is celebrated in commemoration of the death of some cruel monarch. I am content at having called attention to both, and will only add that, under Shah Muhammed of Persia, the chief of the royal runners, who, like all couriers at that date, was a Gypsy, bore the name Talan Khān.¹

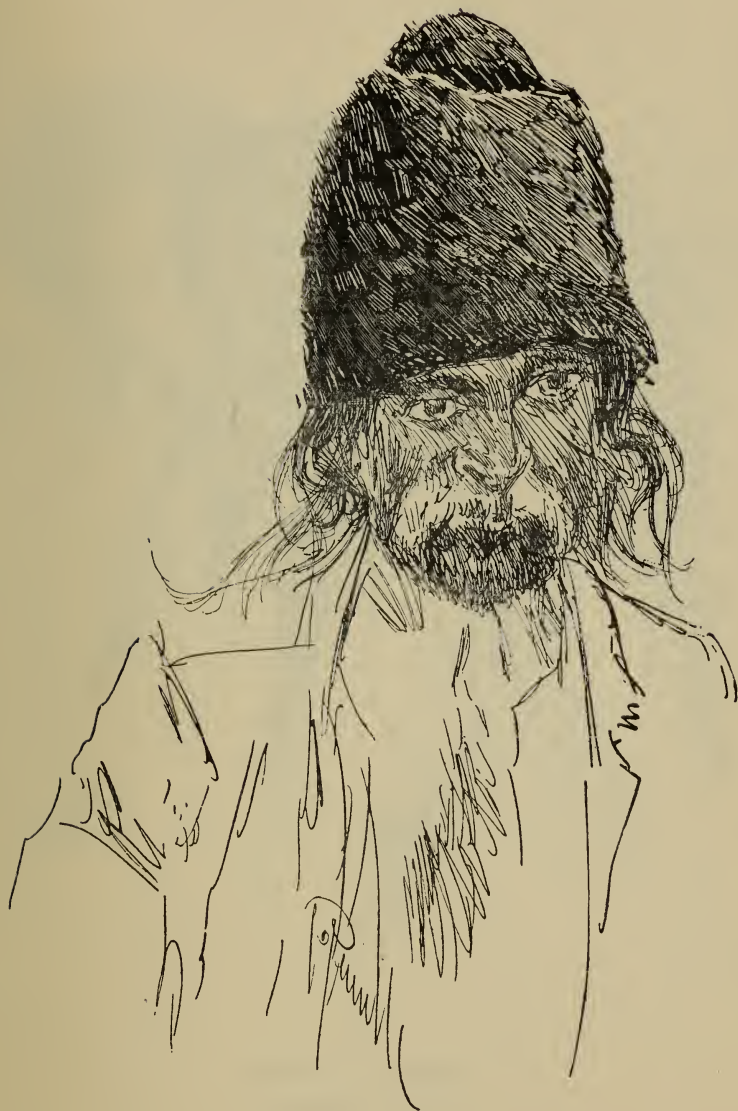
The time has not yet arrived to decide questions of this nature. It is still a disputed point whether the Gypsies are more closely related to the Dārd or the Kāfirs, and it would be premature therefore at the present stage to connect their history with that of Dārdistān. The district, in which further research must be undertaken, has been indicated. Our hope rests on the Hindū Kūsh.

III.—TRANSYLVANIAN GYPSIES

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

MR. PENNELL'S sketches have added much both to the attractiveness and to the scientific value of the Journal, for many facts which a hundredweight of type cannot convey are concisely expressed by a sketch and a few ounces of zinc. It is therefore with great regret that we record that on the next four pages appear the last of the admirable Transylvanian series, so generously lent to the Gypsy Lore Society, which can for the present be reproduced. When, however, the Society is more firmly established, it is to be hoped that Mr. Pennell will make another excursion 'To Gypsyland'—and Gypsyland may be found much nearer than Transylvania, for it is synonymous with the civilised world—and re-awake our gratitude by again allowing some of the contents of his portfolio to grace the pages of a magazine where they receive a peculiarly warm welcome. Insatiable beggars and unabashed, may we also express a wish which arises in the mind of every member, that, on that occasion, Mrs. Pennell will add to her husband's vivid pictures the living words which seem to make them move and speak?

¹ Gobineau, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xi. p. 693.



AT NADGY BÁNYA

By JOSEPH PENNELL

(To whom the copyright belongs)



A WOMAN AT DÉÉS

By JOSEPH PENNELL

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TWO OLD PALS

By JOSEPH PENNELL

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A CAMP

BY JOSEPH PENNELL

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IV.—SOME WORDS ON THE DIALECTS OF THE TRANSCAUCASIAN GYPSIES—BOŠÀ AND KARAČI

By the late Professor K. P. PATKANOFF

Translated from the Russian by D. F. DE L'HOSTE RANKING

(Concluded from page 266)

B. KARAČI

IN the list of Mr. Aknazaroff, from which I have borrowed a great part of the Karači words, a notable portion are manifestly softened, that is, the vowels are pronounced not open, as *a, o, u*, but as *ä, ö, ü*, in conformity with local pronunciation. But this orthography was not always strictly adhered to, and I have found it more convenient not to mark them, since the amount of material is not very large, and does not allow of the possibility of indicating the pronunciation of every word with exactitude.

In this list are collected all the words found in the lists of Messrs. Aknazaroff and Ouseley. As it was often impossible to extract from the phrases the original form of a word, they are given here only in that form in which they are met with in the phrases, sometimes with suffixes, the verbs too in various moods, tenses, and persons.

LIST II¹

DIALECT OF THE KARAČI

1. *chujā, chuijā*, 'God.' P.A. *khuva, huva*; Syr. *chujā*; Bl. *chûda*; Pers. خدا [*khudā*].
2. *gam, gam*, 'the sun'; *gamaz varahqam*, 'in the sunshine.' P.A. *gam*; Bl. *gharmî*; Syr. *gam, gemm*; E. *kham*.
3. *miftav*, 'the moon.' Pers. مهتاب [*mahtāb*].
4. *išyk*, 'the moon.'

¹ K. = Karači; B. = Bošà; Bl. = Beluchistan Gypsy; E. = European Gypsy; Syr. = Syrian Gypsy; P.A. = Paspatis's Asiatic Gypsy; Aeg. = Newbold's Egyptian Gypsy. See vol. i. p. 250.

In the transcription of words of the *Bošà* and *Karači* attention should be paid to the pronunciation of the following letters:—

<i>ch</i> = guttural <i>ch</i> , as in 'loch.'	<i>č</i> = <i>ch</i> soft.
<i>q</i> = <i>kh</i> = aspirated <i>k</i> , as in in(kh)orn.	<i>š</i> = <i>sh</i> .
<i>ph</i> = aspirated <i>p</i> , not <i>f</i> , as in li(ph)ook.	<i>ž</i> = <i>ts</i> .
<i>ǵ</i> = <i>dj</i> .	<i>y</i> = <i>ui</i> .

The additions within square brackets have been kindly made by Dr. G. S. A. Ranking, Persian lecturer in the University of Oxford.

5. *šanani*, 'the stars.' Syr. *tschennanik*; E. *ēon*, 'a month.'
6. *ruhuz*, 'soul,' 'heart.' [Arab.] روح [*rūḥ*, 'spirit,' 'soul'].
7. *manis*, *manes*, 'a man.' B. *manus*; Syr. *manus*, *menes*; E. *manuš*.
8. *dom*, 'a Gypsy.' Syr. *doum*; B. *lom*; E. *rom*.
9. *babuj*, 'a father.' B. *baph*; P.A. *papo*; Syr. *babur*. [Phl. پاپ *pāb*; O.P. باب or با *bābā*, 'father.']
10. *dadi*, 'a father.' E. *dad*.
11. *daji*, 'a mother.' P.A. *dado*; Syr. *dajur*; E. *dai*.
12. *mami*, 'mother.' E. *mama*; *mami*, 'grandmother,' 'aunt.' [Skt. माता *mām*; P. ماما *māmā*, 'mother.']
13. *baro*, *bor*, 'brother.' Syr. *bhairú*. [Skt. *bhrātar*; Avestic, *brātar*; Pers. برادر *birādar*, 'brother.']
14. *ben*, *behn*, 'sister.' P.A. *beno*; E. *pen*.
15. *marús*, 'a wife.'
16. *givi*, *giveh*, 'a woman.'
17. *chuldari*, *chuldara*, 'children.'
18. *chalun*, 'uncle.' Pers. Turk. خالو [*khālū*, 'uncle'; Ar. خال *khāl^{un}*].
19. *zaru*, 'son.' Syr. *sarú*, 'a boy'; *passarú*, 'a child'; Kurd. زارو, plur. زاروكان [*zārū*, plur. *zārūkān*].
20. *lafti*, *lavki*, 'daughter.' P.A. *lavti*; Syr. *lāfti*, *lautih*.
21. *dulgiveh*, 'a widow.' Turk. طول [*tūl*] + *giveh*.
22. *viddi*, 'an old woman.' P.A. *vidi*, 'old'; Bl. *buddi*; Syr. *wuddih*.
23. *gara sabi*, *gara savi*, 'the master of the house.' *gar* + [Arab.] صاحب [*ṣāḥib*]. Cf. 95.
24. *arisi*, 'a wedding.' Arab. عروس [*arūs*], vulg. عريس [*arīs*], 'a bride,' 'a wedding.'
25. *dost*, 'a friend.' Pers. دوست [*dūst*].
26. *chasta*, *chast*, 'the arm,' 'the hand.' P.A. *khast*; Syr. *chasst*.
27. *aki*, 'eye.' B. *akī*; P.A. *aki*; Bl. *akki*; Syr. *aki*, *akkih*; E. *jakh*.
28. *paf*, 'foot,' 'leg.' B. *pav*; P.A. *bav*; Syr. *pawusi*, *paviss*; [Pers. پا *pā*, پای *pāe*, 'foot.']
29. *nak*, *nank*, 'nose.' P.A. *nak*; Bl. *nak*; Syr. *nak*; B. *lang*; E. *nak*.
30. *girgiazī*, 'neck.'
31. *baf*, 'mouth'; *kukyry bafis a*, 'in the mouth of a dog.'
32. *zever*, 'mouth.' P.A. *zavur*; Syr. *yavorum*. [Old Persian and Pahlavī, زفر *zafar*, 'mouth,' 'maw.']

33. *qan, kian*, 'ear.' Syr. *kan, kenn*; E. *kan*.
34. *šach*, 'horns.' Pers. شاخ [*shākh*].
35. *gib, giv*, 'tongue.' P.A. *djib*; Bl. *dib*; Syr. *dschübb*; E. *šib*.
36. *angul*, 'finger.' P.A. *angul*; Bl. *angli*; Syr. *ángul*.
37. *chium*, 'stomach.'
38. *luleh*, 'leg.' Pers. لوله [*lūla*], 'a tube,' 'a pipe.'
39. *buth*, 'hip,' 'thigh-bone.' Turk. بوط [*būt*].
40. *kuč*, 'beard.' B. *konč*; P.A. *gutch*; Syr. *kech, kutsch*. [Cf. Pers. کوسه *kūsa* (adj.), having a small beard on the chin.]
41. *mangaf, mangav*, 'cow,' 'bull.' P.A. *mangav*; Kurd. مەنگە, *manga*, 'a cow.' [? مەدە گاو *māda gāv*, 'cow.']
42. *agura, agora*, 'horse.' P.A. *agori*; B. *qori*; Bl. *gura*; Syr. *uguhra, gorih, aghora*.
43. *guzej*, 'she-goat.'
44. *guzy*, 'lamb.' Turk. قوزی [*qūzī*].
45. *qar*, 'ass.' P.A. *kar*; Syr. *karr*; Pers. خر [*khar*, 'ass']; E. *kher*.
46. *bakra, bekra*, 'ram.' P.A. *bakara*; Bl. *bakro*, 'goat'; Syr. *bakra*; E. *bakro*.
47. *kukyry*, 'dog.'
48. *senuta*, 'dog.' Syr. *szenúta*; Aeg. *sunno*.
49. *dava*, 'camel.' Turk. دوه *dava*. [Cf. P. دور *dav*, stem of 'to run.']
50. *chyrsi*, 'bear.' Pers. خرس [*khirs*].
51. *marali*, 'stag.' Turk. مرال [*marāl*].
52. *quq*, 'wolf.' كورك [*gūrḱ*]. [Pers. گورگ *gurg*.]
53. *lugva, logva*, 'fox.'
54. *šir*, 'lion.' Pers. شیر [*sher*].
55. *pišiq, she-cat.* P.A. *pisik*; Syr. *psik*; Pers. پشيك [*pishīk*]. [Pers. پشك *pushak*.]
56. *myš, myšu*, 'a mouse.' Liuli, *muš*; E. *mušo*, 'rat'; Pers. موش [*mūsh*].
57. *meimun*, 'monkey.' Pers. میمون [*maimūn*]; E. *maimuna*. [Mod. Grk. ἡ μαῖμουν.]
58. *gimari, čimari*, 'hen,' 'fowl.' P.A. *djimari*; Syr. *chumari, szmary*.
59. *kukar*, 'cock.' P.A. *gukari*; Bl. *kukkyr*.
60. *ördaq*, 'duck.' اردك [*ūrdak*]. [Pers. اردك *urdak*.]
61. *ghaz, gaz*, 'goose.' Turk. غاز [*qāz*].

62. *mača, meče*, 'fish.' B. *mančav*; P.A. *matcho*; Bl. *mačî*; Syr. *macha*; E. *mačo*. [Pers. ماهی *māhî*.]
 63. *masi*, 'meat.' P.A. *masi*; Syr. *maszi*; E. *mas*. [Skt. मांस *mās*.]
 64. *kihr*, 'milk.' P.A. *kir*; Syr. *kîr*.
 65. *tehl*, 'oil,' 'butter.'
 66. *ča'a*, 'an egg.' Pers. خایه [*khāya*].
 67. *banir*, 'cheese.' P.A. *pendir*; Pers. پنیر [*panîr*].
 68. *sap*, 'snake.' Syr. *sanp*; E. *sap*.
 69. *buih*, 'earth.' E. *phuv*.
 70. *bani, pani*, 'water.' B. *pani*; P.A. *pani, bani*; Bl. *pani*; Syr. *pani, bany*; E. *pani*.
 71. *varsinda*, 'rain.' Syr. *würrszinda*; E. *brišind*. [Pers. برسندہ *barsanda*, 'raining,' used as noun 'rain.']
 72. *dahns*, 'sea.' Syr. *dengiszy*; Turk. دنک [dangiz].
 73. *arch, archi*, 'river,' 'fluvial.' Turk. آرق [*ārḡ*].
 74. *ġalamyn*, 'well.' [Cf. H. *ġalamay*.]
 75. *chania*, 'spring,' 'source.' P.A. *khani*, 'fountain'; Syr. *khani*; Pers. خانی [*khānî*]; E. *hānik, chaning*.
 76. *bafir, bafyr*, 'snow'; *bafyr varsa*, 'it snows.' Bl. *barf*; Pers. برف [*barf*]. [H. برف برستا *barf barasta*, 'it snows.']
 77. *ak, aq, aik*, 'fire.' P.A. *egg*; Bl. *ag*; Syr. *ag, ack*; Aeg. *ag, yag*; E. *jag*.
 78. *alav*, 'flame.' B. *lavaviš*, 'fire'; Pers. آلاو [*ālāo*, 'a flaming fire'].
 79. *dadu*, 'smoke.' [Pers. دود *dūd*, 'smoke.']
 80. *vai*, 'wind.' P.A. *vai*; Syr. *vai, vai*.
 81. *bat*, 'stone.' P.A. *vat*; Bl. *vatta*; Syr. *wat, wutt*; Aeg. *path*.
 82. *paġis*, 'hill.' [Probably H. *pīchhe*, 'behind.']
 83. *silala*, 'winter.' P.A. *silali*; E. *šilalo*.
 84. *gas*, 'grass.' B. *qas*; P.A. *ghas*; Bl. *gha*; E. *khas*.
 85. *dar*, 'tree.' Pers. دار [*dār* ?].
 86. *meša*, 'a wood.' Pers. میشه [*mēsha*]; E. *vesh*. [Pers. پشه *besha*.]
 87. *seb*, 'apple.' P.A. *sev*; Bl. *sib*; Pers. سیب [*sīb*].
 88. *ġaver*, 'barley.' B. *ġav*; P.A. *djev*; Bl. *džau*; Syr. *dschóu*; E. *djov*. [Pers. جو *ġau*.]
 89. *ġišu*, 'wheat,' 'wheaten.' Syr. *geszú*.
 90. *minus, menav*, 'bread.' B. *malav*; Syr. *mana*; E. *manro, maro*.
 91. *ata*, 'flour,' 'meal.' P.A. *ata*.
 92. *pušurik*, 'porridge.'

93. *vatavi*, 'town.'
94. *deh*, 'village.' B. *leh*; P.A. *di*; Syr. *dehe*; Pers. ده, دیه [*dih*, *deh*].
95. *qar*, *gar*, 'house.' B. *gar*; Bl. *ghar*; E. *ker*, *kher*.
96. *guri*, 'tent.' P.A. *gur*, 'house'; Syr. *kurî*. [Probably diminutive of *gar*.]
97. *gabas*, 'plates,' 'dishes.'
98. *čuchr* (termination not clear), 'pit,' 'prison.' Turk. چوقر چوقر [*chūqr*, *chūqūr*].
99. *qābar*, *qaba*, 'carpet.'
100. *bahrast*, 'door.'
101. *gara*, 'candle.' Pers. چراغ [*chirāgh*].
102. *sirqa*, 'vinegar.' Pers. سرکه [*sirka*].
103. *guzi*, 'gown,' 'coat.'
104. *kuli*, 'cap,' 'hat.' Pers. کله [*kulah*].
105. *muzi*, 'shoes.' Pers. موزه [*mūza*].
106. *mahudi*, 'cloth.' [Pers. (modern colloquial),] Turk. ماهوت [*māhūt*].
107. *angušdari*, 'ring.' P.A. *angushteri*; E. *anguštri*; Pers. انگشتی [*angushtari*].
108. *rang*, 'colour.' Pers. رنگ [Pers. رنگ [*rang*].
109. *pildav*, 'gold.'
110. *urp*, 'silver.' P.A. *orp*; Bl. *rupa*; E. *rup*.
111. *lüh*, 'iron.' P.A. *lui*, *loha*, 'anvil'; Bl. *loha*, *lugha*; Syr. *lehhi*.
112. *gri*, 'knife' (?).
113. *čeri*, 'knife.' B. *čuri*; P.A. *tchuri*; Syr. *chirî*; E. *čuri*.
114. *gand*, 'sugar.' Pers. قند [*qand*]. کند [*kand*].
115. *nul*, 'salt.' B. *nöl*.
116. *lühva chuj*, 'horseshoe.'
117. *mismar*, 'nail.' Arab. مسمار [*mismār*].
118. *tuvrar*, 'sword.' P.A. *turvar*; Syr. *turwaur*.
119. *čani*, 'sieve.' Bl. *čanri*; B. *gaihri*, *gahri*.
120. *gavrum*, 'money' (my money?).
121. *qalaz*, 'skin,' 'hide.'
122. *sehti*, 'tent-rope.'
123. *dykyna*, 'a windfall,' 'a find'; cf. E. *dikáva*, 'I see,' 'notice.'
124. *bandagi*, 'path,' 'road,' 'journey.'
125. *hanaq*, 'joke,' 'trick'; Pers. هانك, حنك [These words do not exist] *hanaq myqa*, 'do not trifle.'

126. *tu*, 'spittle.' P.A. *tuj*; تهر *tu my qa*, 'do not spit.' [Pers. تف *tuf*; H. تهوك *thūk*.]
127. *hafta*, 'week.' Pers. هفته [*hafta*].
128. *čajymy*, 'shade,' 'in the shade.'
129. *qire*, 'song.' E. *gili*.
130. *plav*, 'pilaf,' 'stewed rice.' Pers. Turk. پلاو [*pilāo, pilāv*].
131. *vitištuj*, 'truth.' [Noun. Really a verb = 'thou sayest.']
132. *jaš*, 'age,' 'years.' Turk. ياش [*yāsh*].
133. *sovdasyz*, 'trade,' 'business' (termination unintelligible). Pers. سودا [*saudā*].
134. *čija*, 'burrow,' 'hole.' Pers. چاهه [*chāha*]. [Pers. چاه *chāh*, 'a hole,' 'pit,' 'well.']
135. *mašghul*, 'busy.' Arab. مشغول [*mashghul*].
136. *gyrmyzi*, 'red,' 'beautiful.' Pers. قرمزی [*girmizī*. Cf. Eng. crimson.]
137. *kara*, 'black.' Turk. قره [*kara*].
138. *kala*, 'black.' P.A. *ghali*; Bl. *kala*; Syr. *kalah*, *kalo*; E. *kalo*.
139. *paranah*, 'white.' P.A. *bunari*; Syr. *pannarey*; E. *parno*.
140. *gög*, 'dark blue.' Turk. كوك [*kūk*].
141. *nila*, 'dark blue.' P.A. *nile*, *nili*. Pers. نیل [*nīl*].
142. *jašyl*, 'green.' Turk. ياشل [*yāshil*].
143. *zardavi*, *zard*, 'yellow.' P.A. *zardé*; Syr. *zard*; Pers. زرد [*zard*].
144. *lolda*, 'golden.' P.A. *lohri*, 'red'; Syr. *louro*, *loley*; E. *lolo*.
145. *oppal*, 'silvern,' from *orp*, *rup*, 'silver.' Cf. 110.
146. *šor*, 'salted.' Pers. شور [*shūr*].
147. *gavia*, 'bitter.' P.A. *ghavré*, *ri*.
148. *gulda*, *di*, 'sweet.' P.A. *guldé*; Syr. *güllda*, 'honey'; *güldih bana*, 'sweet, pure water'; E. *gudlo*.
149. *gata*, 'sour.' P.A. *khati*.
150. *sona*, 'good,' 'beautiful.' Bl. *sunrá*, *sanri*.
151. *barah*, *varah*, 'big.' B. *vorov*; Syr. *burro*, *barra*; Aeg. *burro*; E. *baro*.
152. *ğunah*, *ğuna*, 'short,' 'little.' B. *ğunak*.
153. *lolagenda*, 'lad.'
154. *qiaqama*, 'small,' 'little.'
155. *dada*, *tata*, 'hot.' P.A. *tatei*; B. *tatty*; Syr. *tuhtie*, *tottey*.
156. *silda*, *sild*, *si*, 'cold.' P.A. *silali*, *si*; Syr. *szy*; E. *šilalo*.
157. *qali*, 'swift,' 'quick,' 'dexterous.'
158. *deš*, 'sharp,' 'keen' (?).

159. *münd*, 'sharp,' 'keen.'
160. *barq*, 'hard,' 'firm.' برك [bark].
161. *dyrgha*, *i*, 'long,' 'high.' P.A. *durghi*. [Skt. दीर्घ *dīrgha*, 'long.']
162. *pis*, *peis*, 'bad,' 'evil.' Pers. پیس [pes, 'leprous,' hence 'vile,' 'evil'].
163. *taza*, 'fresh,' 'cool,' 'new.' Pers. تازه [tāza].
164. *tuz*, 'smooth,' 'level.' Pers. توز [tūz].
165. *naziq*, 'thin,' 'fine.' Pers. نازک [nāzūk].
166. *klav*, 'fat,' 'greasy.'
167. *aqylla*, *akilli*, 'intelligent.' [Arab.] عاقل [āqil]; عقلو [aqillū (?)].
168. *gočach*, 'brave.' قوچاق [qūchāq].
169. *ghairi*, 'strange,' 'foreign.' Arab. غیری [ghairī].
170. *lyčaenda*, 'burdened.'
171. *faqyr*, 'poor.' Arab. فقير [faqīr].
172. *ganila*, 'rotten.' [H. گندهیلا *gandhīlā*].
173. *lazym*, 'necessary.' Arab. لازم [lāzim].
174. *tarki*, 'dark'; *tarki-cha*, 'darkness' (?). Pers. تاریک [tārik].
175. *gurabağura*, 'diverse,' 'varied.' Pers. جوربجور [jūr-ba-jūr].
176. *naros*, 'born,' 'created.'
177. *agura*, 'crooked.'
178. *buhu*, 'much,' 'many.' B. *buhu*; Bl. *bahu*, *baghu*; Syr. *bhu*yih; Aeg. *bhut*; E. *but*, *buhu*.
179. *sy*, 'every one,' 'any one.'
180. *huthaj*, 'further.'
181. *vali*, 'much.'
182. *bangi*, 'one's own'; *bangi qanuma*, 'my ears'; *bangi chasta*, 'my hands.'
183. *lafgyni*, 'to sell'; *lafgynam*, 'in order to sell.' P.A. *lavkinim*.
184. *vygynyš*, 'to sell.' B. *vygnel*; P.A. *vuknim*; E. *biknáva*.
185. *lipara*, 'to buy'; *liparun*, 'you bought'; *lipar*, 'buy.'
186. *soția*, *syte*, 'to sleep.'
187. *qire feišd*, 'to sing a song.'
188. *sukuma*, 'to do,' 'to make' (?).
189. *lepi*, 'to drink'; *lapi*, 'drink'; *pienth*, 'they drank up.' P.A. *lepi*; Syr. *nepium*; E. *piav*.
190. *jaunk*, 'to go.'
191. *pav*, 'to arrive.' P.A. *pa*.
192. *kamen*, 'to eat'; *kami*, *qami*, 'thou eatest.' P.A. *khami*; Syr. *kami*; E. *chava*.

193. *lacti*, 'to fight.'
194. *naun*, 'to bring,' 'fetch.'
195. *qašdum*, 'I desire.' [Pers. *qasdam*, 'my desire (is).']
196. *geštum*, 'I go often'; *geštoj*, 'thou goest'; *gešdind*, 'they go.'
197. *ġanišdeq*, 'I know'; *na ġanišdum*, 'I know not'; *ġaniqqa*, 'ye know.'
198. *saġa*, 'I say,' 'speak.' [Verb. Really a noun = 'truth.']
199. *qefoj*, 'thou feelest' [*i.e.* well or unwell].
200. *chašduj*, 'thou livest.'
201. *išdišdoj*, 'thou standest'; *išdišdoz*, 'it is worth.'
202. *vanam*, 'I carry'; *vana*, 'thou carriest,' 'bringest.'
203. *nafsol qašta*, 'to spoil,' 'damage.'
204. *nišdaq*, 'to catch,' 'to hunt,' 'to fish.'
205. *manqišda*, *manqišdad*, 'to love.' B. *mangel*; E. *mangáva*.
206. *ġerimda*, 'to graze.' Pers. چریدن [*charīdan*] (?)
207. *mia*, 'he dies'; *na mia*, 'he dies not.' [Pers. میر *mīr*.]
208. *varsa*, 'he comes.'
209. *kašta*, 'he eats.'
210. *niom*, 'thou seizest'; *niju*, 'he seized.'
211. *ġelišding*, 'we dance,' 'shall dance.'
212. *pišdeng*, 'we drink.'
213. *vašnaiš*, 'light the fire'; *vašnaend*, 'they kindled the fire.'
214. *rüşdind*, 'they weep.'
215. *chazišdind*, 'they laugh.'
216. *hafišdind*, 'they scold,' 'bark at.'
217. *gašdind*, 'they build,' 'set in order.'
218. *choġnaend*, 'they boil.'
219. *bahandum*, 'I shut,' 'fastened.'
220. *nigylдум*, 'I went out.'
221. *gaja*, 'thou didst eat.'
222. *bugandus*, 'he dug.' Pers. کندن [*kandan*] (?)
223. *kajduz*, 'he stole.'
224. *neisusa*, 'he lost'; *neisusen*, 'they lost.'
225. *qia*, 'he is gone'; *qie*, 'they are gone.'
226. *bešdenge*, 'we sat down.' E. *beš*.
227. *dikum*, 'we saw.' E. *dikáva*.
228. *vyġija*, 'he crawled.'
229. *qisia*, 'she was drenched.'
230. *bojamysgoz*, 'he painted.'
231. *duhend*, 'they washed off.'

232. *mahni*, 'they stopped,' 'halted.' [Cf. Pers. ماندن *māndan*, 'to remain.']
233. *biafti*, 'fearing.'
234. *lifa*, 'sing thou.'
235. *my ġa*, 'do not enter.'
236. *my qa*, *my qan*, 'do not do.' [Pers. *ma kun*, 'do not do.']
237. *sabahi*, 'another day.' [Arab.] صباح [*ṣabāḥ*].
238. *asan qam*, 'to-day.'
239. *mahūs*, 'without,' 'outside.'
240. *mančus*, 'within.'
241. *quthie*, 'everywhere.'
242. *hargu*, 'everywhere' (?). [Pers. درجا *har jā* (vulg. *har jū*), 'everywhere.']
243. *ġajru*, 'yet,' 'still.'
244. *neqa*, *neiqa*, 'beside,' 'near'; *amari dehe neqa*, 'near our villages'; *chanija neiqa*, 'at the source.'
245. *talas*, 'on,' 'upon.' [Probably Arab. تل *tal*, 'a hill.']
246. *tala*, 'beyond,' 'by,' 'upon.' E. *tele*. [Probably Arab. تل *tal*, 'a hill.']
247. *ortami*, 'in the midst.' Turk. اورتا [*urtā*]; *qaraz ortami*, 'in the midst of the house.'
248. *vahri*, 'before'; *mira vahrim*, 'before me'; *vani vahriz*, 'in advance of them.'
249. *bahny*, 'under'; *mira bahnym*, 'under me.' [Probably wrongly translated by Patkanoff, and is a double genitive meaning 'my sister's.']
250. *varahqam*, 'into,' 'under'; *qamaz varahqam*, 'in the sun.'
251. *phaġa viġanq* (?), 'across,' 'after,' 'through.'
252. *ku*, 'who.' Syr. *kū*; E. *kon*, *ko*.
253. *kybra*, *qybra*, 'what,' 'what sort.'
254. *qa*, *qan*, *qubu*, 'what,' 'what sort.' E. *ke*.
255. *kona*, 'what.'
256. *kohva*, 'what.'
257. *qi*, 'in order that.' Pers. که [*ki*].
258. *gassuluġ*, 'whence.'
259. *ġuj*, *ġue*, 'where,' 'whither.' E. *gai*, *kaj*.
260. *qačuch*, 'when.' *qa* + چاق [*chāq*].
261. *qithi*, 'how often.' E. *keci*, *gizzi*.
262. *qasta*, 'with what.'
263. *nafsol*, 'no,' 'not.'
264. *naj*, *na*, 'no,' 'not.'

265. *amma*, 'but.' [Arab.] اَمَّا [*ammā*].

266. *ya*, 'or.' [Pers.] يَا [*yā*].

267. *ha*, 'this.'

268. *pača*, 'after,' 'since.' [Pers. پَسِ *pas*.]

Besides our chief object of saying 'a few words on the dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies—Bošà and Karači,' our paper has touched passingly on the question of the oneness of the language of all Gypsies known in different places under varying names. We also touched on another question, interesting to students and still undecided at the present day, that is, with what Indian race the Gypsies are linguistically most closely allied? or in other words, from what race now existing in India may the Gypsies proceed? While leaving the final word on this point to specialists in the knowledge of modern Indian dialects, we cannot pass over what was said by Newbold thirty years ago: 'The dialects, in which speak the numberless races who swarm in the districts bordering on India from the sea to the snowy heights of the Himalaya and Tartary, have a marked and undeniable family resemblance with the Gypsy dialect. At the present time I cannot lay my hand on a particular race and say, this is the parent stock of the Gypsies; but, so far as I can judge from my own observation, this strange race draws its origin not from one but from many tribes, forming a great family dwelling on the banks of the Indus or in the districts round it.'

[*N.B.*—There are one or two obvious errors in the vocabulary as given by Patkanoff. He has in some instances given the wrong value to words contained in the phrases—notably in phrases 81, 83, 87 (p. 263), and Nos. 82, 131, 198, 245, 246, and 249 of the vocabulary. These have been pointed out to me and corrected by Dr. G. S. A. Ranking.—THE TRANSLATOR.]

V.—ENGLISH GYPSIES IN 1596

[*The Early Annals of the Gypsies in England* is a field so carefully reaped by our President that few stray ears would seem to remain for the casual gleaner. Here, however, is one, taken from the pages of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (Fourth Series, vol. xiii., 1882, pp. 226 *sqq.*), to which journal it was contributed by R. O. Jones, Esq., of Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan.

The document, whose preservation we owe to this gentleman, is a substantial addition to our knowledge, being, so far as I am aware, the only existing record of an actual attempt to carry out the provisions of the statute of 5 Elizabeth cap. 20,

by returning every member of the band each to his own parish, there to be established in 'some honest Service . . . lawful Work, Trade or Occupation.' The determination to deal in this thorough-going fashion with a band of nearly 200 persons, involving a journey of over half a year, says more for the spirit than the foresight of the excellent Justices of York. The Gypsies no doubt thoroughly enjoyed this 'personally conducted tour' and entered heartily into the jest, knowing of course that, whenever it became tedious, they could drop off one by one as eligible birthplaces presented themselves *en route*.

Who was William Portington who gallantly undertook to captain this merry company? The fact of his having been selected for this duty shows that he must have been well known to the county magistrates as a man of character and grit. Probably he was one of the Yorkshire Portingtons, perhaps the William Portington of Elloughden, a younger son of Portington of Portington, whose name I find in a pedigree printed in the *Surtees Society* (vol. vi., p. 120, 1859). Doubtless after depositing each of his Brer Rabbits in a separate briar patch Brer Portington returned with a lively account of his adventures and 'a true calendar of all the names and surnames of every of his company so by him placed'—a document the discovery of which is, I suppose, too much to hope for.

Interesting too is the reference to the personages of good family who consorted with this band, adopting the Gypsy life to the grief of their respectable friends, and were indeed our first Romany Ryes. Was it from some of these broken gentlemen that we receive the noble names which distinguish so many of our English Gypsy clans?

Pitiful enough is the account of the agony of the poor Romanē at the wholesale condemnation and the immediate execution—*pour encourager les autres*—of 'nine of the most valiant of their company'—a picture which, in its naked horror, vividly brings home to us the full barbarity of these legal murders.

JOHN SAMPSON.]

THE MODE OF DISPOSING OF GYPSIES AND VAGRANTS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A DOCUMENT, one of a mass of deeds formerly belonging to the family of Seys of Boverton Place, in the county of Glamorgan, and now in my possession, appears to be sufficiently curious to claim a place in your Journal. The document relates to proceedings by the justices of Yorkshire, though found in this county. It may be presumed that it was in due course delivered to the then Attorney General for Glamorgan, Roger Seys of Boverton, by the person entrusted to carry out the warrant of the justices of Yorkshire, and to conduct the persons named therein to their respective last places of abode; and it may be also fairly assumed that he finished his work by settling the last remnant of his ragged rout in this county.

The document states the proceedings taken at the Quarter Sessions held at York on the 8th of May 1596, under the provisions of the statutes against Egyptians or Bohemians (as gypsies were then called), viz., the statutes of Henry VIII., Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, whereby Bohemians and all persons of their company,

whether foreigners or English born (except children under thirteen years of age), were made liable to be treated as guilty of felony, which then carried the penalty of death and forfeiture of goods. The company consisted of 196 persons, of whom 106 were tried at the Yorkshire Sessions, and condemned to death; and some of them (presumably grown up foreigners) were executed, and the remainder, as well as the children under thirteen, who had not been tried, were dealt with as stated in the document which follows, viz. :

‘To all Christian people to whom these our l’res (letters) testimoniall shall come, We, S’r Will’m Mallorye, Knight, one of the Queenes Ma’ty Counsalls established in the North Marches; John Dawney and William Bellasis, Knights; Philip Constable and John Holdham, Esquires, 5 of the Queens Majesties justices of peace in the said countie of Yorke, to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and tithingmen, and all other her Ma’ty (Majesty’s) officers, ministers, and loyal subjects whatsoever, greetinge in our Lord God Everlastinge. Forasmuch as a great number of idle persons, the Queens natural born subjects, and some of them descended of good parentage, as we be credibly informed by some of their friends that heartily wish the amendment of their lives, the whole number of which company being one hundred, fourscore, and sixteen persons of men, women, and children, having wandered in diverse parts of this realme in this county of Yorke, some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in palmistry, physiognomy, and other abused sciences, using certain disguised apparell and forged speeche, contrary to divers statutes and lawes of this realme, and especially the statute made in the vth year of the Queenes Ma’ty (Majesty’s) most gracious reaigne that now is, whom the Lord longe preserve over us.

‘We therefore, the s’d Justices, willing to keep this lewde company to conform them accordinge to lawe in that case provided, did therefore cause the whole number of them to be apprehended and committed to her Highness gaols in the said countie of Yorke; whereof so many of them of full age, one hundred and six persons, were arraigned the Tuesdaie being the viii day of May last past, at a quarter Sessions holden at Yorke aforesaid, at which Sessions the of those offenders were by lawful inquest, though not *per medietatem linguæ*, condemned. Whereupon judgement being given that the said offenders should receive pains of death, according to the provisions of the said Statute; whereupon issued execution, and nine of the most valiant persons having least charge of children, and found by the said inquest to be strangers, aliens born in foreign parts beyond the seas, and none of the Queene Majesty natural born subjects, suffered accordingly. The terror whereof so much appalled the residue of the condemned persons and their children which stood to behold the miserable end of their parents, did then cry out so piteously as had been seldom seen or heard, to the great sorrow and grief of all the beholders; lamentably beseeching reprieves for their parents, then ready to suffer death, alledging that they being sixty infants and young children,

which could not help themselves, should perish through the loss of their parents; wherefore being moved with compassion upon so doleful cry of such infants, we, the foresaid justices, reprieved the residue of their condemned parents, and sent them back to the gaols from whence they came, where they continued till the vii of July last past, during which time the Right Honorable Lords, Henry Lord Darsye and Raphe Lord Yevars, pitying the said miserable persons, had obtained her Graces free pardon for the said offenders, which was published the said vii day of July, together with her Highness Warrant in the nature of a commission procured by the said Lords, directed to us the aforesaid justices, that we should give order and direction to the said offenders to reform their lives, and to be placed where they were born, and last dwelled by the space of three years; then to demean themselves in some honest faculty, according to the limitation of one Statute made in the 26th year of our late Sovereign Lord of famous memory, King Henry the VIII, now revived by the late Parliament holden anno xxxv Elizabeth Regine.

‘Now know ye, We, therefore, the said Sir W. Mallory, Sir John Dawney, Sir William Bellasys, Knights; Philip Constable and John Holdham, Esquires; in accomplishment of her Majestys said warrant and commission to us directed to, have authorised and appointed one William Portyngton, the bearer hereof, to lead and conduct all the rest of his company, being nine score and seven persons, every one to the place where they were born, or last dwelled by the space of three years, there to get their living by some honest and lawful means, allowing to the said William Portyngton viii months next ensuing the date of these our letters testimonial, for the placing of them in form aforesaid; and if it fortune any of his company to escape from the said William Portyngton, or shall refuse to be placed by him on forme aforesaid, that then every one so offending to be apprehended and deemed as felons, and thereupon to receive judgement. And at the expiration of these our said letters testimonial, the said William Portington to return to us the said justices, or some of us, a true calender of all the names and sirnames of every of his company so by him placed, together with these our letters testimonial; and so then he to receive of us the said pardon, which we have thought good to detain until we shall see the accomplishment of this our direction.

‘Moreover, these are to require, and nevertheless in the Queens Majestys name to charge and command every of her Highness officers and subjects, by the authority of her Graces said warrant and commission to us directed, that you and every of you, upon sight hereof, doe permit and suffer the said William Portyngton and his whole company quietly to pass and travel throughout any shire, city, town, village, hamlet, and place whatsoever, franchised or not franchised, among themselves honestly, without any vexation, let, stay, or impediment, to be done to them, or any of them, in body or goods, helping them likewise to lodging and harbouring in due time convenient, with victuals competent for their money, they not tarrying in one place above the space of one day and two nights at the most, unless sickness, death, or such like urgent cause, enforce the contrary.

‘In witness whereof we the said justices above named, to these our

letters testimonial have put our hands and seals the viii day of July in the xxxviii year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith.

‘W. Malory, J. Dawney, W. Bellassys,
Phillipp Constable, John Holden.’

The seals, which were attached by parchment labels to the deed, are all gone, the wax having broken away. Each name is written on its label in the order in which the names are placed. On the back of the deed the following endorsement appears :

‘Lancaster ff.

‘Seen and allowed to passe through this countie,
according to intention of their Lycence, this
24 day of Jullii.

‘Rychard Molyneux.

‘Rich. Houghton.’

VI.—FORMS AND CEREMONIES

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

On sort, on crie,
Et c'est la vie.
On crie, on sort,
Et c'est la mort.

SUCH, perhaps, is life reduced to its barest outlines; but it is strange that a Frenchman of all others should forget to mention the almost invariable intermediate step of ‘un peu d’amour’ and its fatal consequence, marriage. Even had he done so, his picture would hardly have been complete, as it overlooks man’s inherent cock-like propensity to crow over every action, and the interfering spirit of friends which prevents him, if he would, from accomplishing such simple processes as death or marriage without attendant pomp and circumstance. So deeply rooted in mankind is this love of parade that even the uncultivated nations cannot escape from it: indeed, it often seems to vary in inverse ratio to civilisation. The birth, death, and marriage ceremonies of many savages are much more elaborate than those of civilised man; perhaps because in their case those three events are really the only events of their lives, unless fortune is kind enough to throw in their way a good fight. But among savages as with us, those ceremonies are generally connected with their religion, whatever it may be; and one might suppose that the Gypsies, who, more than any other people, have escaped from the

trammels of religion, would have avoided too the taint of conventional ceremonial. And so, perhaps, to a large extent they have. A simple covenant,¹ sealed *à la Russe* by a quickly following castigation, seems to have been all the ceremony observed in the marriage of Sinfi with 'The Creedit,'² and probably with or without the attendant circumstance, that is all that is observed in most Gypsy marriages. Indeed, so few are the outward observances of the more civilised Gypsies, who have outgrown superstitious formalities, that they have been accused quite unjustly of the 'absurd custom' of promiscuity and piracy.³ And, in spite of Borrow's well-founded assertion that they are perhaps 'more free than any race in the creation' from 'licentious habits,' one can hardly blame their accusers, when still among the half-nationalised Welsh Gypsies Booy's 'docile daughters never seem to question the paternal right to dismiss a son-in-law with whom he has quarrelled and replace him by another,'⁴ while Norwood found that exchanges of wives were by no means uncommon among English Gypsies.⁵

Certainly a Gypsy child is ushered with little enough ceremony into this world. If he is christened, as probably in most cases he is, and has been for many years past,⁶ that is not so much for love of ceremony as for hope of gain.

Ich ging zu einem Priester,
 Ich warb um einen Paten
 Für mein zu taufend' Kindelein,
 Und fischte zwei Dukaten.
 Es ist nunmehr das zehnte Mal,
 Dass es ein Christ geworden ist.
 Das ist ja wohl kein Schaden.⁷

¹ An English or Scottish court of law seems to have recognised the legality of one of these 'handfast' unions in the case of what is probably the only Gypsy millionaire. One of the Northumbrian Blythes emigrated to California and made a very large fortune. At his death the English relatives disputed his daughter's claim, as the marriage was conducted without legal or religious formalities. But they lost the case (Rev. J. Hudson Barker, *Gypsy Life of Northumberland*, p. 229 of W. Andrews' *Bygone Northumberland* (London, 1899), and *Scottish Leader*, 10th August 1889). Crofton quotes a parallel case, in which the marriage was upheld by a Scottish court (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 368).

² Groome, *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 30.

³ Cf. A. Lang in *Man*, viii. 9 (Sept. 1908), No. 72, quoting from Sir G. Mackenzie on Scottish Tinklers.

⁴ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 315.

⁵ An MS. note by Mr. Norwood attached to a paper cutting in the possession of Lady Arthur Grosvenor. Among the Moors exchange of husbands is practised (cf. Mrs. Miln, *Wooings and Weddings in Many Climes* (London, 1901), p. 289).

⁶ Borrow speaks of baptismal papers upwards of two hundred years old (*Zincali*, introductory section on the English Gypsies).

⁷ Von Kittlitz, *Die Zigeuner* (Heidelberg, 1885), p. 30.

No harm in that, and no good either, as the vain repetition, which is no new trick,¹ shows. Moreover, the Gypsies of Hungary count baptism null and void unless it is accompanied by civil ceremonies peculiar to themselves. According to one account the civil ceremony consists simply in the chief² holding the child over a large open fire,³—perhaps a survival of primitive fire worship. But of this formality I find no other evidence, unless the custom mentioned by Morwood of laying young children smeared with walnut juice and a decoction of herbs before the fire (or in the sun) can by any possibility be held to be a mixed survival, partly of holding the child to the fire, and partly of the practice of anointing it after its first bath with hare's fat and goose fat, which Wlislöcki says is common to most Mid-European Gypsies. The hare's fat is supposed to protect it against heat, and the goose fat against cold.⁴

Fire, however, plays a small part in a much more elaborate christening ceremony practised by Hungarian Gypsies.⁵ The proceedings start cheerfully with a drink of brandy mixed with water and herbs, and the sprinkling of some drops of it on the child's bed, where also three pieces of bread are placed for the three goddesses of fate. Then the child is taken outside and laid on the ground;⁶ a circle is drawn round it by a witchwife with a hazel wand or a new wooden spoon; and in the circle coal dust and snake powder are sprinkled. Whether they speak harshly to the little child if it sneezes under that provocation is not stated; but if it cries, that is taken to be an omen of coming sickness, and the evil is averted by burning a piece of the navel-string in a jar of coals over the child and under the joined hands of the oldest man present and the witch. Then its sisters or other children dance in a ring and throw nuts—not at the child, but into the bushes. The infant is washed in water and a mixture of herbs and taken to church. Even then the magical ceremonies continue at the same time, the witch and other women going to a river and

¹ Laws were passed to stop it in Saxony in 1557, and in Siebenbürgen in 1661 (Heister, *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen über die Zigeuner*, Königsberg, 1842, p. 50; Colocci, *Gli Zingari*, Torino, 1889, pp. 228-9).

² Barrie, *Auld Licht Idylls* (London, 1888), ch. ii., speaks of a King of the Tinklers who officiated at christenings as well as marriages.

³ My authority is an unnamed and undated newspaper cutting from Mr. Norwood's collection, now in possession of Lady Arthur Grosvenor.

⁴ Wlislöcki, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner* (Münster, 1891), p. 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-6.

⁶ Laying a child on the ground is a common, almost universal birth-ceremony; cf. E. Monseur 'La proscription religieuse' in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*. Paris, 1906, p. 301.

throwing millet seed into it. It is only in some parts of Upper Hungary that the possible relic of fire worship is practised. There the women build a fire for the mother to jump over on her return from church, believing that it will prevent her milk from drying up. In other parts the unfortunate infant is placed first on the threshold, then in the four corners of the room, all of which have been sprinkled with thorn-apple seeds; then on the hearth, previously smeared with goose and hare's fat; and finally on the place where the family generally takes its meals, there to have bits of bread and meat and drops of brandy let fall on it. After doing so much to plague the life out of it, it is handed round to all the company to kiss a long life into it—*bare jipen the pçurdel*. In the Siebenbürgen family named Cale, soon after a child's birth the father lets fall some drops of his own blood on the fire, among North Hungarian Gypsies on the child's swaddling clothes. The South Hungarian tent Gypsies perform a somewhat similar ceremony when the child first has its hair cut. The godparents let fall a few drops of blood in a glass of brandy and on a piece of bread, and the child's head is soaked and rubbed with it. The settled Gypsies put part of it into the oven to ensure the child having plenty to eat in after-life.¹ Among others three eggs of a black hen mixed with salt water are similarly used.² Exactly how much of this is purely Gypsy ritual and how much is due to borrowings from the superstitions of the intermixture of Slav, Hungarian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, and Turkish races in that quarter of the world, it would be difficult to say.³ But one thing is certain, that rites where there are rites, and lack of rites where there are none, are counted more important than Church baptism.

The same is true of marriage, though many Gypsies in the more civilised parts of the world submit to Church rites. But even here in England, as Crofton shows, a religious marriage is often considered quite unbinding, whereas the simple agreement between the parties is seldom or never broken.⁴ And in Hungary

¹ Wlislöcki, *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner* (Berlin, 1892), p. 95.

² Cf. Wlislöcki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), p. 67.

³ Judging from the marriage and death ceremonies, much of it is probably due to such borrowing. But unfortunately Wlislöcki, almost the only researcher in this direction, did not think it incumbent upon him to add any except very dubious Indian parallels to the rites he collected. It is much to be hoped that some one expert in the customs of South-Eastern Europe will reconsider Wlislöcki's collections in the light of comparative ethnology.

⁴ *Papers of the Manchester Library Club*, vol. iii. (1877), p. 40. A very strange ceremony in which the couple use the church, but do not employ a priest, is detailed in De Rochas, *Les parias de France et d'Espagne* (Paris, 1876), pp. 276-7.

and Germany the religious ceremony is so unimportant that it may be delayed for months after the civil ceremony.¹ The latter takes place before the vojvode, who delivers a long and bombastic harangue, according to one account in the absence of the persons to whom it is chiefly directed—the bride and bridegroom.² They then exchange rings before him, and he takes a large earthen jug of red wine wreathed in flowers, dips his finger into it and touches the lips of the couple, spills a few drops on their heads, and drinks the rest in three pulls. The empty jug he throws high and far, and the witchwives read the future of the pair from the number of the fragments of the broken jar. If there are three and thirty or more, their lot will be golden. The latter part of the ceremony, the breaking of an earthen vessel, is said to be practised by Gypsies ‘all over Europe and in both the Americas.’³ Certainly it takes place among many continental Gypsies,⁴ but the ceremony cannot be claimed as exclusively Gypsy, as it is practised by many other nations. The Jews are strangely extravagant in crockery at marriage time. When the contract⁵ is made the younger bystanders all break an earthen pot, and at the wedding the bridegroom casts a glass against the wall.⁶ In Greece, after drinking healths at the wedding feast, the glasses are thrown over the left shoulder, and it is counted unlucky if they do not break. In Thuringia a glass is deliberately broken; in Bohemia it is thrown, but the good luck comes from not breaking it.⁷ In Russia a

¹ Cf. the aforementioned newspaper cutting, and Liebich, *Die Zigeuner* (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 47-49. Schwicker (*Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, Wien, 1883, pp. 142 *et seq.*) adds that a marriage performed only in church is not counted a marriage at all by most Gypsies.

² Mrs. L. J. Miln in chap. 28 states that they are not present. The newspaper cutting rather implies that they are; as does also the account in *The Martyrdom of an Empress* (London, 1897), p. 138. The authoress of the latter says the ceremony takes place before a pile of blazing pine-logs, and holds the Gypsies to be still fire worshippers.

³ Mrs. Miln.

⁴ Colocci (pp. 224 *et seq.*) quotes Borrow and Kogalnitshan for the practice in Spain and Moldavia, Hutchinson (p. 241) in Transylvania, Miss Garnett, *Women of Turkey* (London, 1893), ii. 360, in Turkey. Generally it would appear to be the lady who does the breaking. And, according to most accounts, both keep pieces. If they lose them, unintentionally or intentionally, they are free. The ceremony does not seem to be attested for England except by Mimi's proposal to Bulwer Lytton: ‘You will break a piece of burned earth with me—a tile, for instance’ (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 224). There it is stated that the marriage only held good for five years; but the whole episode is highly suspicious.

⁵ Similar breakages are performed at the forming of any contract.

⁶ *Marriage Ceremonies*, by Seignior Gaya, 3rd ed., translated by Mr. T. Brown (London, 1704), pp. 24, 28. Others say he stamps upon it (Hutchinson, *Marriage Customs in Many Lands*, London, 1897, p. 315).

⁷ Cf. Hutchinson, pp. 180, 230, 237.

wooden cup is trampled to pieces by the bridegroom.¹ In Yorkshire² a plate covered with morsels of bridecake is thrown over the heads of the crowd as the bride alights, and it is counted bad luck if it does not break. A somewhat similar custom is attributed to the Northumbrian Gypsies, who are said to break a cheese or a plate 'over' the head of the happy couple.³ We will hope that the preposition is used in its literal and not in its metaphorical sense. The cheese would seem to be peculiar to them, but no doubt it takes the place of the bridecake or oatake which is used in North England, Scotland,⁴ and Greece.⁵

To the same Gypsies is ascribed the ceremony of jumping over a broomstick; and a broomstick or tongs are popularly believed to be an indispensable feature of Gypsy weddings both in Scotland and in England.⁶ The ceremony is, however, more often mentioned than seen; and perhaps the most reasonable explanation of it is that it is mere gammon for *gorgios*.⁷ But, on the other hand, most bogus ceremonies make some pretence of solemnity, and Morwood⁸ at any rate asserts that he came quite unexpectedly upon a party of Gypsies performing this ceremony without *gorgio* witnesses. Mrs. Miln testifies to the observance, apparently on the authority of a Gypsy; and, though one of the Smiths whom I questioned on the use of the tongs among her people repudiated them, she added, 'Some of 'em jumps over the broomstick, but they mostly *lels* one another's *lavs*.' Taw, I am told, also used the expression 'married over the besom' to denote an irregular union. It may therefore possibly be, like many marriage ceremonies, either a survival of some ancient religious or superstitious form, or a symbol of the state of matrimony. The use of the tongs was explained by a Gypsy to signify that the man and wife were inseparable, one of the most frequent of marriage symbolisms; the same authority, however, stated that the broomstick was used

¹ Wood, *The Wedding in All Nations* (London, 1869), i. 204.

² Wood, ii. 234.

³ Cf. Rev. J. Hudson Barker, *Gypsy Life of Northumberland*, pp. 222 *et seq.*

⁴ Wood, ii. 60, 61.

⁵ Cf. Hutchinson, p. 177.

⁶ Hutchinson, and a writer in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 179, who testifies to the existence of the rite among Gypsies, compare the marriage over the sword practised recently by British soldiers (p. 337).

⁷ Cf. Gipsy Smith, *His Life and Work, by himself* (London, 1903), p. 5: 'They make a covenant with each other. Beyond this there is no marriage ceremony. There is nothing of jumping over tongs or broomsticks or any other of the tomfooleries that outsiders attribute to gipsies.'

⁸ *Our Gipsies* (London, 1889), p. 137.

because it was emblematic of evil, the insignia of a witch, and jumping over it signified 'that evil and witchcraft were powerless when defied by wedded love and wedded loyalty.'¹ But obviously the ceremony in both cases is one and the same, and should signify the same thing; and equally obviously a broomstick cannot symbolise the joining together of anything. The other view of conjugal life most frequently symbolised in the good old days when these customs arose was that now obsolete idea of the subjection of the wife to her lord and master; and it cannot be denied that both broomstick and tongs have been used as promoters of conjugal harmony and due subjection. Subjection no doubt is the meaning of the bride fetching a pail of water to her husband's tent, a ceremony also ascribed to English Gypsies.² But if that were the symbolism intended in the broomstick performance, the jumping seems meaningless, unless we are to infer that Gypsy maidens were the first assertors of woman's might and woman's right,³ and wished to indicate, as well as their ability to act with agility, a perfect readiness to pay their lord back in his own coin. In any case, since the thing jumped over is varied, the virtue must lie in the jumping; and it is difficult to conceive what the mere fact of jumping an obstacle could signify, except perhaps that the couple intended together to 'jog on the footpath way, and merrily hent the stile-a.' On more serious consideration one might hold it to be a variant of lifting the bride over the doorstep, a well-known rite⁴ symbolising her bashfulness and unwillingness to change her estate.⁵ If so, by taking the step herself, the Gypsy

¹ Mrs. Miln (p. 381) heard these explanations from a Gypsy at Harrow, and she claims authority for the existence of both forms occasionally in Scotland. Cf. Barrie, *Auld Licht Idylls*, ch. ii.

² *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. iii. (May 15, 1869), p. 461.

³ It would seem as though women had in some respects priority. According to Wislocki the man gives up the name of his 'company' or tribe and joins that of his wife (*Volks Glaube*, p. 52). In Germany the Gypsy suitor serves his future wife's father for two years (Liebich, p. 46). On the other hand, subjection of the women was no doubt indicated in a marriage procession at Isleworth *circa* 1770, where on the way to church the women leant on the men, on the return the men on the women ('Gipsy Kings and Queens,' in the *Antiquarian Chronicle*, no. 2, London, 1882, p. 21). Processions sometimes with music, as in Spain, are not uncommonly noticed (e.g. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 252). In Calabria, in Swinburne's day, the Gypsies carried torches and had 'paranymphs to give the bride away, with many unusual rites' (cf. Wood, ii. 49).

⁴ Practised in ancient Rome, Algeria, China, part of Japan, Persia, Syria, Turkey, Austria, Abyssinia, and among the American Indians (Mrs. Miln, p. 116; Hutchinson, p. 297). Also in Scotland (Wood, ii. 59).

⁵ Others think it is a survival of the days when brides were captured and carried off, or a means of preventing an unlucky trip on the step.

damsel, with true Gypsy contrariety, prefers to show, what is surely more to the point on such an occasion, that she is prepared to face the music for good or for bad, for better or worse.

Unfortunately the ceremony is not ascribed to the Gypsies elsewhere, nor, so far as I can find, to any other people, though in Scotland a bride is, or once was, presented with tongs as a symbol of her future right to rule the household;¹ nor yet do the other rites attributed to Gypsies in Great Britain offer any explanation of it. Simson asserts that a dead horse was at one time used by Scottish Gypsies in their marriage ceremony; and, though it is difficult to put a dead horse to any use as horse, as an obstacle to jump over it would serve as well as anything else to one who is not squeamish. One might therefore be disposed to assume that the broomstick or tongs had taken the place once occupied by the horse. But one would rather expect that, when horses became too expensive, some inferior animal would be substituted, and in any case the evidence is against the supposition that the horse was used for that purpose. The ceremony was evidently, as Simson recognises, the same as that ascribed by an old writer on tramps to the Patricos in the palmy days of the begging fraternity, and in that the parties were made to stand on either side of the horse while the Patrico joined them. The same ceremony performed over a more appropriate animal, a dead hen,² is described in the 'Life of William Nevison,'³ where it is supplemented by a parody of the breaking of a bridecake over the bride's head. It is, however, possible that the latter description is merely borrowed from the former, and that, as Simson suggests, the ceremony was misunderstood, and was really a Gypsy divorce, not a maunder's marriage.

But it is worth noting that the slaughter of a sheep is part of the wedding ceremony among the Armenians and some Arabians, and that the bride and bridegroom step over the blood of the slaughtered animal on the threshold of the door.⁴ Among the Gypsies themselves blood occasionally plays a part in marriages: but it is the blood of the persons themselves. In South Hungary

¹ Wood, ii. 61.

² A cock is led at the head of Hungarian marriage processions and beheaded after the wedding on the charge of bigamy (Hutchinson, p. 251). Polygamy would seem a more appropriate word.

³ Charles Johnson, *Lives of . . . Highwaymen* (1742), p. 104.

⁴ Cf. Mrs. Blunt, *The People of Turkey* (London, 1878), ii. 131; Hutchinson, p. 170. The latter adds that in Greece a bowl of water spilled takes the place of the sheep's blood.

a Gypsy bride tries to let a few drops of blood from her left hand fall on her husband's hair unobserved during the marriage night, thinking it will keep him true to her; and among some North Hungarian Gypsy families the pair before walking to church smear their left footsoles with each other's blood.¹ Possibly this may be a relic of Indian ritual, as in India in some tribes the bridegroom marks the bride on the brow with a drop of his blood,² and among the Rajputs and Kewats blood is drawn and mixed with food, which they eat together.³

The genuine marriage ceremony of the Scottish Gypsies, according to Simson, was one which obviously was intended to symbolise in a forcible if crude manner the indissolubility of the union. Both parties in the presence of the chief, who officiated with a long staff in his hand and a ram's horn hanging round his neck, made water into a wooden bowl, into which earth and sometimes brandy were thrown, and the whole was stirred by the chief with a horn spoon or a ram's horn into an indissoluble mixture. It was handed to the bride⁴ and bridegroom to test its indissolubility, and then they joined hands over the bowl and were pronounced man and wife. The concoction was bottled up, sealed with a capital M, and either buried or carefully preserved. Immediately after this ceremony the couple repaired to their bridal couch, and some hours later were visited by their more intimate relatives, who assured themselves of the virginity of the bride. That being satisfactorily established, they got up again and proceeded to indulge in prolonged festivities.

Unfortunately there is no corroborative evidence for the existence of the first part of this ceremony, nor does any parallel for it seem to be forthcoming. The unpleasant ablution performed by the Mandingoes, which Simson cites from Mungo Park, is no real parallel, as it cannot conceivably be intended to symbolise unity. However, the fact that the Gypsy ceremony does very clearly symbolise union, is perhaps sufficient support for its genuineness, but hardly enough to enable us to assert that it is a distinctively Gypsy ceremony, until evidence of its use elsewhere among other Gypsies can be brought forward.

The latter part of the ceremony has a wider currency. Indeed,

¹ Wlislöcki, *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner* (Berlin, 1892), p. 95.

² Hutchinson, p. 14.

³ Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), p. 385.

⁴ According to one of Simson's authorities the oldest sisters of a family must marry first.

one writer¹ asserts that among the Gypsies 'in almost every part of the world, in Persia as in Spain, in Poland as in Brazil, some white sign of the bride's maidenhood is carried high on a pole in the marriage procession. In Spain it is a white scarf or banner; in Germany and America a crown of white flowers.' Even if this statement is reliable, and I know of no corroborative evidence except for Spain, South France, Switzerland,² Turkey, England,³ Egypt and Servia, it is doubtful whether the practice can be claimed as a distinctively Gypsy rite. Similar production of evidence as to the bride's purity was necessary to ratify a marriage among the Persians, Sabaeans, Russians,⁴ and Greeks, from any of whom the Gypsies might have borrowed it on their way west; also among the Moors of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, and Tunis, the Spaniards themselves in older days, the Arabs and the Jews of Barbary.⁵ As my authority quaintly observes: 'As for the latter I don't wonder at it, to find such an Usage among them, because they were a stiff-necked people, that was always demanding Signs and Tokens.'⁶ The Spanish Gypsies, though this inspection forms the most important part of their marriage ceremony, demand no more reliable token than a woman's word. Indeed, the bride is robbed of her virginity not by the bridegroom himself, nor in his presence, but by four matrons appointed by the two parties. They produce the evidence in the shape of a blood-stained *diklo*. According to Borrow this takes place before the church ceremony, and the *diklo* is carried on a pole in the procession. But Bright⁷ states that the examination follows the church ceremony, and the proofs are exhibited by the bride herself, while dancing on a table. Possibly the practice differs, though, if a stickler for trifles, it seems wiser to look before

¹ Mrs. Miln.

² Cf. Bataillard, 'Les Gitanos d'Espagne et les Ciganos de Portugal' (*Compte rendu de la 9^e Session du Congrès international d'anthropologie*. Lisbonne, 1880), pp. 501-5. He thinks the French and Swiss Gypsies got the custom from the Spanish, and the latter from Egypt.

³ Sampson quotes a full description of the *dikla* (sic!) and its use given him by a tinker, Philip Murray (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 158), which leaves no doubt that the custom described by Borrow existed in England, though it is otherwise unattested. He also quotes Newbold for the same custom among Egyptian Gypsies. The mixed band of European Gypsies who were at Boston last year strangely appear to have used a brightly coloured handkerchief.

⁴ Wood, i. 206.

⁵ Gaya, pp. 13-15, 64, 73, 86, 97, 102; Colocci, p. 226, who says it is a Sicilian custom too; it is also Bulgarian (Mrs. Blunt, *People of Turkey*, ii. 120). Cf. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, vol. ii. p. 50; vol. iii. p. 289.

⁶ Gaya, p. 15.

⁷ *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary* (Edinburgh, 1818), Appendix, p. lxxii.

you take so final and fatal a plunge. In Turkey it follows the wedding ceremony. The guests assemble outside the bridal chamber, and the husband throws out of the window *romnieskeri-sostén*, *būt ratvali*. They are put on a pole, and the people go home singing :

‘ *Ghias yoi andré te andráł Constantinople, Galata, te Pera,
Righadás-yoi sar-var ladjipéna !*’¹

The same custom is, or was, practised by Swiss Gypsies with this difference, that an oath takes the place of the examination, and the woman’s chemise is exhibited instead of a *diklo*. It is then put on a tree and fired at until it is shot to pieces, instead of being carefully preserved as in Spain.

Again Mrs. Miln² adds a detail which I cannot verify, that like the Jews of old and some Chinese, the Gypsy and Jewish bridegroom of Spain still shows a death-bed repentance for his rash act, and hides himself in an upper room until the importunity of the bride and her train in calling him three times forces him to take some action.

However, once committed he makes the best of his folly by holding mad frolic and revelry for some three days. Therein he is not peculiar : Gypsies all over the world do the same ; even the careful Jews often ‘ruin themselves by the riot and waste of their marriage festivals’ ;³ and an old Italian proverb says that the Christians spend all their money in lawsuits, the Jews in celebrating the Passover, and the Moors in their weddings.⁴ But there is one extravagance which is generally reckoned to be peculiar to Spanish Gypsies, though Mrs. Miln states that it occurs in many lands distant from Spain—the performance of the wild Gypsy dance upon deep layers of succulent sweetmeats. Rich sweetmeats are freely used in Spanish⁵ and Turkish weddings too, but they are used sanely, if unwisely, to eat and not to dance upon. Morwood⁶ states that sweetmeats are liberally bought and thrown on the ground at English Gypsy weddings, a use to which they are also put in Spanish Gypsy processions to church ;⁷ and he thinks they have a superstition that it brings good luck. Festivities there always are ; but not always at the expense of the bridegroom.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 59.

³ Mrs. Miln, p. 286.

⁵ Mrs. Miln, p. 315.

² p. 134.

⁴ *Gaya*, p. 95.

⁶ *Our Gipsies*, pp. 135 et seq.

⁷ *The Times*, September 1, 1842, p. 3, col. 5, ‘Wedding of Baptista Antonio to Ramonde Lopez.’

In Transylvania he wanders shamelessly around for a week before his wedding, accompanied by musicians, dancing and singing :—

Monday will my wedding be,
Swine in plenty send to me,
Give me gifts in rich array,
Who gives nought, may stay away.¹

For fear of the evil influence of water spirits, he carries a hazel wand swathed in flowers and gay ribbons. To other liquid spirits he shows so little aversion that he and his companions often have a difficulty in finding their way home: but of water he has a wholesome horror.

During the same week he and his bride-elect go nightly to a stream and put two burning candles by it, and throw eggs and apples into it. Wlislöcki regards these as possible Aryan survivals, since the Gypsies still have folk-tales of an Urei and an Urmeer, from which a tree grew with men on it. But in Croatia the married couple throw apples into a well;² at Greek, Albanian, and Bulgarian weddings in Turkey offerings are similarly made to the water nymphs;³ and both eggs and fruit are very commonly used in marriage ceremonies as signs of fertility.

The bride-elect seems to have her evenings fairly well occupied, as she also burns nightly at the crossroads her *Glücksträusschen*, wreaths of red and white *Himmelfahrtsblümchen*, gathered on St. John's night as a protection against illness and dishonour. They are burned to prevent any other girl obtaining them, and so stealing the love of her husband. To further ensure his steadfastness, on the day before the wedding the women place sticks with green foliage on them before his tent. At the same time the men put hay and grass before the bride's tent as a forecast of plenty.

On the wedding day the guests assemble, bringing with them

¹ Wlislöcki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), p. 183:—

Luñe hìn mire biyá
Bicen mánge but' bálá ;
Den mánge but' bicápen,
Te ná den, te ná áven !

According to Schwicker (pp. 142 *et seq.*) the invitation in Siebenbürgen is done by proxy; and a price in money or goods is paid for the bride. Beyond the giving of a kerchief to the girl, and the pressing of an old silver thaler into her hand, he mentions no ceremonies save a dance, lasting half an hour, performed by the parents. The festivities are prolonged for three days, but on the third dirges, not festive songs, are sung. That, he says, is characteristic of Gypsies: but after two days' debauchery any one might be excused for feeling a little maudlin.

² Hutchinson, p. 241.

³ Miss Garnett, i. 89; ii. 582.

gifts for the bride, and escort the couple to church, outside which an elder delivers an harangue. On their return after the wedding they are drenched with water¹ and rubbed with a bag made of weasel skin full of thorn-apple seeds, charms against ill-luck and the evil eye. Then they retire to their tent, shoes being thrown after them; and on their reappearance there are high jinks.²

In Turkey some of the Gypsies, at any rate, practise a mock marriage by capture. The two parties of friends of the bride and bridegroom engage in a free fight, in which the bridegroom is allowed to carry off his wife. Then peace is made, and the customary festivities follow.³ This might be regarded as a survival of Indian custom, as marriage both by actual or mock capture has been and is used by some Indian tribes. But again the custom is so universal, traces of it being found in most parts of the globe, that one can hardly attach any definite importance to it.

For Russia I have no statistics except a statement taken down by Mr. A. T. Sinclair from some Russian Gypsies among the so-called 'Brazilian' Gypsies, who were camping near Boston last year, and communicated by him to the Honorary Secretary. According to that the ceremony is simplicity itself. The bride's hand is put by her mother into the bridegroom's, with the words, 'Būt bāxt, būt bārsh tē trātl,' and sometimes 'būt chāvē.' Presents are exchanged, and the feasting lasts three to seven days. Newspaper reports of a wedding which took place in that camp make the bridegroom put his hands on the girl's shoulders, and either swear to be true to her, or more wisely hold his tongue and try to look expressive. On the last point the accounts are not clear. Possibly the slight difference in the position of the hands may have been due to a difference of nationality, as there were German and Servian Gypsies, as well as Russian, among the band. But the account does not tally either with the German ceremony already described, or with Gjorgjević's details of Servian Gypsy marriages.

The latter are in most cases very elaborate. Among the Gypsies settled at Soko Banja the festivities precede the wedding.⁴ There it would seem to be a perpetual leap-year, as

¹ This again is done also at Greek, Bulgarian, and Albanian weddings in Turkey (Miss Garnett, ii. 582).

² Wlislöcki, *Hochzeitsgebräuche der transsilvanischen Zelt-Zigeuner in the Original Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der k. Museen zu Berlin. Hefte 2*, 3 (Berlin, 1886), pp. 152; and *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, pp. 183 et sqq.

³ Colocci, p. 225.

⁴ Gjorgjević, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien* (Budapest, 1903), i. 60

it is the lady who chooses her future spouse. Her choice made, by some mysterious feminine wiles she induces his father to buy her; and then or later, as he is sometimes allowed an interval to repent in, notice is given to the parish, and the marriage is registered three days before it takes place. The marriage begins on a Wednesday with feasting and dancing. This system of having set days for the various parts of the long and complicated marriage ceremonies appears to prevail all over the south-eastern end of Europe. On Thursday the jollifications are continued, and on Friday matters begin to get serious. Even the bride, though brazen-faced enough to openly choose her husband, now covers her face; but not with decent shame. Instead, Jezebel like, she paints it, or rather smears it with honey and covers that with tinsel. At mid-day she is escorted by her brothers to her future home; and the brothers are treated to a glass of wine, which indeed they must require after escorting such a figure of fun through the town. Then there is more dancing and singing; and the proceedings are ended save for an exhibition of signs of the bride's purity in the morning. This last item is found too in the marriages of the Gypsies of Jagodina, though Gjorgjević says their rites are purely Servian; also among the *Korano rom*, the latest comers in Servia, and they too smear and bedizen the girl's face. It is not improbable that the latter performance is borrowed from the Turks, as I find that, especially among the north-eastern Turks, the bride's 'face is a mask of gold-dust and gum, worked on the cheeks, forehead, and chin with spangles.'¹ Among the newly come Gypsies the ceremonies are equally elaborate. It is the young man's father who does the choosing, though he asks his son's opinion before bargaining with the lady's parents. She is the last person consulted; and even when everybody's consent is obtained, it is not given until three several visits of request have been paid by the youth's father. The bride's father formally receives a dowry, which in reality is mainly begged by and ultimately given to the bystanders. After their cupidity is satisfied, four or five ducats are given him for the girl herself, for which she has to pay by kissing hands all round, and giving everybody a kerchief.² Then the company drown the memory of their folly in brandy. A few days later the youth's father takes the materials for a feast

¹ Cf. Mrs. Blunt's *People of Turkey* (London, 1878), ii. 90.

² Cf. the giving of handkerchiefs by the *gelbe Frau* in Swiss weddings (Mrs. Miln, p. 201).

to the house of the bride and pays the dowry; and the guests, who have previously begged it, come to get it, bringing each some pastry; and jollifications ensue. All this rather reminds one of the elaborate preliminaries to a Magyar wedding, which are similarly conducted, not by the youth himself, but through an intermediary. And there, too, the guests are invited to a feast where they are expected to bring a contribution in the shape of their own 'knives and forks and eating platters.'¹

A week later the Hodja is visited, a certificate obtained, the amount to be paid in the event of divorce settled, and the bride is presented with a trousseau by her future father-in-law, though most of this is greedily snapped up by 'friends.' The Monday before the eventful day is devoted to the making and baking of a cake, and the dyeing of the bride's hair and eyes. At the latter proceeding the women assemble and an old lady puts on men's clothes, hides a stick in her trousers, and generally behaves in an unseemly way, which proves that an old woman's wit 'may wander ere she dies,' as well as an old man's. On Wednesday the bride receives another dose of henna, and the same buffoonery goes on, ending in a dance. These customs again are not peculiar to the Gypsies. The baking of a cake is an important ceremony in a Greek marriage; only in that case the ring and some coins are hidden in it.² With this we may compare the use among English Gypsies, and possibly 'among most tribes of European Gypsies,'³ of a cake containing coins as a present from a damsel to a favoured suitor.⁴ As for the ill-behaved old lady, she is doubtless closely akin to the female jester who plays a part at the henna-staining feast in Turkish weddings, and the old woman who dances and sings a marriage song on the same occasion in the 'purely Servian' weddings of the Gypsies of Jagodina. Among the Albanians the making of the cake also takes place, and one of the girls puts on the bridegroom's clothes, and tries to smear him with dough.⁵ To hide the Gypsy bride's blushes—or perhaps the lack of them—at that old lady's conduct, the bridegroom sends her some skeins of yellow thread, and on the next day (Thursday) this is stuck on the bride's face with a preliminary layer of honey and purple stain. An escort is sent to fetch her, and she

¹ Cf. Mrs. Miln, pp. 150 *et seq.*

² Hutchinson, p. 177, Miss Garnett, i. 78.

³ Mrs. Miln.

⁴ A cake with a coin in it is given by German peasant brides to the oldest poor man in the village on the day before the marriage (cf. Mrs. Miln, p. 44).

⁵ Hutchinson, p. 184.

quits her father's house in a cart. Her father calls her three times ; and woman-like she answers back to have the last word, but takes her own way. On reaching her destination her father-in-law lifts her down, and his wife meets her with a sieve full of oats, which she scatters among the people, throwing the sieve away when empty just as the German Gypsy chief throws away the cup he has drained. Doubtless, like the throwing of rice at weddings, this is intended as a prognostication of plenty. The bride then smears some honey on the doorposts, and is given three loaves to take in with her. Outside there is a race for a handkerchief, followed by dances. None of this would seem to be peculiar to the Gypsies. The smearing of the gateposts is to make the fatuous youth believe that she will show a sweet disposition, and is therefore parallel to the sucking of sugar-plums by the man and wife, or the handing of a cup of honey to the bride at the door, which takes place in Croatia and Turkey.¹ At Vlach weddings in Turkey the proceeding is exactly the same as among the Gypsies. The bride is given butter or honey, with which she anoints the posts. The usage prevailed in ancient Rome ; indeed, some derive the word *uxor* 'ab unguendis postibus.'² Racing is not uncommon either : it existed at one time as near to us as Scotland, and the prize was a napkin there too, though sometimes a bottle of whisky was added.³ What is doubtless more uncommon for him, is the fact that the Gypsy bridegroom in the evening takes a bath. Then he kisses his parents, friends, and relatives, and after a despairing farewell, is escorted to the bridal chamber, singing a song to keep up his spirits ; and he is ruthlessly thrust in by his friends. Mercifully for him, he finds the bride wearing a veil over her betreaced and betinselled face, and, when she raises it, he hastily helps her to wash the stuff off. Then they break the cake baked on the Monday, he using one hand, she two, and dip it in honey and eat. The rest of the company dance all night. In the morning comes

¹ Hutchinson, pp. 80, 241. Similarly the Poles anoint the bride's lips with honey (Gaya, p. 45).

² Miss Garnett, i. 16.

³ A cutting from the *Glasgow Herald*, autumn 1907, kindly lent me by Mr. M'Cormick, gives a recent instance of a foot-race at a wedding in Galloway. Formerly it was a horse-race, 'the riding of the braes,' from the bridegroom's house to the bride's. The writer suggests that it may be a survival of the capture of the bride. In any case, the napkin is rather to be paralleled with the handkerchief given away by German peasant brides and by the 'gelbe Frau' in Swiss weddings, and considered a sign of her industry and not of her purity, like the Gypsy *diklo* ; though it is possible that all of them may be survivals of the inspection of the bride's linen.

the usual inspection of the bride's linen, and collection of baksheesh, more kissing, more brandy, more feasting, and more dancing.

Those who cannot endure all this ceremonial, or prefer to do their own choosing and wooing, run away together; and then, though the affair is generally patched up, the ceremonies are much simplified.¹ Among the other Servian Gypsies, the wanderers, there is no ceremony at all, and very rightly too, seeing that the father takes a wife for his son when he is only four or five years old, and lives with her himself just so long as she chooses to live with him. If he can afford it, he gives a feast for two or three days; and the only other rite performed is the throwing of an axe over his house or tent on the wedding evening. The object of that extraordinary manœuvre it is hard to see, unless he suspects a former admirer of being on the other side; but possibly it is akin to an equally mysterious Croatian custom, that the wife should throw an apple over the house.²

Of all the many marriage customs yet discussed, this strange alliance of a father with his daughter-in-law is in one way the most interesting, because it offers some support to Grellmann's theory that the Gypsies were derived from the Suder caste. Among certain classes of Suders, especially among the Vellalabs of Coimboore, 'a father marries a grown-up girl eighteen or twenty years old to his son, a boy of seven or eight, after which he publicly lives with his daughter-in-law, until the youth attains his majority, when his wife is made over to him, generally with half a dozen children. Those children are taught to address him as their father.'³ Among the Reddies she lives either with the father or with a near relation, for example a maternal uncle or cousin.⁴ But one must admit that it is not peculiar to the Suders and that particular class of Gypsies. Exactly the same state of affairs exists among the Ostyaks and Ossetes;⁵ and, what is more to the point, existed till the emancipation of the serfs among the Russian peasantry,⁶ with whom the wandering Servian

¹ Cf. Morwood's account of English runaway matches, p. 134. The consent of both parents is necessary for a wedding; and engagements last two years. During that time, at any rate in England and Spain, clandestine meetings and entering the camp together are forbidden.

² Hutchinson, p. 241.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, iii. 32; G. L. Gomme, *Folklore as an Historical Science*, (London, 1908), p. 63.

⁴ Dr. Shortt in the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, N.S. iii. (London, 1865), p. 373.

⁵ Westernmark, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1901), pp. 453-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*; and Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, etc.* (London, 1784), i. 439.

Gypsies may at one time or another have been in touch. It is hardly safe, then, to claim it as a genuine primitive Gypsy relic, unless traces of it are found to survive among at least some other Gypsies; and no such traces are at present forthcoming. The strange custom of the father-in-law spending a night with the mother-in-law, said by Simson to have existed among the Scottish Gypsies, is no direct parallel. Perhaps it is a perversion of the *jus primae noctis*. One must admit that among other Gypsies marriage with side relations, even sisters, is not forbidden; but the direct line—and in such presumably the son's wife would fall—is respected. Indeed, so strong is the evidence collected from other Gypsy tribes that a woman's honour is the only virtue they cherish, that the mere fact of the woman being allowed to break the compact when she will and marry again is sufficient to suggest that the custom is due rather to decadence among those particular Gypsies than to survival.¹ Licence, if there is any, is only permitted to the men. In olden days it extended even as far as adultery, if we may believe one ancient authority who describes the Gypsies under the name Mandopolini.² Adultery, he says, aroused no resentment in the capricornified husband; it was only the opening of a game in which he played the next move. Bigamy is not unknown among the settled Servian Gypsies, but the first wife's assent is asked, and if she disagrees, she is permitted a divorce. Even here in England, not many years ago, Riley Smith had two wives and Charles Pinfold three.³ But such cases are rare; and in Germany and Hungary an unfaithful husband is punished by maiming, his wife having the choice whether he shall be shot in the leg or arm. On an erring sister the uncivilised world, like the civilised, is generally more severe. Miss Yates has quoted in our Journal (October 1908) a description of the punishment of such in Hungary,—expulsion from the band accompanied by a flogging, four gashes to brand her, and a night spent in durance more than vile tied

¹ The same argument is an answer to the charge of survival of piracy.

² Ludolphus de Sudheim, *De itinere Terre Sancte* (in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II. Documents, p. 375), 'si aliquis cum uxore sua comprehenditur, non irascitur, sed [cum] primo potest, similem vicem sibi reddit.' The same statement is made about the Mandopolini in the anonymous German book of travels published in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* XIX. pp. 1 et sqq.: 'Ind vynt eyn wyf yren man by eyne andern wywe of ein wyf yren man by eyne andern manne, mer kan he dat gedoen, he doet eme dat selve widerumb ind nyet mer wort dar na' (p. 23).

³ Groome, *Gypsy Folktales* (London, 1899), lxxiii.; cf. Barker, *Gypsy Life of Northumberland*, p. 229: 'Unfortunately their views on monogamy have, in the ages of the past, been very lax.'

naked to a tree; and Mrs. Miln bears witness to having seen a woman with a gash on each cheek.¹ In Germany, apparently, her nose is cut off or at least gashed.² Wlislöcki,³ whose intimate relations with one or more divorced Gypsy women should make him a competent authority, asserts that among the wandering Gypsies of the Balkans there exists a secret tribunal—*manlaslo*—which ‘tips the black spot,’ in the shape of a circular piece of wood with a peg driven through it, to husband or wife who have offended. Uncoloured wood summons the man; wood painted red the woman. But in the case of men it is never used for infidelity, only for theft or murder or treachery in the Gypsy circle. Among women it is used for infidelity, even if the husband has brought no charge and had no suspicion. The woman who finds it in her tent must go at night to the nearest stream on the east where she meets a man wearing a mask of beast’s skin. He leads her to a lonely spot where two other mysterious watchers sit by a fire; and they pronounce her banishment, temporary or eternal. But her crime is never known save to the vojvode. Neither of the parties so separated is permitted to contract another marriage—except an informal temporary union—so long as both are alive; and it is from the ranks of these unmarried and unmarriageable women that the dancing girls, who have brought a bad name on the Gypsy women of the East, are largely recruited. But after the death of either of the two the other may marry legally, provided that he or she is not ‘temporarily’ married, or has separated regularly from any temporary alliance they may have formed. Hence a mysterious summons to Wlislöcki, when he had settled down and married a ‘white’ wife, from his temporary ‘brown’ wife, Rosa Saric, to meet her and her band at night and bear witness that they had separated by agreement.

The same rule applies to divorced Gypsies of Hungary and Siebenbürgen, though among them the mysterious assembly no longer exists. Divorce is there obtained by an aggrieved husband or wife, on application to the vojvode, who procures a formal divorce and banishes the parties for a time, generally until

¹ Dr. Gross asserts that in Austria and East Europe such gashes are given by Gypsies to traitors. (*Criminal Investigation* . . . translated . . . by J. Adam and J. Collyer Adam, London, 1907, pp. 348-9.)

² Dr. Solf in Colocci, p. 228; Liebich, p. 50. A case in which the woman’s nose was actually cut off is mentioned by Biester in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, Feb. 1793, p. 118.

³ ‘Vehmgerichte bei den bosnischen und bulgarischen Wanderzigeuner’ in *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn* (Budapest, 1893), iii. 173.

they can bring enough brandy to soothe the tribe's wounded feelings.¹

All this, however, contains little of ancient ritual and ceremony, save the assembly and the man masked in beast's skin. This beast-man may well be a reminder of the days when the woman was actually driven from the tribe, to fall a prey to the beasts of the field; and if Simson is to be relied upon, there existed in Scotland² a rite equally primitive. There, when a divorce was determined on, a horse without blemish was chosen, and at noon the officiating Gypsy several times perambulated the horse, extolling its virtues. Then it was set free, and by its tameness or wildness, when they attempted to recapture it, the guilt of the woman was estimated. If the horse was lively and mettlesome, then the 'grey mare' ran some risk of being slain too for the pranks that she had or was supposed to have played.³ Once caught the horse was charged with its own and the woman's sins, upbraided for them, and stabbed. The divorcing parties stood one on each side of it, clasped hands and addressed each other. Then quitting their hold, they walked three times round it in contrary directions, stopping at the 'corners' and speaking. At the last stop, by the horse's tail, they shook hands and parted for ever, going north and south. The beast's heart was taken out, roasted, sprinkled with brandy or vinegar, and eaten by the husband and his friends. The woman was excluded from the feast, and was given a token of cast iron about an inch and a half square, marked with a sign like a capital T. If she lost it or attempted to remarry, she was liable to death after a trial by an assembly of elders; and the manner of her death was that she was bound to a stake with an iron chain and cudgelled until she died. It is highly possible that the punishment meted out to unfaithful wives in Hungary is a modified survival of this, since it is similar in every respect except that their life is spared. In all probability it was originally a primitive method of divorce, and not, as in Scotland, a punishment for the offence of remarrying. Though the horse is stabbed and not cudgelled to death, Simson explains its sacrifice as a similar survival. He also compares it with the Indian ceremony of

¹ Wlislöcki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 77.

² According to *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 179, divorce as well as marriage by tongs or broomstick is practised by tinklers. The parties stand on either side of the stick or tongs, back to back, and jump away from it.

³ Death is specified as the punishment of adultery in Cervantes' *Gitanella*. Cf. De Rochas, pp. 273 *et seqq.*

sacrificing a horse (Aśvamedha) practised in an 'Assummeed Jugg.' The parallel is striking, not so much from the fact that the animal sacrificed in both cases was a horse—for indeed a tinkler seldom has any other animal to sacrifice¹—as from the similarity of the procedure. In both cases the animal is first let loose and followed, and in both cases the owner's guilt is inferred from its motions. But, unfortunately, there is no hint of such a practice among other Gypsies, except the entirely unsupported assertion of a Russian friend of Simson, that horses were sacrificed by Russian Gypsies at some secret ceremony; and the tinklers, when Gypsies at all, are the least pure-blooded of all Gypsies. However, at least one Indian word, unknown to all other Gypsies, has been heard from the lips of a Scottish Gypsy,² and there is no reason why an Indian ceremony should not have survived too; and, if the truth of the report about the Russian Gypsies could be certified, it would seem sufficient proof of the genuineness of the survival. At the same time, one must admit that there is no evidence that the sacrifice of a horse was ever part of the divorce ceremony of the Indians; and this makes it probable that if it is a survival at all, it is one which has lost its original meaning and been misapplied. Possibly, as it took place at noon, the sacrifice of the horse was, as among the Persians, originally an offering to the sun, and the primitive divorce ceremony consisted merely in casting the woman out to be devoured by beasts or in cudgelling her to death.

In the matter of definite results I fear this is all very unsatisfactory, but the extraordinary variety of the customs of the Gypsies both in marriage and divorce ceremonies makes it next to impossible to assert definitely what were their original customs, and leaves some doubt as to whether they had any. In marriage the only widely spread formalities are the breaking of some vessel, the inspection of the bride's virginity, and the prolonged festivities; and all of these are so common among other nations that one hesitates to assert their independent origin among the Gypsies. In the case of divorce, as we have just seen, there are three possible survivals of antiquity, though further evidence of their existence is badly needed. Still, it is somewhat surprising that they should survive in the rarer event of divorce rather than

¹ Besides, as Simson shows, other people have sacrificed horses, *e.g.* Tartars, Greeks to Poseidon, Persians to the sun.

² *Moorghee* = hen (cf. Groome, *Gypsy Folktales*, p. lx.).

in marriage, especially among the Gypsies, who certainly do not share the modern American penchant for divorce, and generally remain faithful to one another until death doth them part. But, since two of those apparently primitive ceremonies have survived only among the Scottish Gypsies, there is room for doubt whether universality of custom is the only criterion for its antiquity. The Welsh Gypsies have preserved the language better than any of the Gypsy tribes between Turkey and England, and it is quite possible that the same may be the case with customs and ceremonies. It would therefore be rash to absolutely reject the claims of the extraordinary marriage rite practised by the Scottish Gypsies as not definitely primitive Romany custom because it is elsewhere unsupported, especially when one finds that a funeral ceremony undeniably old, and possibly Indian, is more strongly attested among the Gypsies of the British Isles than elsewhere.

The ceremony of burning the clothes, beddings, and other leavings of a dead Gypsy is certainly mentioned by Liebich and WlislOCKI; but it is seldom referred to by writers on foreign Gypsies; whereas in England there is a continual stream of testimony to the custom from at least the year 1773, when Queen Diana Boswell's clothes were burned in the Mint, Southwark,¹ down to the present day.² Not only the clothes, but even valuable possessions, such as the caravan, are frequently burned, and the survivors reduced to beggary.³ The motive assigned by the Gypsies themselves⁴ when questioned, that the things are burned to prevent bickering among the survivors, is obviously absurd, and the custom is generally believed to be a survival from a time when the corpse was burned with its earthly goods around it, and possibly the widow with it. At the funeral of James Smith in 1830 the widow uttered loud lamentations and implored the bystanders to allow her to be buried with her husband.⁵ Unless she meant it quite seriously, it was lucky for her that she came so late into the world; for Liebich, writing in 1863, declares

¹ *Annual Register*, xvi. (1773); Groome, *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 116.

² It was practised by the Yetholm Gypsies too (cf. *Guy Mannering*, Note F), and by Scottish Gypsies recently (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, xii. (1903), p. 428).

³ His horse is occasionally killed too, as at the funeral of Walter Cooper (*World*, June 6, 1888; *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 54; cf. also New Series, ii. 121). One account states that the widow must for three months earn her own living without help from relations (*Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, vi. (1894), p. 286). Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. p. 358.

⁴ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 121, 124.

⁵ Crabb, *The Gipsies' Advocate* (London, 1831), p. 30.

that he had met Gypsies who asserted that it was an old custom among their people to bury aged and decrepit persons alive. Apparently the victim was not always unwilling to endure his fate, as Rüdiger tells of an old Gypsy woman who asked a shepherd to perform that office for her.¹ But in spite of this custom of burying alive and of the apparent similarity to the Indian *suttee* in the burning ceremony, there is not a particle of evidence to show that the Gypsies ever did burn the bodies of the living or the dead. The suggestion, therefore, that their bonfires are a survival of *suttee* cannot be regarded as certain. Others have supposed that the burning is intended as a mark of respect, and is due to a desire to furnish the dead with fitting equipments for their journey:² and this view gains some support from the practice of occasionally putting utensils such as a cup, plate, knife and fork, and even a fiddle into the coffin.³ Besides, among the Siebenbürgen Gypsies the heat of the flames is really supposed to aid the dead man in his journey through a desert, where his soul is exposed to a wind like that which made Tomlinson's after-existence unsupportable to him. But that does not prove that the ceremony was originally intended as an honour. It helped him on his way certainly, but by so doing it took him out of the survivor's way; and that is probably the main reason for the observance. For, as Wlislöcki shows, the Gypsies are inordinately afraid of the souls of the dead who have not found rest; and their death ceremonies are dictated by fear rather than respect.⁴ It is—or originally was, since the original meaning may now be lost to most Gypsies—to prevent the dead from returning and claiming his goods, that those goods are totally destroyed. From the same fear that the soul may cling to its earthly belongings, they are removed from the tent of a dying Gypsy in S.E. Europe. And it is no doubt to prevent the return of the dead that the coffin is generally taken out of the tent or house, not by the door, but by some special and temporary exit, generally towards the west, the realm of the dead, since the same trick is resorted to by other nations who have a similar horror of ghosts and vampires.

¹ Liebich, p. 53.

² Suggested by a writer in the *Yorkshire Post*, August 24, 1907.

³ *Gipsy Smith, His Life and Work* (London, 1903), p. 7: 'When an uncle of mine died, my aunt bought a coffin large enough for all his possessions—including his fiddle, cup and saucer, plate, knife, etc. . . . Nobody should ever use them again.'

⁴ *Volks Glaube*, p. 97; *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, pp. 279 et seq.

A curious practice of those Gypsies is that of keeping a white dog to lick the limbs of a dying person. This is supposed to assist him and render his death easier; and it may, as Wlislöcki suggests, be connected with the use of dogs at Parsi deathbeds and funerals. One might regard it too as a survival of a belief in metempsychosis, for which there is some support in other rites attributed to Gypsies. Rosenfeld says that the Siebenbürgen Gypsies still believe in transmigration of souls, and assert that the soul of such and such a dead Gypsy has been wafted into a bird, and will return to the body of another Gypsy at the bird's death.¹ An actual instance in which a bird was held to a dying Gypsy's lips to catch his soul, and let loose after his death, is reported from France.² This seems parallel to the common superstition of a separate soul which detaches itself at times from the body in the form of a bird, mouse, or other animal.³ But the connection between the two is generally supposed to cease with death, whereas the Gypsies of S. Europe at any rate believe that the soul remains with or near the body, unable to enter the after-world, until the latter is decomposed. Hence in olden times the burning of the dead person's goods did not take place at the funeral, but some time later, when the soul was supposed to be freed from the body.

Gypsy burial, up till quite recent times, indeed in some countries up to the present day, differs from burial as practised by most civilised nations in the fact that the corpse is interred either without a coffin, or at least with an open coffin; and, according to Paspatis,⁴ the arms of the dead are laid straight by their side, not crossed over the breast. About 1829 an old Gypsy woman was buried uncoffined in Littlebury churchyard, much against the will of the survivors, who wished to bury her elsewhere.⁵ Liebich speaks of the use of an *einfaeh Sarg* and formerly of a hollowed tree-trunk.⁶ Among the Servian Gypsies⁷ a coffin is either not used at all or only used to carry the corpse to

¹ Schwicker, p. 149.

² In the *Figaro*, October 1872, according to L. A. Smith, *Through Romany Songland*, p. 185.

³ Eug. Monseur promises a monograph on bird souls, which he believes to be a Semitic superstition spread in Europe by Christianity (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1906, p. 301).

⁴ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 5.

⁵ Doubtless in unsanctified ground like Mrs. Hearne, who was also buried without a coffin (Borrow, *Lavengro*, chap. lxxxi.). In *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, p. 462, a parson speaks of peculiar ceremonies at a Gypsy funeral which he conducted; but he had forgotten what they were.

⁶ Liebich, p. 54.

⁷ Gjorgjević, p. 68.

the grave. Once there, it is buried un-coffined, sloping boards being put over the body to prevent the earth from falling on it. The reason for this preference for an open coffin is no doubt to be found in a strange practice still current among some of the wandering Gypsies of Hungary. A pole is driven into the earth above the buried person's head: and after a certain time the relatives dig down, abstract the head and bury it elsewhere. Fear again is the spur which goads them to the ghastly deed; their object being to cause the body to rot away all the faster by dismembering it.¹ But this fear of vampires can hardly be claimed as a special Gypsy feature, since it is only or mainly found among Gypsies in touch with Slav or Greek peoples, who are equally afflicted with it. The latter too frequently resort to resurrection work and dismemberment in the case of suspected persons. At a Greek funeral witnessed by Granville Murray,² the body was buried uncoffined, the grave was not filled in with earth, merely covered with a stone slab, and he was told that it would be opened in a year's time, and if the body was not entirely decomposed, prayers would be offered over it. When it was, the bones would be taken out and hung up on the church wall in a bag. Again, Schwicker quotes a Gypsy folktale giving the origin of the custom of leaving a hole in the shroud over the dead person's mouth, and Andree refers to a similar custom among the Slavs of Hannover, who carefully avoid covering the mouth of the dead. Indeed, his chapter on vampires³ is so full of parallels to the customs of Wlislöcki's Gypsies that one can hardly explain them otherwise than by the assumption of borrowing on one side or the other. And that the Gypsies were the borrowers, the lack of parallels for those particular customs among their kindred in other lands is sufficient evidence.

Among the most recent comers in Servia the grave is dug for men waist-high, for women breast-high, by reason of the multitude of sins that are buried with the latter. Wlislöcki⁴ mentions a custom practised by some Siebenbürgen Gypsies of covering the grave with thorns to prevent strangers stepping over it. Some, too, still practise a kind of ordeal to test

¹ Cf. Wlislöcki, *Volksglaube*, p. 100; *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 296; and Harmsworth's *History of the World* (London, 1908) pt. 24, p. 3108, where he suggests that this may account for accusations of resurrection work and cannibalism.

² *The Roving Englishman in Turkey* (London, 1855), p. 175.

³ In *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (Stuttgart, 1878), pp. 80-94.

⁴ *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, pp. 230-296.

whether the death came by fair means or foul. He does not state whether the body is watched: but in Servia it is carefully watched between the death and the burial, for fear anything should jump over it, in which case it would inevitably become a vampire. And this same custom was observed in the case of the Gypsy woman already mentioned, who was buried uncoffined at Littlebury.¹ She was laid out in state² with two long hazel twigs fixed on the ground and bent over the head and feet. From these hung two oil lamps, burning all night, and two women sat and watched. Two burning tapers are put beside the dead in Spain also.³ Among the settled Servian Gypsies a candle is left burning at the place where the person died, even after the funeral, and a jug of water with it. Another jug is shattered at the grave. In a German Gypsy funeral described in the *Petersburgskaya Gazeta*⁴ the body was also laid in state, and a pack of cards spread out in a ring with the ace of hearts in the centre. Every Gypsy brought a present and laid it on the breast of the corpse, as do also the Siebenbürgen Gypsies.⁵ One may compare the placing of a tuft of grass on the chest of Major Boswell, who died, aged 105 years, at Longton;⁶ but a closer parallel to this latter is afforded by the Greek funeral described by Granville Murray, at which a man placed savoury herbs on the breast of the corpse as it was being carried to the grave.

Those German Gypsies affected a strange taste in mourning colours, plaiting red and yellow ribbons in their hair and in their horses' manes. Generally mourning is said to be eschewed by Gypsies, but the settled Servian Gypsy women wear black for a year, and some of the wanderers wear a black handkerchief. On the other hand, among the tent Gypsies of Eastern Europe white is the favourite mourning colour. Hence Whitsunday, which is a day of mourning for the dead, is called *parno kurko*, and both sexes wear white clothes on it.⁷ At Lepronía Lee's funeral at Kirkton sisters and cousins wore white, the rest black, except that the men had white ribbons round their hats, white gloves and white

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, iii. 461, May 15, 1869; and Morwood, p. 172.

² Gypsies are generally buried in their best clothes. Cf. Morwood, p. 170.

³ Cf. Colocci, p. 232.

⁴ February 7, 1898, translated in *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, i. (1898), p. 304.

⁵ Cf. Wlislöcki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, 281.

⁶ Morwood, p. 171.

⁷ Wlislöcki, *Volksglaube*, p. 198. They have a strange practice of going out before sunrise and breaking an egg—preferably a lark's egg—on a tree or a rock for each of their dead relatives.

neckties.¹ The coffin would seem to be carried to the grave by the mourners themselves in most cases, accompanied by merry music; but among the recent comers in Servia it is only men who follow.² They have other peculiar customs: for example, the Hodja breaks the little finger of the dead man's right hand, if he is uncircumcised, probably for fear that he would otherwise become a vampire,³ since vampires are credited with a useful faculty of weighing meat with their little finger instead of with scales.

A possible survival of burning of corpses, a survival of burying alive, a survival of primitive burial without coffins would be sufficient to content any ordinary folk, but there remains what looks very like yet a fourth survival of a strange method of disposing of the dead which has been attributed to the Gypsies. Sprengler asserts that in many places they do not bury their dead, but throw them into a river.⁴ His assertion is unsupported so far as actual bodies are concerned; except that Miss L. A. Smith believes—why, I know not, and she does not state—that 'it is a well-known fact that the Gypsies of this country [Spain] will only bury their dead under water.'⁵ But it would seem as though something more than a mad desire to get rid of a dead man's effects lay at the bottom of so troublesome a proceeding as carrying a dead Gypsy grinder's grindstone two miles and casting it into the Severn.⁶ Yet this is attested as happening in England in the last century; and quite recently at Nunwell Park, Brading, 'Old Stanley's' tools were 'drowned' in the river Yar 'after the Gypsy custom,'⁷ and the unburnable part of Wester Boswell's possessions were thrown into the Mersey. Is it possible that this is a survival of the custom mentioned by Sprengler?

However great the variation in dealing with their dead, the Gypsies cannot be accused of heartlessness and lack of memory

¹ Morwood, p. 167.

² Cf. the Dardu custom referred to by Leitner, *The Languages and Races of Dardistan* (Lahore, 1877), vol. ii. p. 37: 'The women accompany the body for some fifty yards, and then return to the house to weep.' He also states that 'sometimes the grave is well cemented, and a kind of small vault is made over it with pieces of wood closely jammed together.' Is this parallel to the sloping boards over the body referred to above?

³ Schwicker, p. 150, states that the cloth put over a dead Gypsy's mouth has a hole in it to let the vampire pass in or out.

⁴ Cf. Heister, *Notizen*, p. 51.

⁵ *Through Romany Songland* (London, 1889), p. 51.

⁶ Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, iii. 442, June 6, 1857; Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 123.

⁷ *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, xii. (1903), p. 496, and Macfie, *Gypsy Lore* (London, 1908), p. 15.

of them. All the Servian Gypsies, like the Greeks,¹ hold small celebrations for the dead on the tenth and fortieth days after the funeral and at the end of six months and a year,² while many German Gypsies fast for a year on Fridays. In older times they turned vegetarians for a year, and both in Germany and in England they frequently abstain for life from eating the dead man's favourite food³ as well as from pronouncing his name. At the risk of laying myself open to a charge of brutal pessimism, I would, however, suggest that fear rather than respect may again be the main reason for these abstentions. The Servian and Turkish Gypsies on the seventh night after the burial call on the dead by name, promising never to use the name again, and imploring him to quit the earth and not let his ghost torment his friends.⁴ To pronounce the name again would be a direct invitation to the wandering ghost to return to the camp; and it is possible that the use of his favourite food might be regarded in the same light. But the latter may only be a perverted form of fasting from meat for a period; which is paralleled by the practice of the Dardu tribes. 'For three days at Ghilgit and seven days at Astor the near relatives of the deceased do not eat meat.'⁵ In the matter of drink the Gypsies do not practise the same abstinence, indeed a funeral is often accompanied by a wake. Nor does the dead man fail to get his share in the drinks. It seems to be an almost universal custom to pour some liquid on the grave. The settled Servian Gypsies shatter an earthen jug of water at the funeral, and three days later throw water and uncooked rice on the grave. The German Gypsies pour the dead man's favourite drink, beer, wine or brandy, on the

¹ Miss Garnett, i. 97.

² The Gypsies of Roussillon hold a feast in honour of the dead on All Saints' eve; but the ceremony—burning tapers—seems to be borrowed from their Christian neighbours. Cf. De Rochas, pp. 273 *et seq.* Similar customs occur elsewhere. I infer from the end of the Pa' Pandir folktale (*Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 48 (Singapore, June 1907), pp. 77, 83), that it is customary in Malaya to have a feast on the 3rd, 7th, and 100th day.

³ 'I don't eat fish: not since the dear old soul and I ate it together for our dinner. That's our way, you know,' said Taw to our Honorary Secretary in December 1900.

⁴ Wislocki, *Volks Glaube*, p. 96. For parallels to the custom of not pronouncing the name of the dead from Africa, America, Australia, the Shetland Islands, etc., cf. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen*, pp. 182-4.

⁵ Cf. Leitner, vol. ii. p. 38. Like the Servian Gypsies they hold a celebration at the grave a few days after the funeral. After the three days' fast they visit the grave, 'eat some *ghi* and bread, offer up prayers, and, on returning, slaughter a sheep, whose kidney is roasted and divided in small bits among those present.'

grave, and a year later hold a feast at the same place.¹ That they again pour liquid on the grave is not stated; but it may be safely inferred from the similar custom among the English Gypsies. The Boswells for many years made a pilgrimage to a grave of one of their family at Rossington, and poured over it a quart pot of ale.² The ceremony is said to be intended to keep off evil spirits from the dead man; and, though one may doubt both its necessity and its efficacy in that respect, it is not altogether useless. As the survivors partake largely of the refreshment themselves, it serves at any rate to keep up their spirits, if it does not quell others.

VII.—DIE ZIGEUNERGRÄBER IN VOLKMARODE (BRAUNSCHWEIG)³

Von RICHARD ANDREE

Mit dem Ausdrucke 'Tatern' bezeichnet man in Norddeutschland die Zigeuner und dasselbe Wort ist in Schweden, Dänemark und Finnland für sie gebräuchlich. Es entstand durch irrtümliche Uebertragung des Namens des mongolischen Tatarenvolkes auf diese Nomaden.

Braunschweig ist so wenig wie andere deutsche Gebiete von dem fremden Volke verschont geblieben, das überall, wohin es kam, von den Einwohnern unfreundlich begrüsst wurde. Schwere Verordnungen seitens der Landesherrschaft beginnen schon am 18. August 1597 gegen die 'Tatern' und setzen sich durch die Jahrhunderte fort; dass sie gerne im Lande lagerten, dafür sprechen auch Flurnamen wie der 'Taternkamp' bei Klein-Twülpstedt, der 'Taternpfahl' bei Hedeper und Kissenbrück. In der Zigeunersprache hat Braunschweig einen eigenen Namen; es heisst *graiéskero temm*, 'das Pferdeland,' von *grai* 'das Pferd,' womit auf das braunschweigische Wappen gedeutet wird, und *temm* 'Land.'

Noch jetzt kommt es alljährlich vor, dass urplötzlich zu einer

¹ Liebieh, pp. 55, 56. At Volkmarode, according to Prof. Andree, there are two graves which are visited yearly by small parties and every four years by large numbers. The meetings are celebrated by feasts: and ribbons and pieces of rag are tied on the tomb.

² *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, iii. 518, 557. Probably these were the 'heathen' rites performed at the grave of Inverto Boswell (Morwood, p. 176). *Ibid.*, v. (Feb. 19, 1870), p. 215, quotes a parallel from Malabar.

³ *Braunschweigisches Magazin*, 1895.

Auffallend erscheint bei beiden Gräbern noch folgendes: Um die Kreuze sind schmale Bänder von verschiedener dunkler Farbe und Stoff gewunden, welche nach Aussage eines Einwohners von Volkmarode von den alljährlich eintreffenden Zigeunerweibern und Mädchen dort als Totenopfer dargebracht werden. Gewöhnlich sind es die Haarbänder der Spenderinnen. Damit ist aber ein uralter, durch den ganzen Orient gehender Brauch erhalten, nämlich Kleiderfetzen, Bänder u. dergl. als Votivgaben an Bäumen, Gräbern von Heiligen u. s. w. zurückzulassen, ein Brauch, der auch vielfach aus Indien belegt ist und von des Ganges Ufern bis zu dem kleinen braunschweigischen Dorf getragen ist.

VIII.—GYPSIES IN BASLE

Communicated by Professor EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER

AMONG a number of interesting references to Gypsies, transcribed most kindly for the Gypsy Lore Society by Professor E. Hoffmann-Krayer, which will appear later in the 'Notes and Queries' section, the following have such outstanding historical importance that it has been judged necessary to publish them at once.

The first extract from the manuscript town-accounts of Basle records the giving of alms to a 'Heiden' in 1414, and indicates that Gypsies were known in Western Europe three years before the arrival in 1417 of the exceptional band which, by its disorderly conduct and strange pretensions, first directed general attention to the race.

The quotation from the *Röteler Chronik* shows that 'Duke' Michael's company possessed letters from the Pope in July 1422, a month before the visit of 'Duke' Andrew and his followers to Rome, which cannot have taken place before August. (See *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 334-6.) It dates the visit to Basle and necessitates several changes in the deductions which Bataillard drew from Wurstisen's version of the report. The 'Dukes' Andrew and Michael cannot have visited Rome together; and if two visits were made, and the Pope twice deluded by the same tale, it is not impossible that 'Earl' Thomas, who at Amiens in 1427 exhibited pontifical letters granted personally to himself, may also have made the Italian pilgrimage.

bestimmten Jahreszeit von verschiedenen Seiten her das wandernde Volk in grösserer oder geringerer Anzahl in Braunschweigischen erscheint. Im sogenannten Künstlersalonwagen ziehen die bald stärkeren bald kleineren Trupps alle einem gemeinsamen Ziele zu, dem nordwestlich von der Stadt Braunschweig gelegenen Dorfe Volkmarode. Hier und im Wirtshause des nahen Dibbesdorf lassen sie sich häuslich nieder und begehen auf dem Friedhofe von Volkmarode eine fromme Ceremonie, halten einen Totencultus ab, der bei diesen Nomaden besonders ausgebildet ist. *Ap i mulende!* 'Bei den Toten!' ist der höchste Schwur, den das äusserlich wohl christliche, innerlich aber noch stark heidnisch gefärbte Volk leistet, und wie sehr der Zigeuner an hervorragenden Toten seines Stammes hängt beweisen gerade diese, alljährlich in vermehrter Anzahl aber alle vier Jahre stattfindenden Wallfahrten nach Volkmarode. Dabei wird die Gelegenheit ergriffen, gemeinsame Angelegenheiten der zerstreuten Banden zu besprechen, Ehen oder Verlöbnisse zu schliessen u. dergl. Es herrscht Fröhlichkeit im Wirtshause und die Wirte haben nicht zu klagen, denn die in Dibbesdorf und Volkmarode verkehrenden 'Tatern' sollen gute Zahler sein.

Auf dem Kirchhofe von Volkmarode liegen zwei Zigeunergräber, deren eines sich durch auffallende Form auszeichnet; es ist dies eine Art Mausoleum in Gestalt einer kleinen Hütte, mit Schiefern bedeckt, umgeben von hohen Ahornen und Lebensbäumen. Darin steht der mit rotem Tuche beschlagene Sarg halb über der Erde. Das Kreuz, welches auf der Hütte stand, ist zerbrochen und man liest darauf nur noch: 'Robert Blum geboren 1850 zu Berlin.' In wirrem Durcheinander wurde mir erzählt: es sei dies der Sohn eines Zigeunerhauptmanns gewesen, der vor etwa 25 Jahren (1870) in Dibbesdorf gestorben wäre; der Vater habe ihn schwer betrauert.

In dem zweiten Grabe, das mit einem knorrigen Kreuze geschmückt ist, liegt die Zigeunerin Hulda Franz, geb. Strauss, geboren zu Merseburg 1848, gestorben 1881. Wir wissen von ihr, dass ihr Mann sie kurz vor ihrem Tode in dem Künstlerwagen vor das Haus eines angesehenen Braunschweiger Arztes fuhr, der sie stöhnend und ächzend in einer Hängematte in jenem Wagen fand. Der Zigeuner aber erschien in grüner, goldbetresster Husaren-Uniform mit langen, schwarzen herabhängenden Haaren. Diese Frau ist auch in Dibbesdorf gestorben und dann in Volkmarode beigesetzt worden.

Wochenausgaben des Rats in Basel. (*Staats-Archiv*, Basel: Finanz-Acten.)

1414. Sabbato post Verene [8. September].—Item x β [Schilling] dem heiden durch gotz willen.
1418. 27. Aug.— $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb, 3 β , minus 4 d, vmb 6 spinwider [Hammel] den heiden geschenkt.
- 8 lb 19 β vmb ein halp fuder wins [eine halbe Wagenladung Wein] den heiden geschencket vnd haru β ze ziehende [vor die Stadt hinaus zu bringen].
1422. Sabbato post pet' et pauli Apostolorum [4. Juli].—1 lb vmb brot / den heiden geschenckt.
1423. Sabbato ante viti et modesti [13. Juni].—1 guldin zwein heyden geschenckt / warent Cristen worden.

Über das Auftreten der Zigeuner in Basel finden wir eine gleichzeitige Notiz in der sog. *Röteler Chronik*¹ unterm 16. Juli 1422:

Als die Heiden, genant Sarraciner, dez ersten [zum ersten Mal] in dis lant kament.

In dem vorgeschriben jare an donrstag vor sant Alexien tag do kam ein hertzog, hies hertzog Michel von Egiptenland, har in das Wiesental² wol mit 50 pferden; und waz [war] ein ungestalt [hässliches] swartzes volk; und warent vor me ze Basel und anderswo gesin [waren schon früher öfters in B. und anderswo gewesen]. Das selbe volk waz allermenglichem unwert [war Jedermann lästig], und lagent allewegen zu velde und under keym tache, und hattent von dem babest und unserm herren dem künge und von andern herren gûte geleitzbrieffe. Das halfie si alles nûtz [das half ihnen alles nichts]; man hatt sy dannocht [dennoch] ugnern. Und warent auch frowen under inen.

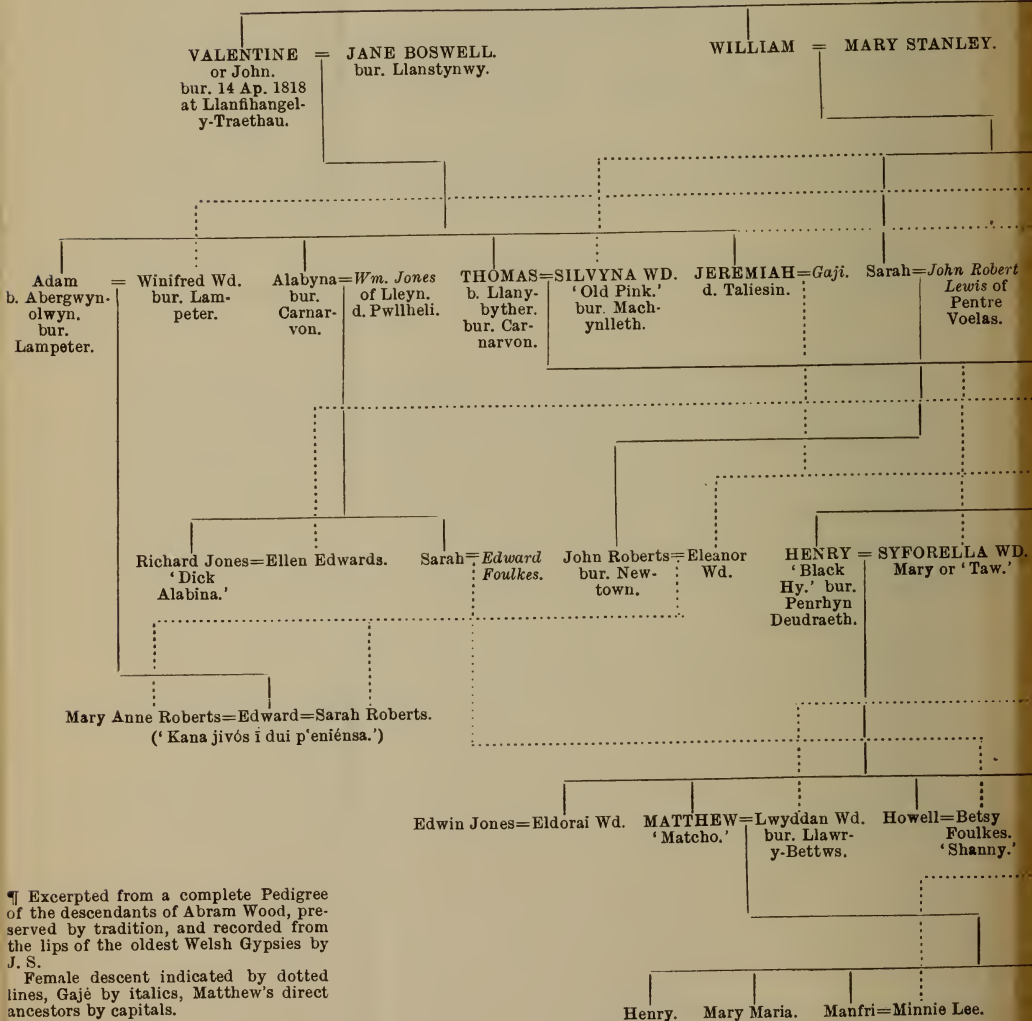
¹ s. *Basler Chroniken*, Bd. v., hrsg. von August Bernoulli. Leipzig, 1895, S. 180.

² ein Tal nordöstlich von Basel.

IX.—PEDIGREE O

ABRAM WOOD

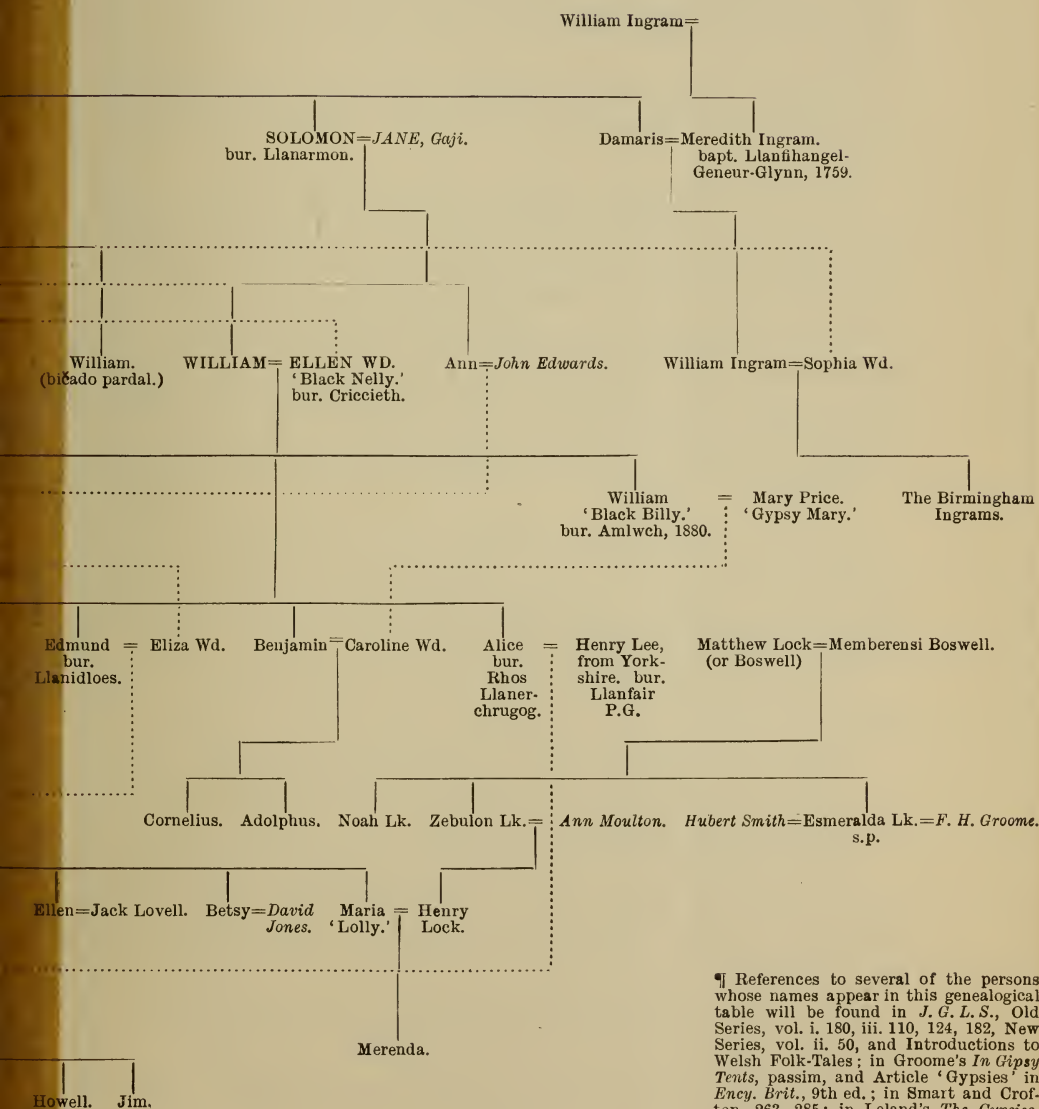
Flor. c. 1700. The first of the clan to enter Wales. Referred to in an early parish register as 'a reputed King of the Gypsies, from Froome in Somerset.' Mentioned by name in the Interlude *Pleser a Gofid* of Thos. Edwards ('Twm o'r Nant'), 1787. See also the earlier descriptions of Welsh Gypsies in Ellis Wynne's *Bardd Cwsg*, 1703.



¶ Excerpted from a complete Pedigree of the descendants of Abram Wood, preserved by tradition, and recorded from the lips of the oldest Welsh Gypsies by J. S.

Female descent indicated by dotted lines, Gajé by italics, Matthew's direct ancestors by capitals.

MATTHEW WOOD



*] References to several of the persons whose names appear in this genealogical table will be found in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. i. 180, iii. 110, 124, 182, New Series, vol. ii. 50, and Introductions to Welsh Folk-Tales; in Groome's *In Gypsy Tents*, passim, and Article 'Gypsies' in *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed.; in Smart and Crofton, 263, 285; in Leland's *The Gypsies*, 188; in Mrs. Pennell's *C. G. Leland*, vol. ii. 178; and in Hubert Smith's *With the English Gypsies in Norway*.

X.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

No. 8. LAULA

FILISÍN, *tā trin pēnyá, t'ō dad, t'ī dái. T'ā sas bārō rái*
'velas odói te dikél ī tārñē rāñiēn. Okóva bārō rái sikló te
'vel odói t'ō trin rāñiá, tā kana bešénas talé sár sanas kitanés.
Kaménas oková.¹ Na junénas leskō nav kek, ná ne junénas kái
jivélas.

“*Vesa tū mansa te dikés mīrī filiśín?*” *χoč'ō rái ī tārñiákī.*
“Keseráva² mē būt.” “Jasa 'mē.” T'ā 'vrī gilé, t'aré gīga³
gilé dūī.

Jana peñī 'kaná top ō drom. 'Vilé k'ī filiśín tā 'yas lā rái
aré komōra. Sikadās tan lakī te bešél talé. Tārñiás ī dōrī.⁴
Ak'ī būtiákerī 'vela, t'ō rái wontsélas valín mol tā marikyá.
Andiás len ī būtiákerī tā řidás len opré misálī, tā dūī kōré.

Ō dūī pīēna tā χona. Kedé te χon, tā dūī rakerénas, tā
pučtás latē ō rái kamélas te kélél bita. “Keserá mē.” Ō rái
andél ō vērdē talé. K'eldé. J alas ratt. “Kamós te jā kērē.”
“Ač postē lesa mutarimágerī. Jesa tū palál.”

Kedé mutarimágerī t'ō rái řukadās ō greñerō t'andél ī gīga

LAULA

There was a castle, and three sisters, their father and their mother. And there was a gallant who came to visit them. This gallant would sit with the three ladies, and they would all be merry together. They liked him much. They knew not his name, neither knew they where he lived.

“Wilt thou come with me to see my castle?” quoth the gentleman to the youngest one. “Yes, gladly.” “Let us go.” And the two went out and into his carriage.

Now they drove away along the road. They reached the castle, and he led her into a parlour. He showed her a place to sit down. He rang the bell. A maid-servant came, the master asked for a bottle of wine and cakes. The maid brought them, and set them on the table with two glasses.

They both drank and ate. They made an end of eating and talked together, and the gallant asked her whether she would like to play cards for a while. “Yes, I would.” He brought down the cards. They played. It was growing dark. “I should like to go home.” “Stay until thou hast taken tea. Afterwards thou shalt go.”

They finished tea, and the master ordered the coachman to bring out the

¹ *oková*] less correctly for *okolés*, cp. below the better form of the accusative *'dolés* from *odóva*.

² *keseráva*]. Note here and below this common use of *keseráva* in the sense of “to be inclined” or “disposed” for anything.

³ *gīga*] from English “gig,” used in Welsh Romani for any sort of carriage. See *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 268, note 5.

⁴ *tārñiás ī dōrī*] “rang the bell,” lit. “pulled the rope.”

avrtí. *T'í gīga sas k'ō hudār. Ak'ī rānī, t'ō rāi jala te bišavél lā keré. "Java mē,"* *χoč'ō grejērō, "ráia."*

Ak'ī gīga jalóp'skī. P'učtás ī tārnī rānī sō sas ī reskō nav. P'endás ī grejērō¹ lakī, "Leskō nav sī 'Laula.'" "Te raikanō nav!"² χoč'ī rānī. K'eré g'as ī rānī 'kaná, tā keré g'as ī grejērō.

Ī puredér pen p'učtás ī tārnīātē, "Junés tū leskō nav?" "Aua," *χoč'ī pen. "Sō sī?" "Laula" χoč'ī tārnī pen. Ī puredér pen sas trašadī top ō nav. Xoč'ī puredér pen kokorīákī "Vartasáva³ mē 'dolés⁴ kalikó."*

Ak'ō rāi 'vela talé kalikó pápalé. Ī tārnī rānī jala k'ō hudār, tā p'učélas sār ši-lō. T'ō rāi dela vast lakī. 'Yas les aré komōra.

Beštás talé, tā g'as yoi te lel valín mol. P'učtás ī tārnī rānī restē anī wontsélas χobén. "Ná," *χoč'ō rāi. Trin penyá t'ō rāi*

carriage. The carriage was at the door. There is the lady, and my lord sending her home. "I go, master," quoth the coachman.

Off went the carriage. The young lady asked what was the gallant's name. Said the coachman, "His name is Laula." "What a beautiful name!" quoth the lady. Home was the lady now, and home went the coachman.

The eldest sister asked the little one, "Dost thou know his name?" "Yes," she answered. "What is it?" "Laula," quoth the little sister. The eldest was frightened at the name. "To-morrow I shall watch that man," quoth the eldest sister to herself.

Behold on the morrow the gallant comes again. The young lady goes to the door and greets him. And he gives her his hand. She took him into the parlour.

He sat down, and she went for a bottle of wine. She asked him if he would eat. "Nay," quoth he. The three sisters and the gallant talked and made merry

¹ *ī grejērō*]. Cp. twice above *ō grejērō*. One hears in Welsh Romani the article *ī* beside *ō* prefixed to the masc. genitive-adjective used as a substantive, e.g., *ī brišindéskerō*, "April"; *ī bavalýakerō*, "March"; *ī būdikakerō*, "shopman"; *ī bálés-kerō*, "acorn." Both usages are perfectly correct, the *ī* in the instances cited, being of course not the feminine, but the oblique article (represented in Continental dialects by *ē*) coming before the genitive case. Thus *ī grejērō* stands for *ī grejē mūrš*, or in the Romani of Paspatis, *ē graiēngloro mursh*. These parallel usages, I suppose, originated thus. If *grejērō* were thought of purely as a substantive = "coachman," then the masc. article *ō* would be used, if rather as an adjective with noun or pronoun understood, "[he] of the horses," then one would use the oblique article *ī*. On the whole, it may be observed that the masc. article *ō* is almost always used before familiar stock genitive-adjectives which have acquired the force of substantives, and that the oblique article *ī* would be used before consciously formed genitives, which in the mind of the speaker still retain their adjectival force.

² *te raikanō nav*]. The use of the conjunction *te* as exclamatory particle is very common in this dialect, e.g., *Te basavo šom!* "What a bad fellow I am!"; *Dá! te bārō peseriben!* "There! what a lot to pay!"; *Te kuški, Jak!* "How nice, Jack!" So also Sylvester Boswell's *te goodlo see*, "how sweet a thing it is!" (Bath Smart, and Crofton, *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 248).

³ *vartasáva*]. Cp. *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, i. 317, note 2.

⁴ *'dolés*]. Cp. p. 372, note 1,

sanas *tā rakerénas kitanés*. “*Vesa tū mansa 'kedivés?*”
 “*Keserá mē,*” *χοῖ'ī tārnī ránī*.

Bitā mankē ratī 'vīās ī gīga k'ō hudār te lel len keré. ‘*Vilē keré. Gilē aré. Andīās ō rāi marikyā tā čumónī te pién. Kana sas yoi te xolas gīās aré vavēr tanéstī. Yoi 'čas opré tā gyas k'ī xestyár te bešél.*

Akē yov 'vela, tā bita valín rat 'rē peskō vast. “*Anī sī tīrō rat sār loló sār 'kavá?*” *Trašdás ī ránī*. “*Na wontsésa te junés odová kek?*” “*Aua,*” *χοῖ'ō rāi*. *T'ā sas sunakéskī vaṇuštrī 'prē lakō vaṇuštó. 'Yas ō rāi ī čurī tā čindīās ō rānīákō vaṇuštó, tā piradās ī xestyár tā učerdás ō vaṇuštó ī bārē jukléskī*.

Kon 'yas ō vaṇuštó? Ī puredēr pen 'yas les. Niserdás pes avrī pala ō dūléndī. 'Yas lasa bita valín, tā bita gonō marikyā. Vartínī len. Ī greṇē pīrē dikás top ō drom, ojā sas te l'atīās ī filišín. 'Dói sas pošē xestyár bārō jukél t'ō jukeléskō tan. Čördás pes k'ō bārē jukeléskō tan. Trašélas ī jukléstē tā g'as 'rē pī počī tā diās ī juklés¹ bita mariklī. Diās les vavēr mariklī tā 'vīās pošē lestī. Čidás peskō vast top leskō šērō tā čī na kedás ō jukél lakī. Kamló sas-lō. G'as ī ránī 'rē ō jukeléskō tan.

Šundás len te rakerén. T'ā sas ī res bārī čurī. 'Yas burrnek latī tā čindīās lakō kūrrló. Mārdás lā.

Ratī sas 'kaná. Ak'ī puredēr pen jalóp'skī keré. Čī na pēndás. Thinkasás sō te kel sār te lel akáva rāi ke mārdás lakī

together. “Wilt thou come with me to-day?” “I should like to,” quoth the young lady.

Just before the fall of night the carriage came to the door to take them to his home. They reached the house. They entered. The gallant brought cakes and drink. While she was eating he went into another room. She arose and went to sit by the window.

Behold him returning—a little phial of blood in his hand. “Is thy blood red as this?” The lady was terrified. “Thou dost not wish to know that?” “Yes,” quoth he. And she had a golden ring on her finger. The man took a knife and cut off the lady's finger, opened the window and threw the finger to the great dog.

Who got the finger? The elder sister got it. She had crept out after the two. She took with her a small flask and a little bag of cakes. She tracked them. She spied the horse's hoof-prints on the road; thus it was she found the castle. Near the window was a great dog and his kennel. She stole up. She feared the dog, and she felt in her pocket, took a little cake and gave it to the dog. She gave him another cake and drew closer to him. She patted his head, and the dog did not harm her. He was friendly to her. The lady got into the dog's kennel. She heard them talking. And the gallant had a great knife. He caught hold of the girl and cut her throat. He killed her.

Night had fallen now. Behold the elder sister going home. She told nothing. She was thinking what she should do to take this man who had killed her sister.

¹ *ī juklés*]. Here the abbreviated prepositional, not the accusative.

phen. "Sār lava 'dova rái akái? Juná mē sō keráva kalikó." P'ukavél ī dadéskī "Dadī, wonsáva mē te kērā xobén kalikó sār raiéñī kā sī trušul akái." "Te kamésa tū, kēr les."

Mārdē kāñiā, mārdē pugī,¹ tā papinyā, tā užerdē len sār te 'ven ėidē aré bōv. T'ā bakaréskē herā,² tā goiā, tā būt vavér kolá. Dosta. Bičadás lav k'ī sār ī raiā te junén te 'kaia ránī jalas te kel akáva xobén.

Ak'ō xobén 'kaná. Ak'ō raiā 'vena 'rē. P'ardó ō fan. Dikás ī Laulés te 'vel aré, tā pēndás leskī te bešél talé. Sār k'ī misálī. Sār ō vaverá xonas, tā ses ėī top leskī plēta, tā sār dikénas top lestī. Ak'ī ránī 'kaná 'vela 'rē. Gías 'rē ī pōčī tā tārđiās ō vañušťó avrī t' 'učerdás les top ī plēta. "Ak'ō tīrō xobén ráia!"

Sār sas-lē te pēnén ėumónī pala-sō kedē te xon. Sār pēndē ėumónī. Ak'ī ránī 'kaná jala te pēnēl.

"Akái 'velas rái, akái sas-lō dūī trin ėēros, tā pūčdás mī tārnedēr pēniátē anī jalas lesa k'ī leskī filišín. 'Keseráva mē,' xoč'ī tārñī. T'ā g'as mī pēn lesa."

Ak' okóva rái šunēla 'kaná. "Ei, dádē," xoč'ov, "wonsáva te já avrī te muterá." "Ač bita," xoč'ō raiā, "postē rakerél ī ránī."

"How shall I get that man here? I know what I will do to-morrow." She told her father. "Father, I wish to bid all the gentles around here to a feast to-morrow." "If thou wishest it, do so."

They killed hens, they killed ducks and geese, and they made them all ready for the oven. And there were legs of mutton and puddings, and many other things. There was plenty. Word was sent that all men might know that this lady was going to make this feast.

Now behold the feast. Behold the company arriving. The place was crowded. She saw Laua come in, and she bid him be seated. All were at the table. All the rest were feasting and his plate was empty, and they all regarded him. Now the lady enters. She put her hand in her pocket and pulled out the finger and flung it on to his plate. "There is thy portion, sir!"

Every one was to tell a tale after the feasting was over. All told something. Now the lady is going to speak.

"Hither came a gallant, here he was twice or thrice, and he asked my youngest sister whether she would go with him to his castle. 'Willingly,' quoth the little one. And my sister went with him."

That gentleman was all ears now. "Ha!" quoth he, "I must go without to ease myself." "Stay a little," said the company, "until the lady speaks."

¹ pugī]. The Welsh Gypsies use *puga* (a loan-word which I cannot trace to its source) as well as *retsā* or *reča* for any sort of duck, tame or wild. The Welsh Romani for "pike" is *pugákō šērō* "duck head," probably a translation of the Welsh "penhwyad."

² bakaréske herā]. Dissyllabic nouns in -oi—viz. *paboi*, *šoši*, *heroi*—take the contracted plural -ā instead of, or rarely beside, -oiā. *Bakaréñē* here would have been better than *bakaréskē*, unless we are to suppose that only two legs of mutton served for the feast.

"*Vartasóm les mē, tā l'atīóm leskī filišín, tā ses man aré mī počī bitī marikyá.*" *T'ā sār 'kolá sas aré, sār šunénas.*

"*Dikóm ō bārō jukél tā leskō ūan. Gīóm máia opré k'ō jukél, tā dīóm les mariklī. Trašós mē bārē jukléstī, tā dīóm les vavēr mariklī, tā gīóm kī yov tā čidóm mō vast top leskō šērō, tā gīóm aré leskō ūan. T'ā mī pēn bešélas aré pošē xestīār.*"

"*Dā! dā! dinveribén rakerésa! wontsáva te já te muterá man.*"¹ "*Ač bita,*" *pēndé ō raiá, "mē rakerél ī rānī."*

"*Sundóm mē ī res te jal, tā 'vīás pālē, t'ō valín rat aré leskō vast. 'Anī šī tīrō rat sār loló sār 'ková?' Trašdás top ō lav. 'Na wontsésa te junés odová kek?' 'Aua,' xoč'ō rái, 'Wontsáva te diká les.' Čindás lakō vaņuštó, tā piradás ī xestyár, t'učerdás les ī bārē jukléskī. 'Yom mē ō vaņuštó. T'ā čindīás lakō kūrrlō. Niserdóm keré pala-sō dikóm sō kedás. T'ā tī na patséna, ok'ō vaņuštó top ī plēta 'lan lestī. Ok'ō mūrš bešéla pošā lestī.*"²

Ō raiá tildé les, tā pāndilé les. Yek'ō vavēr rakerénas sō te ken lesa. T'ō pūrō rái pukadás len te xočerén les.

Lilé les avrī, tā čidé les aré bārē tubátī,³ tā čidé tulipen top lestī. P'ardilé pūrī tuba tulipenésa, tā čidé les top bita ūanéstī. Dudyerdé friča⁴ tā čidé yog.

Al'ō xočeréla 'kaná. Xočerdás sār aré čikéstī.

Okē sār, raia.

"I tracked him, and I found his castle, and in my pocket I had some little cakes." And all those who were in the hall were listening.

"I saw a great dog and his kennel. I went up to the dog and gave him a cake. I was afraid of the dog, and I gave him another cake, and I drew near to him and patted his head, and got into his kennel. And my sister was sitting within the house, close by the window."

"There! there! thou speakest foolishness. I want to go out to ease myself." "Stay a little," said the others, "let the lady speak."

"I heard him go, and he came back with a phial of blood in his hand. 'Is thy blood red as that?' She was troubled at the words. 'Thou dost not want to know that?' 'Yea,' quoth the gallant, 'I want to see thy blood.' He cut off her finger and opened the window and threw it to the great dog. I picked up the finger. And he cut her throat. I stole home after I had seen what he did. And if ye do not believe, there is the finger on the plate before him. And there sits the man beside it!"

The gentles seized him, and bound him. They debated one with another what they should do with him. And the old father told them to burn him.

They bore him out and put him in a great barrel and poured oil upon him. They filled the old barrel with oil and stood it upon a little mound. They struck a match and fired it.

Behold, he burns now! He was consumed to ashes.

That is all, sir!

¹ *muterá man*] *man* here, of course, is the ethical dative, not accusative.

² *lestī*]. As the gender shows, *lestī* refers not to the plate but to the finger.

³ *tubátī*] prepositional of *tuba*, from Eng. "tub."

⁴ *friča*]. This loan-word can hardly be Eng. "fire," with diminutive suffix *-iča*.



MATTHEW WOOD

NOTES AND QUERIES

38.—A COLOGNE ORDINANCE OF 1596

THE following ordinance, directed against Gypsies and other aliens and wanderers, occurs as the 35th clause on p. 27 of a set of laws¹ entitled *Dess Ertzstifts Cölln Pollicey und Lands-Ordnung*, which was printed at Münster by Lambert Rässfeldt in 1596. The charge of being emissaries of the Turks brought against the Gypsies in the opening clause of this decree seems to have met with universal belief in the Holy Roman Empire in the sixteenth century.

J. Watts de Peyster on p. 20 of his *Gypsies* translates, as follows, from an earlier enactment against the Gypsies presumably quoted in Zedler's *Grosses Universal Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* from the Police Regulations of Frankfort for 1577: 'It is strictly forbidden to all Electoral princes, and governments, on the allegiance which they bear to the Holy Empire, that, as regards these *gypsies*, when credible proof exists that they are scouts, traitors, spies, and explore Christian countries for the benefit of the Turks and of other enemies of Christendom, to allow them to travel in or through their states,' etc. Simson also mentions these same Frankfort Police Regulations of 1577, and with reference to the supposed Turkish employment of Gypsies remarks: 'The Germans entertained the notion that the Gypsies were spies for the Turks. They were not allowed to pass through, remain, or trade within the Empire' (Simson, *History of the Gipsies*, p. 71).

It is not surprising that Gypsies were often driven to commit acts of robbery and violence when such merciless enactments as this prohibited not only them, but all other aliens and wanderers from procuring employment or remaining unmolested in any place, and also made them liable on the slightest suspicion to be tortured and deprived of their goods.

It is noteworthy that while a gentler mode of treatment seems to be intended in the case of aliens and mercenaries able to produce credentials from other powers, no such prospects are held out to the Gypsies. As soon as they enter the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne they are to be exposed, irrespective of their behaviour, to the violence or malice of every native.

A. MARSTON.

Von den Ziegeinern oder Heyden.

Nachdeme man auch gleybliche anzeige hatt / daß die Zygeiner oder Heyden Erfahrer / Berreder vnd Außspeißer sein / vnd die Christen Landen deme Türcken vnnnd anderen der Christenheit Feinden verkundtschafften / So ist derhalben auff gehalten Reichstagen verbotten / denselbigen kein Gleide zu geben / darauff Wir auch hieuevor etliche mahl vnser offen Mandaten haben außgehen lassen / So beuehlen Wir nochmals allen vnd jeden vnseren Ampleuten / vnd wollen daß die Zygeiner vnd Heyden nit gelitten oder vergleicht / sonder wo sie

¹ Another clause of the same 'Pollicey-Ordnung' directs that the children of beggars shall be taken from their parents and put to trades or service, 'damit sie deme betteln nicht also für und für anhangen.'

betretten / vnd wan jemandt mit der Tzht gegen sie handeln würde / daß daran nit getreuet sol werden.

Item es sollen auch keine Landtleuffer / Rezhuben / oder andere argwonige Gesellschaften / zugelassen / sonder mit fleiß nach denselbigen erkündigung geschehen / die zur peinlicher frage angenommen / vnnnd nach befündung / der gepür gestrafft werden.

Item es sollen auch keine Einkomelinge oder einige anderen / die außwendig in vnseren oder frembden Landen Empteren oder Stätten gedienet oder gewonet hetten / von einichen für Diener oder Bürger angenommen / gehäuset / geherbergt / vnderhalten oder gestattet / auch ihnen kein Hauß oder Kammer verkauft / gelehent oder verheuret werden / dan mit vorwissen vnd zulassen vnser Amptleute vnd jedes orths Beuelhaber.

Vnd sol auch ein jeder zu deme sie quemen an stundt vnseren Amptleuten dieselb mit allen vmbstenden anzeigen vnnnd zuerkennen geben / vnnnd darauff vnser Amptman oder Befelchhaber / so balde im solches anbracht / oder er es sonst vernemen mag / die Frembden oder Einkomlinge für sich bescheiden / ihrer gestalt / gelegenheit / Lebens vnd wandels erkunden / auch glaubhafftigen Schein von der Oberigkeit daher sie kommen / erfordern / vnnnd erfahren / wie sie sich daselbst gehalten / welche aber den Schein nicht darthun köndten / oder binnen der zeit die ihnen auffgelecht nicht pringen würden / oder sonst Argwon vnd böse vermutung auff sich hetten / dieselbige in keinen wege dülben oder pleiben lassen / sonder wo einiger Argwon hinder ime vermerckt noch befunden / zu gepürlicher Straff annehmen / oder auß vnseren Fürstenthumben zuuerweisen.

In gleicher maß sollen vnser Amptleute vnd Befelchhaber in allen vnseren Stätten / Dörffern vnd Heusern / der Frembden vnd Einkomeling halb / so jeko daselbst weren / sich erkunden / vnd obgenanter gestalt mit ihnen halten / vnd so darüber jemandt von vnseren Vnderthanen oder den vnseren (es geschehe vnder welchem Schein das wolle / heimlich oder offenbar) gefehrlicher weise auffenthaltung gestattet / verschweigen / oder diesen vnseren Befelch nicht nachkommen würde / sol nach befunden / ernstlich gestrafft / vnd niemands darinne vbersehen werden.

Wo auch in vnseren Fürstenthumben / Landen vnd gepietthen / vnd bey den vnseren einiche Knecht oder Kreigzleute bestellt oder angenommen werden wolten / ohn Vnser vorwissen oder zulassen / sollen dieselben / auch die ohn Passport oder Schein einiges Fürsten sich zu sammeln / oder durch zu ziehen vnderstunden / nicht gedülbet oder auffenthalden / Sonder wo man die betretten mag / angenommen / hertiglich gefragt / vnnnd vmb ihre Mißhandlung mit ernst gestrafft / vnd zum wenigsten ihre Haab vnnnd Gütter angenommen gebent / vnd sie mit Eyden vnd Bürgschaften / nach notturfft verbunden werden.

Es sollen auch einiche Knechte / ohn Vnseren oder vnser Amptleute vorwissen vnd zulassen / sich auch in keine außwendige dienst begeben oder bestellen lassen / Sonder wo sie es darüber thun würden / vnser Fürstenthumb vnd Lande zu den ewigen tagen verbannen sein / vnnnd ihre gütter verwirckt haben / Derhalb auch vnser Amptleute vnd Beuelhaber mit ernstlichen fleiß auffsehens haben sollen / vnnnd wo darüber einiche Knecht sich versammeln auff der Garden / oder sonst durch ziehen / oder die Vnderthanen vberfallen würden / daß als dan ein Landtschaft oder Ampt dem anderen mit den Klostenschlage zu hülf kommen / wehren vnd retten helfen sollen.

Die Kremer / frembde vnd unbekante / oder die von ihrer Oberkeit daher sie kemen jres wandels nit genuchsam Schein brechten / oder die mit iheren Worten

vnd wesen vnerbarlich / ärgerlich / oder verdecktig eracht / durch die Lande zu ziehen oder zuuerpleiben nicht gestattet / sunder wo sie darüber betreten vund arwonig befunden / zu peinlicher Frag angenommen / vund nach gelegenheit gestrafft werden.

CONCERNING THE GYPSIES OR HEATHEN

Whereas we have trustworthy intelligence that the Gypsies or Heathen are secret agents, traitors, and spies, and act as scouts in Christian lands for the Turk and other enemies of Christendom ; by reason of this, therefore, it was forbidden at the Diet [lately] held to keep company with the same, to which intent we have also several times heretofore issued our unmistakable Mandates. Once again therefore we charge each and all of our magistrates and desire that the Gypsies and Heathen be not tolerated nor consorted with, but wherever they enter [a place] if any one should take active measures against them, he shall not be considered as having committed a crime.

Item, no vagabonds, strolling players¹ or other suspicious companies are to be countenanced, but diligent inquiry shall be made concerning the same, and they shall be put to the torture and punished in accordance with their deserts.

Item, no aliens or any others who not being natives have served in or occupied offices or positions in these or foreign lands are to be by any persons accepted as servants or citizens, housed, lodged, maintained or harboured, nor shall any house or room be sold, let, or hired out to them except with the foreknowledge and permission of our magistrates and the sheriffs of every place.

And also every man whom they approach shall immediately notify and inform our magistrates of the same with all particulars, and thereupon our magistrate or commanding officer, as soon as such information is brought to him, or he may learn of it by other means, shall summon the foreigners or aliens on his own authority, inform himself of their appearance, circumstances, life and habits and also demand authentic credentials from the authorities whence they come and learn how they behaved themselves there, but should any be unable to display the document or refuse to bring it within the time imposed upon them or otherwise be suspect and of evil report, the same shall in no wise be tolerated or allowed to remain, but if anything suspicious is noticed or detected in their actions, a fitting punishment shall be administered to them or they shall be expelled from our principality.

In like manner shall our magistrates and commanders in all our towns, villages and houses, procure information concerning the foreigners and aliens, if any should be there at this present, and deal with them in the above-mentioned fashion, and if ever any of our subjects or our [servants] (it matters not under what pretext, whether secretly or openly) should to the danger of the state have allowed them to stop, concealed them, or be unwilling to comply with these our orders, he shall be severely punished as the occasion requires and no one guilty of this offence shall be overlooked.

Also whenever in our principality, lands and provinces, and in those allied to us, any serving-men or soldiers wish to be taken into service or received without our previous knowledge or permission, the same, as well as those who dare to assemble or roam through [the land] without a passport or credentials from any prince, are not to be tolerated or suffered to halt. But wherever they are met with they are to be seized, closely questioned, and summarily punished in propor-

¹ To both *Netzbube* and *Netzknabe* Grimm assigns the meaning 'histrion,' and under the latter he refers to *Nasser Bube* which he defines as '*Der Schlemmer, Trunkenbold, Zechgeselle, auch der Abenteurer, der geriebene, verschlagene Gesell.*' It is also noticeable that one of the meanings which he gives to the verb *netzen* is 'to be continually drinking.'

tion to their misdeeds, and at the least their possessions and goods shall be confiscated and taken as booty and they shall be bound over with oaths and securities to meet the exigencies of the case.

Also no soldiers without our foreknowledge or permission or that of our magistrates are to join or accept appointment in the service of any other power. But if they should ever do this, they shall be banished for ever from our dominions and territories, and shall have their property confiscated. With regard to this also our magistrates and officials shall keep watch with zeal and diligence and if any soldiers should ever form themselves into bands of importunate beggars or in other guise wander through [the land] or attack our subjects, then shall each district or parish assist its neighbour by the ringing of bells and shall help to protect and succour it.

Foreign and strange pedlars or such as have not brought satisfactory credentials of conduct from the authorities whence they come, or those who in word and deed are considered insufferable, vexatious, or suspect are not allowed to pass through the land or to tarry there, but if ever they appear and are found to be of suspicious character they shall be put to the torture and punished as the occasion requires.

39.—PETALENGRO AND THE DEVIL

Considering the narrowness and straightness usually attributed to the road to heaven, there would seem, to the ordinary Gorgio at any rate, to be but one way of getting there; but those who have read Sampson's folk-tale in the July number,¹ or who, like myself, have learned what little Romany they know by the wrong method, from Smart and Crofton's excellent work on the English Gypsies, and not from the mouths of the Gypsies themselves, will no doubt remember that Petalengro found a way quite new and original. Indeed so original are many of the details, that one would have supposed that, in spite of the tendency which folk-tales have to recur in the most unexpected places, this tale if any was unlikely to have wide currency. I was therefore rather surprised to find in Hanauer's recently published *Folklore of the Holy Land*,² a similar tale taken down from Jews. The Petalengro³ tale begins by relating that *mi Doovel* was walking in a *bitto gav* and could not find a *kitchema*; so he went to Petalengro's *kair* and *sootadás odoi sar doova raati*. The Jewish tale is more elaborate. Its hero is an Italian (!) soldier of Herod, named Francesco, who, as we learn later, belonged to the company of the centurion whose servant was cured by Christ. Francesco possessed all the virtues—which is more than his kinsfolk can say for Petalengro—and one vice: he was an inveterate gambler. For that vice he was dismissed the service and banished; and he became a brigand of a sporting type, making his victims stake their freedom on a game of cards. One day 'the Carpenter-rabbi of Nazareth' and his disciples came along and were recognised and hospitably treated by Francesco. In the morning, Jesus, who plays the part of *mi Doovel* of the Petalengro tale, offered to fulfil any wish Francesco might have: and Francesco asked for four things. Petalengro was more modest, and on being offered four wishes did not ask for sixteen: but their wishes were very similar. Francesco asked that he might always win at cards, that whoever sat on a stone at the door of his cave might be unable to rise without permission, that whoever climbed at his request a lemon tree near the cave might be unable to

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 53.

² Pp. 181-8.

³ Smart and Crofton, *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 219. I have called this the 'Petalengro tale,' reserving the title 'Gypsy tale' for Sampson's, as Smart and Crofton confess that their version is not originally Gypsy, but taken from Hone's *Every Day Book*, 1857, i. 447.

descend without permission, and that he might recognise Azrael when he came to fetch his soul. Similarly Petalengro asks that whoever climbs his apple tree, *nastis te wel talé*—a condition rather hard on the children of the neighbourhood, as there is no saving clause 'at my request'; that whoever *beshela opre o kova so mandî kerova greiesti choxa opré, nastis te atch opré apopli*; that *o moosh so jala adré meero bitto sastera mokto, nastissa te wel avrí*; and that *meero hoofa see mandî adré sorkon cheerus, ta kanna beshova opré-les kek moosh nastis te kair mandî te atch opré*. The wishes were granted in both cases, only in Francesco's case they were designated as foolish, and he was promised a fifth when he realised the folly of the other four. Years later Azrael came, was recognised, asked to sit down and not allowed to get up unless he postponed his visit for fifteen years. Then he came again, and found Francesco a godly hermit apparently very ill. Francesco asked him to climb up and fetch a lemon to slake his thirst, and again would not let him come down from the tree until he granted him another fifteen years' grace. Petalengro, on the other hand, had not wasted a wish on asking for ability to recognise the gentleman who was coming for his soul—he seems to have known that it would be an old friend; and so he managed to cheat the *Beng* three times, twice by means similar to those used by Francesco, and the third time by putting him in the box, making it red hot, and *kooring* it with *sor his roozlopen*, thereby obtaining a third extension of ten years' duration. Needless to say, Petalengro did not become a holy hermit in the interval. However, in the end they both have to go, Francesco clinging to his pack of cards, Petalengro to his cap. Francesco's messenger took him to Heaven, where Peter would have nothing to say to him; then to Hell, where Iblis greeted him affectionately, but finally ejected him as a dangerous rival, when Francesco had beaten him seven times at cards. Then he was taken back to Heaven, and got in by virtue of the fifth wish promised him, when he recognised the folly of the other four. Petalengro's friend was less optimistic and took him straight to Hell, where somewhat strangely they refused to admit him as a *wafedo gairo*.¹ At the gates of Heaven he met with no better reception, but finally managed to throw his cap in, sit on it, and defy the deity to move him.

Though they differ in details, both these stories are obviously identical with the second part of Sampson's Welsh Gypsy tale, which contains two² well-known folk-tales, 'The Smith, God, and St. Peter' and 'The Smith and the Devil.' The Gypsy version has discarded the deity, the saint, and the apple-tree, possibly because old witch-wives are commoner than saints on the roadside and apple-trees are regarded rather from the point of view of the promiscuous climber than from that of the possessor of a private orchard. The Gypsy smith's modest wishes, like Petalengro's, left him where he was, save for a card up his sleeve in store for Old Harry. Francesco was wiser in his generation, and provided for this world as well as the next: and therein he resembles 'Gambling Hansel' in Grimm's version of the tale.³ Only the latter doubly provided for himself, with unfailing dice and an invincible pack of cards; and with their help he succeeded in winning half the world. Then St. Peter began to feel worried and said this sort of thing would never do: Death must be sent to him. Death was sent, rashly climbed for an apple, and stayed

¹ The real reason, no doubt, was fright, a point which is much better brought out in the Norse version, where the devil gives instructions to lock all the gates, 'and you may as well put on a padlock, for if he only once gets in, he'll turn Hell topsy-turvy' (G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 105). In another German version he drives the devil into Hell, and there is such a hurry to shut him out that one of the little devils uses his long nose as a door bolt.

² As will be presently shown, they were in all probability originally one.

³ Cf. Grimm, *Household Tales*, no. 81.

there up a gum tree for seven years. Peter became still more worried, and went with the deity to set Death free. Hansel was Death's first victim after his long rest, and he beat in vain at the doors of Heaven and Purgatory. Cheerful as ever he trudged on to Hell, and like Francesco proved more than a match for Old Nick, winning all his 'little crooked devils.' The Gypsy smith had no need of trump-cards: his luck had come before when he was tramping the country with the little boy. But it did not turn him into a hermit. He built a few houses—which is strange, and savours rather of the comparatively settled life of the modern Welsh Gypsies—and more than a few inns: and spent a very jolly, impenitent time among them. Indeed, so far was he from godliness, that out of quite gratuitous devilry he sold himself to the old gentleman. Perhaps, however, this incident has got transposed, for in a variant from Hannover¹ the smith first sells himself to a devil on horseback before St. Peter comes along on his lowly ass and offers him the three wishes. That same Hannover story is the only one except the Petalengro tale which contains a mention of the smith's wife and her short cut to Heaven. The folklorist was evidently no misogynist nor even a supporter of women's equality, but a man with an amiable weakness for the frailer sex. The Hannover smith's wife is promised heaven for no particular reason, and Mrs. Petalengro escapes condemnation to the land where 'there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth' on the score of toothlessness—a virtue easily attained by most of us in this degenerate age. In these days of artificiality stricter theologians have held that teeth will be provided: but as the Hannover tale shows, 'He's a good fellow and 'twill all be well'—with the ladies. For mere man the way is harder; still, Peter is no Cerberus, and most of the heroes manage to get a peep into Heaven, throw their cap, hammer, coat or trump-card in, and sit on it peacefully ever after. Bruder Lustig swaggers in after a starveling tailor; and Gambling Hansel literally takes the place by storm. With his newly-won troop of crooked devilkins he pulls up a hop-pole on Hohenfuehrt and batters the sides of Heaven till they begin to crack, and poor Peter in despair has to open the door to him. Save in two cases—in which his soul is left like Tomlinson's in 'the keen air that blows between the worlds'—our worldly-wise smith always contrives to find a way; and over and above he has the pleasure denied to his more pious brethren, who are generally depicted as much at the mercy of the Devil, of giving Old Nick a good thrashing on the route. Sometimes it is in a purse, sometimes in a box, sometimes in a wallet, sometimes in a stove;² but once fairly cornered he has a rough time, and never seeks to renew his acquaintance with Mr. Smith.

Indeed, the devil cuts as poor a figure as the clumsy giant of fairy stories; and this, combined with the fact that the hero is almost invariably a hammer-bearing smith, has led Grimm to see in the latter the god Thor vanquishing a giant. If his assumption is correct, then the tale would presumably be of Norse origin. On the other hand, a smith would be an equally natural hero if the tale were of Gypsy origin; and it is noticeable that, except for a Hessian variant, the Gypsy and the Norse versions alone preserve the story in what would seem to be its complete form. Elsewhere it is divided into two separate tales. And, as one does not know the date of the Norse version, it is possible that it may have been carried to Norway by the Gypsies. Even so the Norse version might be of respectable antiquity, as Gypsies have been there at any rate since 1540, when a party of English Gypsies were transported to Norway.³ On the other hand, it is

¹ Cf. Grimm, *Household Tales* (Bohn ed.), note to 'Gambling Hansel.'

² Compare the various variants analysed in the note on Grimm's 'Gambling Hansel.'

³ Cf. Gairdner and Brodie, *Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. xv. p. 325.

equally possible that, if the tale were originally Norse and had spread to Germany, the Gypsies may have picked it up there and brought it with them to England. Consequently one has to fall back on the tale itself to attempt to settle the point: and I fear that internal evidence is against a Gypsy origin. The consensus of the various versions is so strongly in favour of making God and St. Peter the persons who grant the smith his wishes, that there can be little or no doubt that such is the original form of the tale. And it is easy enough to explain the alteration into a witch-wife in the case of infidel Gypsies; whereas, if the witch, a common enough figure in all folklore, were original, there seems no reason for changing her into the deity. Besides, it is not unlikely that the *tarno chavo* of the first part of the Gypsy tale is a reminiscence of an original in which the *tarno Devel* played the same part.

Again, in the first part of the tale the Gypsy version seems to have lost the point—the humbling of a boastful man. The Gypsy smith freely admits his inability to make the simplest article of his craft. But in other versions the hero is almost always a smith of a boastful disposition, who calls himself ‘The master of all masters,’ and, even when the tale has deviated from the original, or presumably original, smith version and made some other character the hero, the same trait is generally carefully preserved. Bruder Lustig is a swaggerer, one of those *Gardebrüder* whose name was synonymous with ‘sturdy beggar’: and the ‘pope’ with ‘thoroughly pope-like eyes’ of a Russian version¹ in his pride of heart smites his patron-saint because he fails to supply him with enough to satisfy his greed.

In the Norse tale, too, the smith’s compact with the Devil is much more appropriately introduced. At the very beginning we are told that he had made a bargain, selling his soul if the Devil would make him ‘Master of all masters’ for seven years: and this forms the connecting link between the two parts of the tale. In the Gypsy version, on the other hand, there is no hint of such a proceeding in the first part: though one must admit the smith elects to follow a small boy’s lead through the wide world, an indirect and very pleasant way of treading the primrose path. Still that was no compact with the Devil, and consequently the latter had to be introduced in a quite inartistic and aimless manner between the two tales, leaving them disconnected.

This first part of the tale is as widely spread as the second. Versions of it are current in Sicily, Italy, Germany, Norway, Russia, and in England in Copland’s poem ‘The Smyth that brent hys Dame.’² Generally the form is shortened. There was a smith who boasted that he excelled every one in his art. Christ, usually with St. Peter, passed and asked to be allowed to do a piece of work. They then transformed an old woman into a young one by putting her into the furnace and hammering her. The second miracle with the horse’s legs is generally omitted. The smith tries the same, fails, and is rescued from his awkward predicament by their aid. Occasionally Christ’s place is taken, as in the Gypsy tale, by a simple youth. In a Waldeck version³ it is a *Schmiedegesell* who knows how to take a horse’s legs off to shoe him and how to make old women young again: and in a Russian version it is the Devil disguised as a workman. But the greatest amount of variation is in the choice of a victim for the smith to try his prentice hand on. Sometimes it is his mother, sometimes his father, sometimes an old beggar-woman or an old neighbour. That he should experiment on the latter

¹ Cf. W. R. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), p. 351. There is another version of the ‘Smith and the Demon’ on p. 57 of the same book.

² Written *circ.* 1550. Cf. Halliwell Phillipps’ *Contributions to Early English Literature* (London, 1849); and for other versions, G. Widter and A. Wolf, ‘Volksmärchen aus Venetien,’ *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literaturen*, Bd. vii. (Leipzig, 1866), p. 28 and the parallels there given.

³ Curtze, *Volksüberlieferungen aus Waldeck*, p. 85.

is intelligible enough ; but one cannot help thinking that the Gypsy version is the nearest to human nature when it makes him reserve that 'sweet bad luck' for his mother-in-law. That he adds his wife too is an idiosyncrasy with which some may sympathise. We do not hear that he showed any particular eagerness to recall his instructor and have them brought to life again, as is generally the case in these tales. The result of the resuscitation is occasionally unexpected. In a Bavarian¹ tale Christ only succeeds in restoring the injured party under the form of an ape, and declares that from an old lady burnt to a cinder nothing better could be expected.

Clouston² compares a Muslim legend which represents 'Isā, that is to say Jesus, as curing sick persons by laying a staff on them. A man borrowed the staff and tried to effect the same cure on a sick king. Instead of curing him he killed him, and had to call in 'Isā's aid to restore him. Less closely connected are tales such as 'Bruder Lustig,' where a 'rollicking, frolicking, devil-may-care' wanderer falls in with a saint as a travelling companion, cheats him out of the tit-bit, generally the liver, at their first meal together, and denies it through thick and thin, denies it with the rope round his neck and a running river up to his ears ; but very soon confesses when the saint divides the money he had won by miraculous cures into three parts, and says that one is for the man who stole the liver. Bruder Lustig has a fitting comrade in the Merry Fellow from Swabia of Martin Montanus' Wegkurzer (*circ.* 1551),³ who with a lordly air throws the kreutzer he has gained by filling glasses at a wedding in among the hundred gulden earned by his companion by raising a dead man, and declares that they will share in common — 'Gemein, gemein ! Wir wollen gemein mit einander haben.' This version, too, has a Gypsy parallel taken down by Bataillard⁴ from Catalonian Gypsies ; and Monsieur Hins has published a tale from Ukraine, 'God, St. Peter, and the Gypsy,'⁵ in which a Gypsy is the hero. All of them resemble the tale already discussed in the miraculous cures effected by the hero's companion and the hero's unsuccessful and disastrous attempts to imitate him, and seem indeed to be merely a part of the long tale preserved in the Norse and Welsh Gypsy versions.

Here, then, we have a folk-tale current in one form or another throughout the length and breadth of Europe and paralleled in Syria. Yet we can hardly assume it to be a common Aryan tale, as in that case one would expect to find a parallel in the very rich collections of Indian tales preserved in Sanscrit. Besides, the evidence tends to prove that it was probably a Norse tale christianised before it began to be spread abroad, which would mean that it was not commonly current before the middle ages. And though that supposition excludes the Gypsies from any claim to the invention of the tale, there remains a very fair probability that they may in this case have fulfilled the office assigned to them by Leland and Groome of 'colporteurs of folk-lore.'⁶ Indeed it is difficult to see what other connecting-link there is between nations so widely spread, save the bands of Gypsies wandering in the middle ages from one to the other. E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ Panzer, *Bayerische Sagen und Bräuche* (München, 1855), ii. 18.

² *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Edinburgh, 1887), ii. 409.

³ Cap. 6. 'Von einem Schwaben der das Leberlein gefressen' (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins zu Stuttgart*, 217, p. 25). Somewhat similar and of much the same early date is the 232nd poem of the Arnim MS. of Meister-songs.

⁴ Cf. Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 169, and *Gypsy Folk-tales* (London, 1899), p. 247. In the latter practically all versions are mentioned.

⁵ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, iii. 447, 'Dieu, Saint Pierre et le Tsygane,' No. 5 of 'Légendes Chrétiennes de l'Oukraine,' by Eugène Hins.

⁶ Cf. Groome, *Gypsy Folklore*, and *Transactions of the International Folk-lore Congress*, 1891 (London, 1892).

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